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The Oxford Dictionary of  
**B Y Z A N T I U M**

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## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

a. anno	et al. et alia, et alii	neut. neuter
acc. according	etc. et cetera	no(s). number(s)
acq. no. acquisition number	f the following page	nov. novel(la)
A.D. anno/annis Domini	facs. facsimile	Nov. November
add. additions by	Feb. February	n.s. new series
adj. adjective	fem. feminine	Oct. October
A.H. in the year of the Hijra	fig(s). figure(s)	OF Old French
a.k.a. also known as	fol(s). folio(s)	or. oratio(nes)
alt. altitude	fl. floruit	o.s. old series
anc. ancient	fr. fragment	p(p). page(s)
anon. anonymous	Fr. French	par(s). paragraph(s)
app. appendix	ft foot, feet	Patr. Patriarch
Apr. April	g gram	Pers. Persian
Ar. Arabic	Georg. Georgian	pic. pictura
Arm. Armenian	Germ. German	pl. plural
Att. Attic	Gr. Greek	pl(s). plate(s)
Aug. August	ha hectare(s)	pr. proem
approx. approximately	HE <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	pt(s). part(s)
Archbp. Archbishop	Hebr. Hebrew	r recto
B.C. Before Christ	Hlbbd. Halbband	r. ruled, reigned
Bibl. Bibliothèque, Bibliothek, Biblio-	ibid. ibidem, in the same place	R. Reihe (series)
theca, Biblioteca, etc.	i.e. that is	republ. republished
(bibl.) bibliography	(ill.) work cited only because of its	rev. review, reviewed by
bk(s). book(s)	illustrations	rp. reprint
Bp. Bishop	inf. inferior(e)	Russ. Russian
Byz. Byzantium, Byzantine (adj.),	inscr. inscription	S. San, Santo, Santa
Byzantines (n.)	introd. introduction, introduction by	sc. scilicet, namely
C. century, centuries	It. Italian	Sept. September
ca. circa	Jan. January	ser. series
cf. compare	kg kilogram	sing. singular
ch(s). chapter(s)	km kilometer(s)	sq. square
cm centimeter(s)	Lat. Latin	SS. Santi
cod(d). codex (codices)	Lib. Library	St(s). Saint(s)
col(s). column(s)	lit. literally	sup. superior(e)
Comm. <i>Commentary in/on [the/a], Com-</i>	Lit. Literature	supp. supplement, supplemented by
<i>mentarium in/de</i>	m meter(s)	s.v. sub voce, sub verbo
corr. corrected by	m. married	Syr. Syriac
Dec. December	Mar. March	tr. translated by, translation
diam. diameter	masc. masculine	Turk. Turkish, Turkic
dim. diminutive	Mél. Mélanges	Univ. University
diss. dissertation	Metr. Metropolitan	unpub. unpublished
ed(s). edited by, edition(s), editor(s)	mm millimeter(s)	v verso
e.g. for example	mod. modern	viz. videlicet
Emp. Emperor	MS(S) manuscript(s)	v(v). verse(s)
Eng. English	Mt. Mount	(with bibl.) with bibliography
ep(s). epistle(s)	n(n). note(s)	
esp. especially	n.d. no date (of publication)	



ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS

Am Amos	Is Isaiah	Neh Nehemiah
Apoc Apocalypse	Jas James	Num Numbers
1 Chr 1 Chronicles	Jer Jeremiah	Ob Obadiah
2 Chr 2 Chronicles	Jg Judges	1 Pet 1 Peter
Col Colossians	Jl Joel	2 Pet 2 Peter
1 Cor 1 Corinthians	Jn John	Phil Philippians
2 Cor 2 Corinthians	1 Jn 1 John	Philem Philemon
Dan Daniel	2 Jn 2 John	Pr Proverbs
Dt Deuteronomy	3 Jn 3 John	Ps Psalms
Ec Ecclesiastes	Jon Jonah	Rom Romans
Eph Ephesians	Jos Joshua	Ru Ruth
Est Esther	1 Kg (3 Kg) 1 Kings	1 Sam (1 Kg) 1 Samuel
Ex Exodus	2 Kg (4 Kg) 2 Kings	2 Sam (2 Kg) 2 Samuel
Ezek Ezekiel	Lam Lamentations	S of S Song of Solomon
Ezra Ezra	Lev Leviticus	1 Th 1 Thessalonians
Gal Galatians	Lk Luke	2 Th 2 Thessalonians
Gen Genesis	Mal Malachi	1 Tim 1 Timothy
Hab Habakkuk	Mic Micah	2 Tim 2 Timothy
Hag Haggai	Mk Mark	Tit Titus
Heb Hebrews	Mt Matthew	Zech Zechariah
Hos Hosea	Nah Nahum	Zeph Zephaniah

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

Ann Arbor = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	Berlin, Staatsbibl. = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek
Athens, Benaki = Athens, Benaki Museum (Mouseion Benaki)	Bologna, Bibl. Com. = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
Athens, Byz. Mus. = Athens, Byzantine Museum (Byzantinon Mouseion)	Bologna, Bibl. Univ. = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
Athens, Nat. Lib. = Athens, National Library (Ethnike Bibliothek)	Brescia, Bibl. Querin. = Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana
Athos = Mt. Athos, followed by abbrev. for individual monastery:	Cambridge, Harvard = Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library
Chil. Chilandari	Chicago, Univ. Lib. = University of Chicago Library
Dion. Dionysiou	Cividale, Mus. Archeol. = Cividale, Museo Archeologico
Doch. Docheiariou	Cleveland Mus. = Cleveland Museum of Art
Esphig. Esphigmenou	Copenhagen, Royal Lib. = Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek
Greg. Gregoriou	Erevan, Mat. = Erevan, Matenadaran
Iver. Iveron	Escorial = Biblioteca de El Escorial
Koutl. Koutloumousiou	Florence, Laur. = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
Pantel. Panteleemon	Genoa, Bibl. Franz. = Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana
Pantok. Pantokrator	Gotha, Landesbibl. = Gotha, Thüringische Landesbibliothek
Philoth. Philotheou	Grottaferrata = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia
Simop. Simopetra	Istanbul, Gr. Patr. = Istanbul, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliothek)
Stavr. Stavroniketa	Istanbul, Süleymaniye = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library
Vatop. Vatopedi	Istanbul, Topkapı = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library
Xenoph. Xenophontos	Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate
Xerop. Xeropotamou	Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. = Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliothek)
Baltimore, Walters = Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery	
Berlin, Kupferstichkab. = Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett	

Leipzig, Univ. Lib. = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek	Paris, B.N. = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Leningrad, Publ. Lib. = Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova Ščedrina	Parma, Bibl. Pal. = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
London, B.L. = London, British Library	Patmos = Patmos, Monastery of St. John
Madrid, Bibl. Nac. = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional	Princeton, Theol. Sem. = Princeton Theological Seminary, Speer Library
Megaspelaion = Mone Megalou Spelaiou, Kalabryta	Princeton, Univ. Lib. = Princeton University Library
Melbourne, Nat. Gall. = Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria	Rossano = Rossano, Curia Arcivescovile
Messina, Bibl. Univ. = Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria	Serres = Serres, Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Mone tou Prodromou)
Meteora, Metamorph. = Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos	Sinai = Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine
Milan, Ambros. = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana	Tbilisi = Tbilisi, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institut Rukopisej
Moscow, Hist. Mus. = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej	Thessalonike, Blatadon = Thessalonike, Monastery ton Blatadon
Moscow, Lenin Lib. = Moscow, Publičnaja Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina	Turin, Bibl. Naz. = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
Moscow, Univ. Lib. = Moscow, Naučnaja Biblioteka imeni Gor'kogo Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta	Vat. = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Venice, Ist. Ellen. = Venice, Istituto Ellenico (San Giorgio dei Greci)
Mytilene = Mytilene (Lesbos), Gymnasion	Venice, Marc. = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco
Naples, Bibl. Naz. = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale	Venice, San Lazzaro = Venice, Biblioteca di San Lazzaro
New York, Kraus = New York City, H.P. Kraus	Vienna, ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
New York, Morgan Lib. = New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library	Washington, D.O. = Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
Oxford, Bodl. = Oxford, Bodleian Library	Zaborda = Zaborda, Monastery of St. Nikanor (Mone tou Hagiou Nikanoros)
Oxford, Lincoln Coll. = Oxford, Lincoln College	
Palermo, Bibl. Naz. = Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale	
Paris, Arsenal = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal	

Note: Greek papyri are cited according to the abbreviations in J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*<sup>2</sup> (Missoula, Mont., 1978).

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Note: A superscript number following an abbreviation indicates the edition number if it is other than the first.

AA = Archäologischer Anzeiger	ActaArchHung = Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAPA = Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vols. 1–2 (Paris 1986–87)	ActaHistHung = Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AASS = Acta Sanctorum, 71 vols. (Paris 1863–1940)	ActaNorv = Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae
AB = Analecta Bollandiana	Adhémar, “Trésor” = J. Adhémar, “Le trésor d'argenterie donné par Saint Didier aux églises d'Auxerre (VIIe siècle),” RA <sup>6</sup> 4 (1934) 44–54
ABAW = Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften	Adontz. Études = N. Adontz. Études arméno-byzantines (I is-bon 1965)
Abel, Géographie = F.-M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, 2 vols. (Paris 1933–38)	ADSV = Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka (Sverdlovsk)
Åberg, Occident & Orient = N.F. Åberg, The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century, 3 vols. (Stockholm 1943–47)	AFP = Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
ABME = Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnemeion tes Hellados	Agath. = Agathias, Historiarum librum quinque, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967)
Abramea, Thessalia = A.P. Abramea, He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204 (Athens 1974)	Age of Spirit. = Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century, ed. K. Weitzmann (New York 1979)
ACO = Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, 4 vols. in 27 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922–74)	Aggiornamento Bertaux = L'art dans l'Italie méridionale: Aggiornamento dell'opera di Émile Bertaux sotto la direzione di Adriano Prando, 6 vols. (Rome 1978)
ActaAntHung = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae	AHR = The American Historical Review

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- AIHS = *Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences*
- AIPHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (Université libre de Bruxelles)
- AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJPh = *American Journal of Philology*
- AkadAthPr = *Akademia Athenon: Praktika*
- Akrop. = *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903)
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- Annales DH = *Annales de démographie historique*
- Annales ESC = *Annales: Économies—sociétés—civilisations*
- AnnArchSyr = *Les annales archéologiques de Syrie* (from vol. 16 onward, title changed to *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*)
- AnnEPHE = *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*
- AnnHistCon = *Annuario historiae conciliorum*
- AnnPisa = *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
- ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
- AntAa = *Antichità Altopadriatiche*
- AntAb = *Antike und Abendland*
- AntAfr = *Antiquités africaines*
- AntCl = *L'Antiquité classique*
- AnthGr = *Anthologia graeca*<sup>2</sup>, ed. H. Beckby, 4 vols. (Munich 1965) with Germ. tr.
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- ArchEph = *Archaiologike Ephemeris*
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- Bernardakis, "Ornements liturgiques" = P. Bernardakis, "Les ornements liturgiques chez les grecs," *EO* 5 (1901-02) 129-39
- Beševliev, *Geschichte* = V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981)
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- BGA = *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. de Goeje et al., 8 vols. in 7 (Leiden 1870-94); 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Leiden 1938-39)
- BHG = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*<sup>3</sup>, ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. in 1 pt. (Brussels 1957)
- BHG Auct. = *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*<sup>3</sup>, ed. F. Halkin, vol. 4, *Auctarium* (Brussels 1969)
- BHG Nov.Auct. = *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*<sup>3</sup>, ed. F. Halkin, vol. 5, *Novum Auctarium* (Brussels 1984)
- BHL = *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1898-1901; rp. 1949). *Supplementi editio altera auctor* (1911)
- BHM = *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
- BHO = *Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale*
- BHR = *Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'Histoire*
- Bibl.sanct. = *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome 1961-70)
- BICR = *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* (Italy)



BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo)

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Bjfb = *Bonner Jahrbücher*

BK = *Bedi Kartlisa*

Bk. of Eparch = *Vizantijskaja kniga eparcha*, ed. M. J. Sjuzumov (Moscow 1962)

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BMGS = *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

BMQ = *The British Museum Quarterly*

BNJbb = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*

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Boissonade, *AnecNova* = J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova* (Paris 1844; rp. Hildesheim 1962)

BollBadGr = *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*

BollClass = *Bollettino dei classici* [Note: *BollClass* is a continuation of *BollCom*]

BollCom = *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*

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Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* = A. Bryer, D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1985)

BS = *Byzantinoslavica*

BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSAC = *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*

BSC Abstracts = *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers*

BS/EB = *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*

BSHAcRoum = *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique* (Academia română, Sectiunea istorică-Bulletin)

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London University)

BSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*

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BullBudé = *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*

BullJylandsLib = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*

BullIstDirRom = *Bollettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* (Rome)

BullSocAntFr = *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*

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Byz. Aristocracy = *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX-XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford 1984)

ByzAus = *Byzantina Australiensia*

ByzF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*

ByzMetabyz = *Byzantina Metabyzantina*

Byz. Saint = *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham 14<sup>th</sup> Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. Hackel (London 1981)

Byz. Sigillography = *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Washington, D.C., 1987)

Byz. und der Westen = *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna 1984)

BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

Caetani, *Islam* = L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols. in 11 pts. (Milan 1905-26; rp. Hildesheim-New York 1972)

CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882-1909)

CahArch = *Cahiers archéologiques*

CahCM = *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*

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CCAG = *Catalogus Codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12 vols. (Brussels 1898-1953)

CChr, ser. gr. = *Corpus Christianorum, series graeca*

CChr, ser. lat. = *Corpus Christianorum, series latina*

CEB = *Congrès international des Études Byzantines: Actes*

Cedr. = *Georgius Cedrenus*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838-39)

CEFR = *Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines: Actes* (Bucharest-Cologne-Vienna)

CEH = *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*<sup>2</sup>, ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge 1966)

CHAfr = *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 8 vols. (Cambridge 1975-86)

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Chvostova, *Osobennosti* = K. Chvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovykh otnoshenij v pozdney Vizantij XIV-XV vv.* (Moscow 1968)

CIC = *Corpus Iuris Civilis*<sup>2</sup>, ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, et al., 3 vols. (Berlin 1928-29)

CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1828-77)

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, 18 vols. (Berlin 1862–1989)  
 Classical Tradition = *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett, R. Scott (Birmingham 1981)  
 ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia*  
 ClPhil = *Classical Philology*  
 ClRev = *Classical Review*  
 Clugnet, *Dictionnaire* = L. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'église grecque* (Paris 1895)  
 CMAG = *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32)  
 CMH = *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 8 vols. (Cambridge–New York 1911–36); vol. 4, 2nd ed. 1966–67  
 Cod.Just. = *Codex Justinianus*, in *CIC*, vol. 2  
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 Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* = *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, ed. E.C. Colwell, H.R. Willoughby, 2 vols. (Chicago 1936)  
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 Constantinides, *Education* = C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia 1982)  
 Corinth = *American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Corinth; Results of Excavations*, 17 vols. (1932–85)  
 CorsiRav = *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* [title varies]  
 da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" = G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII<sup>e</sup>, IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1955–56) 179–263, 453–511; 25–27 (1957) 783–852  
 CPG = *Clavis patrum graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout 1974–83)  
 CQ = *Classical Quarterly*  
 CRAI = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*  
 Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.* = *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis*, ed. J.A. Cramer, 4 vols. (Oxford 1839–41)  
 Croke-Emmett, *Historians* = *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Croke, A. Emmett (Sydney–Oxford–New York 1983)  
 CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*  
 CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*  
 Cupido Legum = *Cupido Legum*, ed. L. Burgmann, M.T. Fögen, A. Schminck (Frankfurt am Main 1985)  
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 Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* = A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986)

DA = *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte* [alternately *Erforschung*] *des Mittelalters*  
 DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*  
 Dagron, *CP imaginaire* = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984)  
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 DChAE = *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaïologikes Hetaireias*  
 DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 7 vols. (Paris 1935–65)  
 De adm. imp. = *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967); vol. 2, *Commentary* (London 1962)  
 De cer. = *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30)  
 De. cer., ed. Vogt = *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols. (Paris 1935–39)  
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 Devreesse, *Manuscripts* = R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954)  
 DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*  
 DictBibl = *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. in 10 pts. (Paris 1912–28)  
 DictSpir = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*  
 DIEE = *Deltion tes Historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias tes Hellados*  
 Diehl, *L'Afrique* = C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896)  
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 Dieten, *Patriarchen* = J.L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam 1972)  
 Digest = *Digesta*, ed. T. Mommsen (= *CIC*, vol. 1)  
 Dindorf, *HistGr* = *Historici graeci minores*, ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1870–71)  
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 Dittenberger, *Orientis* = *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903–05)  
 Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* = V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich 1976)  
 DMA = *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York 1982–89)  
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 DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*  
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 EEPHSPA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*  
 EEPHSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*  
 EESM = *Epeteris Hetaireias Steriohelladikon Meleton*  
 EETHSA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*  
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 EI = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (Leiden-London 1913–34)  
 EI<sup>2</sup> = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, vols. 1– (Leiden-London 1960–)  
 EkAl = *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*  
 EKEE = *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* (Nikossia)  
 EkkIPhar = *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*  
 EO = *Échos d'Orient*  
 EpChron = *Epeiotika Chronika*  
 EphLit = *Ephemerides Liturgicae*  
 EpMesArch = *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou*  
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- GSU JuF = *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet: Juridičeski fakultet*
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- HThR = *Harvard Theological Review*
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- IstPreg* = *Istoričeski pregled*
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- IzvANSSSR.OL* = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka*
- IzvBulgArchInst* = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Archeologičeski Institut*
- IzvInstBulgIst* = *Izvestija na Instituta za Bŭlgarska istorija* (Sofia); after 1951: *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija*
- IzvIstDr* = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto istoričeskoto družestvo* (Sofia)
- IzvNarMus-Varna* = *Izvestija na narodnija musej—Varna*

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- JbAChr = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JbGOst = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*
- JbKSWien = *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*
- JbKw = *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*
- JbNumGeld = *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*
- JbRGZM = *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* (Mainz)
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- PPTS = Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
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- PSRL = *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisij*
- QFIArch = *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
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- Rabe, *Prolegomenon* = *Prolegomenon sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1831)
- RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1950-)
- RACr = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*
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- RB = *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 6 fascs. (Amsterdam 1968-76)
- RBK = *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
- RBMAS = *Rerum britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores* (Great Britain)
- RBPH = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REA = *Revue des études anciennes*
- REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes*
- REAug = *Revue des études augustinienes*
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*
- Rec.Dujčev (1980) = *Bulgarsko srednovekovie*, ed. V. Giuzelev, I. Božilov, et al. (Sofia 1980)
- RechScRel = *Recherches de science religieuse*
- Reg = F. Dölger, P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 1- (Munich-Berlin 1924-)
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- REGr = *Revue des études grecques*
- REI = *Revue des études islamiques*
- Reinert, *Myth* = S. Reinert, *Greek Myth in Johannes Malalas' Account of Ancient History Before the Trojan War* (Los Angeles 1981)
- RendPontAcc = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*
- RepFontHist = *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, vol. 1- (1962-)
- RepKunstw = *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*
- RES = *Revue des études slaves*
- RESEE = *Revue des études sud-est européennes*
- Restle, *Wall Painting* = M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1968)
- RevBibl = *Revue biblique*
- RevIst = *Revista de istorie*
- RH = *Revue historique*
- Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* = G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852-59; rp. 1966)
- RHC = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*
- RHC Arm. = *Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris 1869-1906)
- RHC Grecs = *Historiens grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris 1875-81)
- RHC Lois = *Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris 1841-43)
- RHC Occid. = *Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1844-95)
- RHC Orient. = *Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. in 6 pts. (Paris 1872-1906)

- RHE = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RhetGr, ed. Spengel = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1894-96)
- RhetGr, ed. Walz = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. C. Walz, 9 vols. in 10 pts. (Stuttgart-Tübingen 1832-36)
- RHGF = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. in 25 pts. (Paris 1738-1904)
- RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
- RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- RHSEE = *Revue historique du sud-est européen*
- RIIT = *Revue d'histoire des textes*
- Riant, *Exuviae* = P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols. (Geneva 1877-1904)
- RIASA = *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte*
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- RicSlav = *Ricerche slavistiche*
- RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, 25 vols. in 28 pts. (Milan 1723-51)
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- RivStChIt = *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*
- RJ = *Rechtshistorisches Journal*
- RM = *Russia Mediaevalis*
- RN = *Revue numismatique*
- ROC = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
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- ROL = *Revue de l'Orient latin*
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- RPhil = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
- RQ = *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte*
- RSBN = *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
- RSBS = *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
- RSR = *Revue des sciences religieuses*
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- SC = *Sources chrétiennes*
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- SCIV = *Studii și Cercetări de istorie veche*
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- SIG = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1915-24)
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- SIEERev = *The Slavonic and East European Review*
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- SpomSAN = *Spomenik Srpske Akademije Nauke: Odeljenje društvenih nauka*
- ST = *Studi e testi*
- Starr, *Jews* = J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Athens 1939)
- StB = *Studi bizantini*
- StBalc = *Studia balcanica*

- Stein, *Histoire* = E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. (Paris 1949-59)
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- StGreg = *Studi gregoriani*
- StGThK = *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*
- Stichel, *Die Namen Noes* = R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau* (Göttingen 1979)
- StItalFCl = *Studi italiani di filologia classica*
- StMed = *Studi Medievali*
- StMilRoms = *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*
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- StP = *Studia Patristica* (Papers of the International Conferences on Patristic Studies)
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- Studien Deichmann = *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst: Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. O. Feld, U. Peschlow, 3 vols. (Bonn 1986)
- StVen = *Studi Veneziani*
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TIB = *Tabula Imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1976-)

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VetChr = *Vetera Christianorum*

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VfSWG = *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*

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- ZapImpRusArch = *Zapiski Klassičeskogo otdelenija Imperatorskogo russkogo archeologičeskogo obščestva*
- ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv = *Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta*
- ZbFilozFak = *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* (Belgrade)
- ZbLikUmet = *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*
- ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
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ZNTW = *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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ZPapEpig = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ZRVI = *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

ZSavKan = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*

ZSavRom = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung*

ZSlavPhil = *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*

ZWTh = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

The Oxford Dictionary of  
B Y Z A N T I U M

# E

CONTINUED

**ESOTHYRION** (ἑσωθύριον), also *enthyrion*, a (fiscal?) term designating lands situated close to the center (KATHEDRA) of a *chorion* and specifically to a (rural) church (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.60.2). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.28–30) makes a distinction between *esothyra* and *exothyra*, lands of a peasant located within and outside the village; as time went on, the *exothyra* were transformed into hamlets (*agridia*). Together with AUTOURGIA, *esothyra* were considered the most valuable part of a STASIS or estate. The *praktika* of the 14th and 15th C. often mention *esothyr(i)a* in peasants' holdings or use specific terms referring to gardens: *esokepion* (*Esphig.*, no.8.42), *esokepion* within the *chorion* (*Chil.*, no.92.28), a chapel with an *esokepion* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.74.32–33), *esokepion* outside the *kathisma*-courtyard (*Dionys.*, no.23.7), *esoperibolion* (*Xerop.*, no.18A.60), *esoperibolion* with nut trees (*Esphig.*, no.14.127), *esokepoperibolion* (*Esphig.*, no.14.86). There were also "inner" CHORAPHIA. The *exo*- (outer) designation seems to have been infrequent in later documents: a *praktikon* of 1284 registers "the inherited arable land of 140 *modioi* with an *exothyron*" located somewhere away from the household (*Lavra* 2, no.73.90).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 136f.

—A.K.

**ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY**, late 10th-C. foundation on Mt. ATHOS. Located on the north-east coast of the peninsula, 3 km east of HILANDAR, the monastery is first mentioned in 998 when Theodore was *hegoumenos*. Its original name was Esphagmenou ("the slaughtered"), perhaps a reference to Christ, the sacrificial lamb. Esphigmenou (Ἐσφιγμένον) prospered in the 11th C., acquiring vast properties on the Athonite peninsula. At this time the monastery housed a certain number of Chalcedonian Armenians, including Theoktistos, who was *hegoumenos* in the 1030s and became *protos* of Athos ca.1035. In ca.1001 Nikophoros, a monk of Esphigmenou, was sent on an important mission to the Charsianon, where he founded a monastery and probably exercised influence on the recently annexed Caucasian lands

(A. Kazhdan, *Vestnik Erevanskogo universiteta: Obščestvennye nauki* [1974] no.3, 236–38).

The establishment reached its zenith in the 14th C., when it was an imperial cenobitic monastery housing 200 monks and owning more than 12,000 *modioi* of land, chiefly in Chalkidike and the Strymon valley. Among the monks who spent some time in residence there were ATHANASIOS (I), the late 13th-C. patriarch of Constantinople, and Gregory PALAMAS, *hegoumenos* in 1335–36, who attempted to introduce HESYCHASM into the monastery. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan issued two chrysobulls in 1346–47 confirming the monastery's titles to various properties, and granting certain tax exemptions (*Esphig.*, nos. 22–23). The history of Esphigmenou becomes obscure after the Ottomans took control of Athos in 1430.

The 31 Byz. documents preserved in the monastery's archives range in date from 1034 to ca.1409, and include early 14th-C. *praktika* that provide information on peasant households in Macedonia. The library holds more than 100 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:170–99), the most valuable of which is an illuminated 11th-C. *menologion* with miniatures on purple parchment (*Treasures* 2, figs. 327–408). The treasury contains a mosaic icon of the 14th C., depicting the blessing Christ (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.35).

SOURCE. *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1973).

LIT. *Treasures* 2:200–55, 361–85. D. Anastasievich, "Esfigmenskie akty carja Dušana," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 57–68.

—A.M.T., A.C.

**ESQUILINE TREASURE**, a hoard of mostly domestic objects made in the 4th C., unearthed on the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1793. The precise contents of the treasure are a matter of dispute as no inventory was made at the time of its discovery. Shelton (*infra*) demonstrated that of the 61 objects eventually associated with the treasure only 31 can definitely be documented as part of the original hoard; 27 pieces now remain, most of which are in the British Museum. Authenticated items include one bronze ewer and 30 silver objects: nine monogrammed dinner plates (one now missing), a bowl, a flask, the elements of a CHERNIBOXESTON set, two caskets, six furniture



ornaments (= four TYCHES of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome; a Pair of Hands), and six horse trappings. Of the documented objects, in addition to the missing silver plate, a lamp, lampstand, and a second plate have also been lost.

The quality and nature of the objects, which included dinner and toilet articles as well as insignia of office (the Tyches and Hands), indicate that the treasure belonged to a family of high standing. The mixture of pagan imagery and Christian inscriptions is characteristic of the Late Antique period in general. A date of 379–83 for the manufacture of the objects and for their role as wedding gifts was originally hypothesized on the basis of inscriptions on the silver. The names of Secundus and Projecta appear on one casket. Monograms on the plates were deciphered as those of Turcius Secundus, supposedly a member of the gens Turcia prominent in 4th- to 5th-C. Rome, and of his wife Projecta Turcii. The latter was in turn considered to be the Projecta, aged 16, whose epitaph was composed by Pope Damasus (366–84). Shelton challenged these identifications and datings, suggesting instead that the treasure was made over a period of years 330–70 for several members of the Turcius household.

LIT. K.J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London 1981). Eadem, "The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence," *AJA* 89 (1985) 147–55. Al. Cameron, "The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure," *ibid.*, 135–45. —M.M.M.

**ESTATE.** In Byz. various terms, often of periphrastic character, were used to denote the estate: *agros* (field), *oikos* (house), *ktemata* (properties), *PROASTEION* (suburb), *zeugelateion* (lit. "driving a yoke of oxen"); a monastic estate provided with a chapel was called a *METEOCHION*. An estate usually included a mansion, *DEMESNE* land, and lands worked by tenants as well as hilly pastures. Within the estate, the Byz. distinguished the *enthryia* or *ESOTHYRA*, located close to its nucleus, from the remote *exothyra* (*Treatise on Taxation*, ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.24–33); they also distinguished *AUTOURGIA* as the most profitable portions of the estate. Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:595.4–18) describes salt-pans, olive groves, vineyards, meadows, watermills, and pottery workshops as *autourgia*; he acknowledges the flexibility of the concept, since an *autourgion* could cease to produce income, while an *exochoron proasteion* could

become profitable. In documents vineyards (L. Petit, *IRAİK* 6 [1900] 29.26–27), watermills (*Lavra* 2, no.105.24), *VIVARIA*, and the enigmatic *aulakia* and *gripobolia* (*Lavra* 2, no.104.177–8) were considered *autourgia*.

An estate usually did not coincide with the *VILLAGE* but occupied a part of it, while the other part of the village either belonged to the *VILLAGE COMMUNITY* or formed another estate: thus, in the village of Gradec in 1300, one landlord held 26 peasant households, a collective of owners had 19, one man had eight, another seven, and three lords possessed one household each. Estates could form a complex outside the village or comprise dispersed tenures in different villages.

Estates of the late 4th–5th C.—complete with *VILLAS*, pasturage, and orchards—are represented in contemporary floor mosaics (Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 122, figs. 111–13), but Byz. equivalents are unknown.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošeniia* 64–72. J. Lefort, "Raidolobos: Population et paysage," *TM* 9 (1985) 195–234. Dölger, *Beiträge* 136f, 151. P. Gounaridis, "L'exploitation direct de la terre par l'État de Nicée (1204–61). Le zeugelateion," *Ho agrotikos kosmos ston Mesogeïako choro* (Athens 1988) 619–26. —A.K., A.C.

**ESTOIRE D'ERACLES**, traditional title of the works of a group of French historians of the Crusades, comprising the translation of *WILLIAM OF TYRE* made in France in 1220–23 and various vernacular continuations of widely varying value and origin. The name derives from the opening words' reference to Emp. Herakleios in connection with the rise of Islam. The discrepancies and elaborations of the French translation with respect to William's original Latin seem to have no independent historical value (Morgan, *infra* [1973] 185–87). Several of the continuations are extremely valuable, particularly that for the years 1184–97, which derives from the lost Holy Land chronicle of Ernoul (presumably Ernoul de Gibelet, associate of Balian II, lord of Ibelin and Ramla, in Palestine [ca.1187–93]) and sheds light on the fall of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187; the reigns of Andronikos I Komnenos, Isaac II Angelos—whose portrait was supposedly painted above the door of every monastery in Constantinople (ed. Morgan, *infra* [1982] 29), Alexios III Angelos, and Conrad of Montferrat (Morgan 26–30); the Third Crusade; and the conquest of Cyprus (Morgan 116–21) from the perspective of

Outremer. The various continuations give substantially the same account of the Fourth Crusade (ed. de Mas Latrie, 348–95) and provide much data on politics in the Levant and the relations of Byz. and Armenia to the Crusader states.

ED. *Estoire*—RHC Occid. 1 (Paris 1844). De Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris 1871). M.R. Morgan, *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* (Paris 1982) 17–199.

LIT. M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford 1973). Idem, "The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre" in *Outremer*, 244–57. —M.McC.

**ESZTERGOM RELIQUARY.** This silver-gilt and enamel reliquary, kept in the cathedral treasury of the Hungarian city of Esztergom, displays a sizable piece of the True Cross, surrounded by images in three registers: above are two mourning angels; at the center Constantine I and Helena point to the relic in its sunken cross-shaped cavity; illustrations of Christ's Road to Calvary and Descent from the Cross are below. Between the arms of the cross appear four enameled disks, with inscriptions reading "Christ gives grace to Christians." Inset enamel strips with quatrefoils define the borders of the panel and the relic. This panel once formed the inner part of a triptych, the wings of which have been lost. The present frame is a Palaiologan addition. The reliquary's bright, opaque coloring, its fragmented borders, the rectilinear setting of the *cloisons* (thin strips of gold) and, in the inscriptions, the *iota* decorated with a nodule are characteristic of mid-to-late 12th-C. enamels; parallels are the feast scenes added to the *PALA D'ORO* in Venice after 1204 and two teardrop shaped panels on a composite icon in the Hermitage (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.540). The date of 1190 assigned to the reliquary in the 17th-C. will of Cardinal Kutassy of Hungary therefore seems to be accurate.

LIT. Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.49. *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, ed. A. Legner, vol. 3 (Cologne 1985) 116. —M.E.F.

**ETCHMIAXIN** (Ejmiacin). See *VALARŠAPAT*.

**ETERIANO, HUGO**, lay theologian and author; born Pisa between ca.1110 and 1120, died Velletri? (Italy) 1182. Eteriano studied theology and philosophy in France and Italy and went to Constantinople ca.1160 with his brother, LEO TUSCUS, who became an imperial interpreter. In Constan-

tinople Eteriano continued his studies and became an adviser to Emp. Manuel I Komnenos on Latin theology and the *UNION OF THE CHURCHES*. His background in Latin *SCHOLASTICISM* was influential in resolving a Christological controversy at the local council of 1166 in Constantinople (see under *CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF*) where he argued with *DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE*. At the emperor's request, Eteriano, with Leo's help, wrote a polemical treatise, *On the Holy and Immortal God* (also known as *On the Heresies of the Greeks*), which sought to demonstrate that both the Greek and Latin church fathers taught the dual procession of the Holy Spirit (the *FILIOQUE*). The book, written in both languages, was sent to Pope ALEXANDER III in 1177. At the request of two German scholastics, Eteriano compiled the *Book on the Difference between Nature and Person* (ca.1179), which consisted of translations of Greek patristic texts on Trinitarian theology and his comments on them. Pope Lucius III made Eteriano a deacon and a cardinal in 1182, the year of his death.

ED. *Heresies*—PL 202:227–396. "The 'Liber de Differentia naturae et personae' by Hugh Etherian and the Letters Addressed to Him by Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honan," ed. N. Haring, *MedSt* 24 (1962) 1–34.

LIT. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 19 (1952) 67–134. —F.K.

**ETERNITY** (αἰών) can only be defined negatively in relation to *TIME*, either as a duration without beginning or end or as existence without change or (temporal) succession. Eternity as an attribute of God was first discussed in the Christian era by *ARIUS* and the early Arians (e.g., *EUNOMIOS*). They argued that the Son was generated "before the ages" but was not "co-eternal" with the Father. In this sense, *GREGORY OF NYSSA* (as the First Council of Nicaea had already done) also opposed the use of the term "unbegotten" as an essential attribute of God the Father, since it excluded the Son of God from the Trinity. The definition of eternity was also linked to the revelation of the name Yahweh, in that the eternal God as "Life itself" transcended even infinity (without beginning, without end). Probably in view of the Gnostic doctrine of the emanation of the aeons, or even the eternity reserved for men and angels, John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 15, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:43f) admitted that eternity may not always mean "aeon" in the strict sense. The Palamite doctrine



of ENERGIES with the presentation of a divine, uncreated light came out of the framework of the Cappadocian doctrine of eternity.

LIT. E.C.E. Owen, "Aion and aionios," *JThSt* 37 (1936) 265–83, 390–404. D. Balás, "Eternity and Time in Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*," in *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, ed. H. Dörrie, M. Altenburger, U. Schramm (Leiden 1976) 128–55. —G.P.

**ETHICS.** Ethical reflection in Byz. often took place in the context of discussion of questions of moral theology, in which Christian revelation was the fundamental reference (e.g., for concepts such as SIN, VIRTUE, VICE, DEVIL). Ethics in the strict sense, a philosophical inquiry independent of religion first established as a distinct science by ARISTOTLE, also survived, esp. in the continued interest taken by Byz. thinkers in ancient philosophy. As in the case of his corpus of LOGIC, Aristotle's ethical works formed a core around which Byz. commentaries, glosses, and paraphrases accumulated. His *Nicomachean Ethics* was read with ancient anonymous scholia and those of Aspasios, to which were added partial commentaries by MICHAEL OF EPHEBUS, EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA, and a slightly later Byz. anonymous, the whole constituting a corpus translated into Latin by Robert GROSSETESTE. A paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics* was copied for John VI Kantakouzenos. On the basis of such materials, summaries of ethics were prepared, for example, by JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Michael PSELLOS, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

Another ethical system that had a considerable impact on monastic circles was STOICISM, as represented in the works of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and the stoicizing *On Virtues and Vices* (*De virtutibus et vitiis*) attributed to Aristotle (and copied for ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) and the *Concerning the Emotions* (*Peri pathon*) attributed to Andronikos of Rhodes as well as in a number of popular moralizing anthologies. An example of an ethical system based on principles Stoic in inspiration is provided by Plethon's treatise *On Virtues*.

Less broad in appeal was the ethical theory of NEOPLATONISM as formulated in particular in the *Sentences* of PORPHYRY. The solutions proposed by the Neoplatonists (esp. PROKLOS and AMMONIOS) to the problem of EVIL—evil is not a substance, but a privation of good, in particular in the form of moral turning away from God—and its reconciliation with FREE WILL and divine providence

were, however, adopted by Psellos and by the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS. Indeed, in its identification of the ethical good (*eudaimonia*) as union with God, to be attained in contemplation by means of purifying by virtue the soul of its corporeal existence, Neoplatonism had already given, through the Cappadocian fathers, a fundamental structure to Byz. moral theology.

Aristotelian ethics could be integrated into this structure, in Psellos's view, in that the lowest type of virtue, "political virtue," concerns the rationally ordered and harmonious life of man as a union of soul and body, a life formulated by Aristotle and including practical wisdom and political action. The higher levels of virtue, purificatory and contemplative, which Porphyry added to political virtue, indicate for Psellos the path that leads man as immortal soul to transcend the world and reach greater union with God. The same place is assigned to Aristotle's ethics in the Christian life by Eustratios of Nicaea. BARLAAM OF CALABRIA proposed in his *Ethics according to the Stoics* (PG 151:1341–64) a similar integration of Stoic and Platonic ethics: Stoic ethics prescribes the ideal life for man as he is; Platonic ethics concerns life beyond this world. (See also BEHAVIOR.)

LIT. H. Mercken, *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1253)* (Leiden 1973). B. Tambrun-Kraskar, *Georges Gémiste Pléthon. Traité des vertus* (Athens-Leiden 1987). —D.O'M.

**ETHIOPIA** (from *Aithiopes*, supposedly the people with "burnt faces"), the geographical-racial (not political) designation of the region in Africa south of Byz. territory, esp. south of Egypt. The eastern part of Ethiopia including South Arabia was sometimes called INDIA and the inhabitants Indians (e.g., Sozom., *HE* 2:24; THEODORET 1:22). Although Ethiopia was a general designation, it was usually qualified to pinpoint the specific area under discussion. Eusebios (*HE* 2:1.13) specifies Meroitic Nubia when he speaks of the Ethiopia that is ruled by a queen. Prokopios, discussing the Himyarite wars, speaks of "the Ethiopians who are called Axumites" (*Wars* 1:19, 17). Byz. historians were aware of tribal groupings and political units within Ethiopia, for example, BLEMMYES, Nobades, Axumites. Individuals identified as ETHIOPIANS were to be found in Egyptian monasteries, the most notable being Moses the Black of Sketis (early 5th C.). No part of Ethiopia was

ever included in the Byz. Empire, but in the 7th C. both Lower NUBIA and esp. AXUM were Byz. allies. The Arab conquest of North Africa cut off Ethiopia from Byz.

LIT. V. Christides, "The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources," *BS* 43 (1982) 8–17. F. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970). P.L. Shinnier, "The Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia, c.660 BC to c.AD 600," in *CHAF* 252–71. —D.W.J.

**ETHIOPIANS** (*Aithiopes*). From classical times the term *Ethiopian* referred to all dark races from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean: specifically, to the Cushite inhabitants of the kingdoms of Meroe and AXUM. This inaccurate terminology, reflecting both Ptolemy's geography and Ethiopia's own position on the way to India, was inherited by the Byz., whose attitude toward "blacks" greatly differed from that of Westerners (C. Prager, *JMRS* 17 [1987] 260, n.5).

St. Moses the Black, a Nubian, is referred to as Ethiopian or Libyan; THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN, possibly from the Maldives Islands, is variously described as Ethiopian, Blemmys, or Libyan (G. Fiaccadori, *Studi classici e orientali* 33 [1983] 295–300; 34 [1984] 273f and n.12). Yet trade with India and events in 6th-C. NAJRÂN soon led to a better knowledge of Axum and ADULIS, both visited by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES ca.518. As allies in control of the eastern routes, the Ethiopians were then favorably regarded by diplomats and merchants alike. Between 644 and 678 the widespread hope of an Ethiopian intervention against the Mesopotamian Muslims in fulfillment of Psalm 67(68):31 still focused on the Axumite power. METHODIOS OF PATARA even claimed Ethiopian origins for the Byz. Empire, ultimately equating it with Ethiopia (M.V. Krivov, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Ethiopian Studies* [Moscow 1988] 6, 111–17). After the Islamic conquest of Egypt, the decrease in relations with Nubia and the decline of Axum prevented further contacts between the Byz. and Sudanese or Abyssinian blacks—although the "Ethiopians" serving in Theophilos's army or those involved in the 904 Arab raid on THESSALONIKE may have been Sudanese mercenaries.

From the 10th C. onward men of color are indeed mentioned frequently in Byz. literature, but the vast majority of references, following the old Mediterranean stereotype of imaginary blacks,

is generic: either connected with scriptural problems (E. Benz, *Abba Salama* 6 [1975] 17–36) or totally devoid of any anthropological reality, as representing the proverbial darkness impossible to "wash off" (after Lucian, *Against the Ignorant Book Collector* 28). Bordering upon and overlapping the same cliché are the Ethiopian DEMONS that typify the spirit of fornication in early monastic hagiography (P. Devos, *AB* 103 [1985] 61–74). Thus Ethiopians became protagonists of disturbing dreams (P.-A. Février, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* n.s. 19 B [1985] 295 and n.8). This kind of demonology took shape in Egyptian milieux subjected to the savage raids of Nubian tribes, and spread then to Syria and Palestine and later to areas lacking direct experience of "evil blacks"; but color awareness never implied racial prejudice, nor did black chromatic symbolism, of superstitious origin, necessarily refer to ethnic types (E. Lepore, *ParPass* 39 [1984] 310–20).

The interpretations of scriptural Ethiopians prevailed over the scanty associations with demons and infernal phantoms, whose frightfulness lay, however, not so much in the color of their skin as in other physical features (J. Winckler, *JHS* 100 [1980] 160–65). Far from the "racial" image of black hypersexuality, the *Iliad*'s "blameless Ethiopians" (bk.1:423) were models of continence and dignity (which again precluded the identification between blacks and slaves); credited with wisdom and astrological learning, they became a symbol of Christianity's ecumenical mission, like the black King of the Epiphany.

The same developments and sensibility are found in the visual arts, esp. MSS of the 11th–12th C. Besides the small and conventional negroid figures used for decoration, Ethiopians with distinctive African traits appear, for instance, the BLEMMYES in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II; and demons are usually depicted as black. According to the Byz. eschatological perspective, blacks are also shown, chiefly in "Pentecost" scenes, among the nations reached by the preaching of the Apostles (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 185).

LIT. L. Cracco Ruggini, "Leggenda e realtà degli Etiopi nella cultura tardoimperiale," *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1 (Rome 1974) 141–93. J. Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 2.1 (Fribourg 1979) 37–148, 212–41. J.-M. Courtès, "Traitement patristique de la thématique 'éthiopienne,'" *ibid.* 9–31, 209–11. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 17f, 38–40, 53–57, 103, 168. —G.F.

**ETHIOPIC LITERATURE**, the literature written in Ge'ez, the southern Semitic language of successive Christian kingdoms of the region that is now ETHIOPIA. Of three main periods, only the first, the Axumite period (4th–6th C.), was directly influenced by Byz. literature in the form of translations from Greek religious texts to fulfil the needs of newly christianized AXUM. By the 6th C., the Old Testament had been translated from the Septuagint and the New Testament from an Antiochene Greek text aided by reference to a Syriac version. The Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Esdra, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Book of Enoch were included in the Ethiopic canon. The *Qerlos*, a compilation of writings of the church fathers, esp. Cyril of Alexandria; the *Synodos*, a collection of conciliar decrees; the Lives of STS. ANTONY THE GREAT and Paul the Hermit; the rule of ST. PACHOMIOS, the *PHYSIOLOGOS*, and various liturgical texts all belong to this period. During the revival of Ge'ez literature (14th–15th C.), vitae of indigenous saints were produced that show indirect Byz. influence via models surviving from the earlier period. After the 14th C., the region, isolated from Byz. since the Arab conquest, developed an indigenous literature subject to some Copto-Arabic influence. (See also KEBRA NEGAST.)

LIT. E. Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Milan 1956). —D.W.J.

**ETHNARCH** (ἔθναρχης, lit. “leader of a people or nation”), a term (possibly of Hellenistic Jewish origin) to designate any ruler of barbarians: thus, Philostorgios (Philostorg. *HE* 34.7) used it for the Jewish ruler of Himyar, Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 268.30) for the chiefs of the Sklavenes, Constantine MANASSES (*Historiae* v.2525) for the Vandal kings, etc. Church fathers designated pagan national gods as *ethnarchai*, and accordingly Basil the Great (PG 29:656B) considered the angel-ethnarch as a guardian appointed to each *ethnos*. By the end of the 10th C. the term *ethnarch* (as well as *satrap*) entered the Byz. state hierarchy: the *Taktikon of Eusebios* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 271.24, 273.29) mentions both the ethnarch and his *topotetes*. In 1051 Constantine IX appointed the *patrikios* Bryennios as ethnarch and sent him against the Pechenegs, and ca.1078 BORIL was *protoproedros* and ethnarch (Bryen. 283.2). Since a seal calls him *proedros* and *megas primikerios* of the *ethnikoi* (V. Šandrovskaja, *PSb* 23 [1971] 29), it is

plausible that the ethnarch of the 11th C. was a high-ranking commander of foreign mercenaries.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 333. —S.B.B., A.K.

**ETHNOLOGY** as a separate discipline did not exist in Byz., but ethnological problems were touched upon by various writers. This was not only because of human curiosity but esp. because of the political situation of an empire that constantly had to deal with a variety of peoples attacking it, trading with it, or settling on its territory. The Byz. considered themselves as the chosen people and viewed FOREIGNERS as BARBARIANS; they nonetheless left valuable descriptions ranging from folkloric fantasies (e.g., in the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME), to pragmatic information (e.g., the *STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE*), to narratives of embassies (e.g., PRISKOS OF PANION). The works of historians (Prokopios, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, Leo the Deacon, Anna Komnene, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, among others) are esp. rich in ethnological descriptions. Pictorial images of various peoples are to be found in scenes of PENTECOST, in the illustrations to Psalters and Octateuchs, in the images of the LAST JUDGMENT, and in such secular MSS as the Madrid Skylitzes (M. Garidis, *Byzantion* 39 [1969–70] 86–91).

The Byz. emphasized the continuity of ethnological groups and applied to contemporary peoples ancient names (such as Scythians) and ancient *topoi* characterizing their behavior, habits, food, and dress (B. Zástěrová, *BBA* 52 [1985] 16–19). Some observers (e.g., Pachymeres) recognized modification in language and clothing because of assimilation; Chalkokondyles noted the process of cultural differentiation over time. Cultural development, unless ascribed to divine influence, was considered as a technological progression from the primitive gathering of food to civilization. In Tzetzes' view this led to moral decline, whereas Eustathios of Thessalonike connected it with the development of law and righteousness.

LIT. K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1980) 184–95, 226–520. K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1912). K. Trüding, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel 1918). —A.K.

**ETHOPOIIA** (ἠθοποιία, lit. “character-drawing,” Lat. *sermocinatio*), a rhetorical figure, one of the PROGYMNASTATA. According to HERMOGENES (ed. Rabe, 9–11), it was “an imitation of the character

of the person described,” such as “what kind of words Andromache would have pronounced while mourning over Hector” (hence the words *τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους* in the title of many Byz. *ethopoïiai*). The person had to be a “real” individual, either historical or mythological, but statements put into his or her mouth were invented. Hermogenes divides *ethopoïiai* into ethical (with the emphasis on character), pathetic (with the emphasis on emotion), and mixed.

In the 4th–6th C. (Libanios, Severos of Alexandria, rhetorical school of Gaza) *ethopoïia* remained a rhetorical exercise, drawing the material primarily from mythology and stressing unusual and unreal situations. Some later Byz. *ethopoïiai* (e.g., by Nikephoros Chrysoberges) retain a conventional character. A number of authors of the 10th–12th C., however, developed the genre far beyond a school exercise: even mythological subjects (e.g., Pasiphaë's infatuation with a bull, by Nikephoros Basilakes) could sound erotic and nonorthodox (H.G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* [Munich 1984] 113). At the same time biblical and hagiographical themes were introduced; historical personages of the day, such as Nikephoros II Phokas, were featured, and elements of everyday life emerged. Eustathios of Thessalonike presented a certain Neophytos of Mokissos complaining that he had been robbed in a bathhouse. This *ethopoïia* is full of irony underscored by references to mythology and to Christian moral imperatives. The *ethopoïia* form was used as an element of other genres, e.g., in Psellos's *Chronography* (O. Schissel, *BZ* 27 [1927] 271–75).

After the 12th C. the popularity of *ethopoïia* declined, the pattern became more conventional, and even Manuel II's *ethopoïia* on the words that Timur allegedly addressed to Bayezid I was deprived of any real content (H. Hunger in *Studien zu älteren Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 [Graz-Cologne 1959] 156f). An exception is Alexios MAKREMBOLITES' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*, which has the title of *ethopoïia*.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:108–16. H.M. Hagen, *Ethopoïia* (Erlangen 1966). Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:407–11. —A.K., I.S.

**ETYMOLOGIKA** (ἐτυμολογικά), *lexika* giving the derivation, real or imagined, of words. Early Greek thinkers saw language as a natural phenomenon; the Stoics saw it as a conventional system based on analogy. Both looked for a correspondence

between the form and meaning of words and propounded explanations based on this principle. In the 5th C. Oros and Orion made collections of such explanations, which survive only in fragments (*Das atticistische Lexikon Oros*, ed. K. Alpers [Berlin 1981]). Ninth-C. Byz. scholars drew on these works, as well as on *LEXIKA*, commentaries, etc., to compile their own *etymologika*. The earliest, the *Etymologicum genuinum*, survives in two 10th-C. MSS, but has not yet been completely edited. A slightly later compilation from similar sources, the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, is probably connected with PHOTIOS and his circle. The compiler of the *SOUDA* used both of these. About the mid-12th C. another compiler drew material from the *Genuinum* and the *Gudianum*, as well as from the *lexikon* of rare words falsely attributed to CYRIL of Alexandria. In the independent spirit of 12th-C. scholarship he freely abbreviated, transposed, and modified what he found in his exemplars. This compilation, known as the *Etymologicum magnum*, was used by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The unpublished *Lexikon Symeonis*, a shorter compilation of the same period, sometimes follows the *Genuinum* more closely. The explanations offered by the *etymologika* are often fanciful, for example, ἀγάπη (love) from “to lead everything” (ἀγειν τὸ πᾶν); γυμνός from κύπτω, “since the naked [man] (γυμνός) stoops (κύπτει) in order to conceal his pudenda in shame”; κάμηλος (camel)—because “she bends her thighs (κάμπτει τοὺς μηρούς)”; λύπη (sorrow) from “to open (λύειν) the countenance (τοὺς ὤπας) for tears.” Nonetheless, these compilations are valuable for the light they throw on the Byz. understanding of their own literary language, as well as for their quotations from lost Greek texts.

ED. *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford 1848; rp. Amsterdam 1965). For complete list of ed., see Hunger, *Lit.* 2:45–48. *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum*, ed. F.W. Schulz (Leipzig 1818, rp. Hildesheim 1973).

LIT. R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig 1897). K. Alpers, *Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des Etymologicum Genuinum* (Copenhagen 1969). N. Wilson, “On the Transmission of the Greek Lexica,” *GRBS* 23 (1982) 369–75. —R.B.

**ETYMOLOGY**, a division of grammar in antiquity, which in the 4th C. acquired special significance as a tool for discovery of concealed links between essence and phenomenon. Broadly applied by IAMBlichos, it became fashionable with literati of the 5th C. when various ETYMOLOGIKA



were compiled. Far from giving scientific explanations, Byz. etymology eagerly suggested multifarious interpretations (Krumbacher, *GBL* 573–75), probing various paths to penetrate behind the sound of the word: thus, *anthropos* was considered to originate from *ano* (“up”) and from various verbs meaning “to look” or “to be inclined.” During the 10th-C. encyclopedic revival, the search for the etymology of geographical names became popular, and the chroniclers (pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS, GENESIOS, etc.) included etymological explanations, partly borrowed from Strabo, partly invented, but as a rule fantastic (A. Diller, *TAPA* 81 [1950] 245–53); Constantine VII’s team of writers in the *DE THEMATIBUS* also developed pseudohistorical and mythological etymologies, although the explanations of some names (BOUKELLARION, OPSIKION) are factual (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:532). Etymology appears also as a vehicle of polemic and praise: the names of saints were interpreted as emphasizing their virtue, the names of opponents their folly or vice: thus, Nikephoros GREGORAS called the followers of PALAMAS *palamnaioi* (“murderers”) (H. Hunger, *Aspekte der griechischen Rhetorik* [Vienna 1972] 13f). EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE effectively used etymologies in his antimonic polemic, linking *asketes* with *askos* (“wineskin”) and *laura* with *spodesilaura* (“whore”) (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 152).

**EUAGEIS OIKOI** (εὐαγεῖς οἶκοι), a category of pious institutions, also called *theioi* or divine. Probably in the 6th C., the previous philanthropic organizations (see *PHILANTHROPY*) created by Christians to assist the poor, the aged, and the infirm became more institutionalized. At the same time they became powerful landowners, and Justinian I in novel 120 of 544 regulated their rights to acquire or lease properties; in the category of pious institutions the legislator included hostels (XENODOCHEIA), HOSPITALS, poorhouses (PTOCHOTROPHEIA), ORPHANAGES, and sometimes churches and monasteries as well. Byz. law distinguished between *euageis oikoi* and imperial estates; the administration of some pious institutions, however, was incorporated into the state system. In the *TAKTIKA* of the 9th and 10th C. *chartoularioi* and *xenodochoi* of *euageis oikoi* are mentioned, and in acts of the 11th C. the *oikonomos* of *euageis oikoi* appears. In the 12th C. the latter official was

replaced by the [*megas*] *logariastes* of *euage sekreta* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, nos. 18.438, 19.26; *Lavra* 1, no.68.1). The term seems to have disappeared after 1204. Specific *oikoi* such as Eleutheriou and MANGANA were closely linked to the economy of the imperial court.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 40–42. M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Eglise dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1976) 17–21. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 149–51. Oikonomides, “Evolution” 138–40. —A.K., A.J.C.

**EUBOEIA** (Εὐβοία, in Western sources Negroponte), large island in the Aegean Sea (second in size only to Crete) off the east coast of Greece. It consists of three parts: the well-irrigated and forested north, a mountainous central section with fertile coastal valleys, and an unproductive south; the central section is separated from BOEOTIA only by the narrow strait of Euripos. Hierokles (Hierokl. 644.10, 645.6–8) lists four *poleis* in Euboea: Adepsos/Aidepsos in the north, CHALKIS and Porthmos (mod. Aliveri) in the middle, and Karystos in the south. Some settlements (Avlon, Oreos) are attested as bishoprics from the 8th or 9th C. onward, but nothing is known of their urban character. Archaeological excavations have revealed mosaics, remains of basilicas, and fragments of sculpture through the 7th C., even from remote areas of the island. The establishment of monasteries in the 11th and 12th C. (e.g., Panagia Peribleptos near Politika) are an indication of Byz. recovery.

Owing to its isolated location, Euboea seems to have suffered little from hostile invasions. Vandal fleets reached the island in 466 and 475, but there is no evidence of Avar and Slavic attacks. Arabs from Tarsos attempted to capture Chalkis in the 870s, but details of this expedition are hard to establish (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1 [1968] 56, n.1); the city was burned by the Venetians in 1171. As an administrative unit Euboea existed at least through the 8th C., as shown by a seal of Kosmas, the *diouketes* of Euboea (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2078). Thereafter the island was part of the theme of HELLAS and was designated Chalkis or Euripos; from the 13th C. it took the name NEGROPONTE, although Byz. historians continued to call it Euboea until the 15th C. (e.g., Kritob. 165.19, Douk. 75.19). From 1332 the Turks began to attack isolated areas on Euboea and in July of 1470 the island fell to them. Until the 15th C. the church

of Euboea was under the administration of Athens. Under Latin domination the church of Euboea was an important outpost of papal power.

Most of the surviving churches on Euboea date from the 13th and 14th C., and are found in the Karystos section of the island. They are small, single-aisled, barrel-vaulted churches, founded, according to their fresco inscriptions, primarily by local couples. Although their fresco programs are fundamentally Byz. in character, some Western iconographic influences are evident, perhaps deriving from Romanesque MSS. Western traits also appear in haloes, painted architecture, and the special outlining of figures (A. Koumoussi, *Les peintures murales de la Transfiguration de Pyrgi et de Sainte-Thècle en Eubée* [Athens 1987]).

LIT. J. Koder, *LMA* 4:66–68. Th. Skouras, “Ochyroseis sten Euboia,” *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 20 (1975) 327–400. H. Liapes, *Mesaionika Mnemeia Eubotas* (Athens 1971). A. Ioannou, *Byzantines toichographies tes Eubotas* (Athens 1959). —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**EUCHAITA** (Εὐχάιτα, now Avkat), city of PONTOS, west of AMASEIA. In the 5th C., Euchaita served as a place of exile for many prominent clergymen, including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. It was made a city by Anastasios I, who fortified the *polisma* after an attack by Huns in 515. It was burned by the Sasanians in 615, attacked by the Arab caliph Mu‘awiya in 640, and occupied by Arabs during the winter of 663/4. On this last occasion, while the Arabs plundered the city and demolished the Church of St. Theodore, the population fled to forts in the nearby hills. Nevertheless, the city recovered and the church was rebuilt. Euchaita was a city of the ARMENIAKON theme; the Arabs ambushed the *strategos* and captured the treasury of the theme in 810 (Theoph. 489.17–20). The works of the metropolitan John MAUROPOUS show that the festival of St. Theodore was the scene of a crowded fair in the mid-11th C. Its later history is unknown. Originally a suffragan bishopric of Amaseia, Euchaita became an autocephalous archbishopric by the 7th C.; its increasing importance derived from the cult of St. THEODORE TERON transferred here from Amaseia. Euchaita became a metropolis under Leo VI. No remains have survived. The relation between Euchaita and the neighboring Euchaneia (named Theodoropolis by John I Tzimiskes in 972) is not clear.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, “Three Inscriptions of the Reign of Anastasios I and Constantine V,” *BZ* 65 (1972) 379–82. N. Oikonomides, “Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia,” *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. F. Trombley, “The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita,” in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of M. Anastos* (Malibu 1985) 65–90, rev. A. Kazhdan, *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 197–200. C. Zuckerman, “The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (BHG 1764),” *REB* 46 (1988) 191–210.

—C.F.

**EUCHARIST** (εὐχαριστία, “thanksgiving”), principal Christian liturgical service, called the LITURGY or the Divine Liturgy in Byz. usage. Based on Jesus’ command (Lk 22:19) to repeat in memory of him what he did at the Last Supper, the Eucharist is first seen (in 1 Cor 10–11) as a ritual meal in which bread and wine are offered and blessed as Jesus’ body and blood in memory of his saving work, esp. his sacrificial death (1 Cor 10:26). Originally celebrated in the context of an agape meal, perhaps daily, by the 2nd C. the Eucharist had been separated from the agape, joined to a service of scripture LECTIONS, and associated with SUNDAY as the ritual symbol of the risen Jesus’ enduring presence among his followers. In the 3rd C. appear the first written formulas of the ANAPHORA or central prayer expressing the service’s significance. Eucharist is considered a sacrifice (*thysia*) because it is the SACRAMENT of Jesus’ sacrifice on the Cross as well as an icon of the “heavenly liturgy” or permanent self-offering that Jesus offers before the throne of the Father (Heb 8–10, 12:22–4), a favorite theme of Byz. COMMENTARIES.

Within Byz., Eucharist was a source of theological disputes, esp. with the Iconoclasts, who held that the consecrated bread and wine were the only true *typos* or *eikon* of Jesus (S. Gero, *BZ* 68 [1975] 4–22). Against this the Second Council of NICAIA defined that the consecrated bread and wine are no image, but Jesus himself (Mansi 13:264). The Byz. also quarrelled with others over eucharistic practice (see *LATIN RITE*, *ZEON*, *EPICLESIS*). Byz. eucharistic theology achieved its classic synthesis in the commentary of Nicholas KABASILAS, who not only maintained a balanced position fair to Latin views, but also found a *via media* between the two opposing tendencies of Byz. eucharistic theology, represented in the 12th C. by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, who seemed to reduce the Eucharist memorial to a subjective

remembrance, and the ultrarealism of Michael GLYKAS, who held that in the Eucharist Jesus was really immolated (M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, vol. 3 [1930] 317–25; R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins* [Paris 1966] 229–33).

Eucharist was originally celebrated at Byz. only on Sundays, Saturdays, and FEASTS. By the 8th–9th C. Byz. LECTIONARIES provide lections for weekday Eucharist (P.M. Gy in *Miscellanea G. Lercaro*, vol. 2 [Rome 1967] 255–59), though this was probably only in monasteries since the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH does not have such lections. Only ca. 1053 or 1054 did Constantine IX Monomachos assign revenues to have Eucharist celebrated daily in Hagia Sophia (Skyl. 477.64–69). Daily Eucharist never became the rule in Byz., though the STROUDITE TYPIKA provide for it except on the ferias of Lent and Holy Week (PG 99:1713B). It was celebrated less frequently in monasteries after the introduction of the SABAITIC TYPIKA, though there was provision for COMMUNION via the PRESANCTIFIED liturgy on days without Eucharist (Taft, *East & West* 61–80). (For representations of Christ's celebration of the Eucharist, see LORD'S SUPPER.)

LIT. G. Kretschmar, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 1 (Berlin–New York 1977) 59–89, 229–78. J. Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg 1955–1961). J.-M.R. Tillyard, *The Eucharist, Pasch of God's People* (New York 1967). K. Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering* (New York 1987). —R.F.T.

**EUCHELAION.** See UNCTION.

**EUCHOLOGION** (εὐχολόγιον), prayer book used by the principal liturgical ministers (bishop, priest, deacon) for all services of the BYZANTINE RITE. A vast anthology whose contents vary widely from MS to MS, the early *euchologion* contained the PRAYERS and DIAKONIKA for the cathedral services of the capital and was the principal LITURGICAL BOOK originating in Constantinople. The earliest of the numerous surviving MSS of the *euchologion* is Vat. Barb. gr. 336, dating from the second half of the 8th C. (A. Strittmatter, *EphLit* 47 [1933] 329–67).

Used even in monasteries for the Eucharist, the *euchologion* became more and more monastic in character as the Palestinian HOURS introduced by

the Stoudite monasteries of Constantinople gradually merged with elements of the cathedral hours (ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) to form a new, hybrid, monastic office in Constantinople (see STROUDITE TYPIKA). Arranz ("Asmatikos Hesperinos" 109–16) classifies various MSS of the *euchologion* on precisely this basis: their relative purity in transmitting the *asmatike akolouthia* of Constantinople or their degree of monastic content. A. Jacob, on the basis of their text of the Chrysostom liturgy, divides *euchologion* MSS into two recensions, the ancient and the new, subdividing the former into two families, Constantinopolitan and south Italian. Printed versions distinguish between the *Mega euchologion* (and extracts thereof, such as the *hieratikon* or *leitourgikon*), which contains the Eucharist service, VESPERS, and ORTHROS, and the *Mikron euchologion* (or *hagiasmaterion*), which contains the other sacraments, blessings, funerals, and occasional services.

ED. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*<sup>2</sup> (Venice 1730; rp. Graz 1960).

LIT. A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe–XIIe siècles)," *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, vol. 2 (Paris 1970) 109–38. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxi–xxxiv. —R.F.T.

**EUCLID**, ancient Greek mathematician; fl. ca. 300 B.C. in Alexandria and perhaps Athens. Euclid's best known and most influential work, *The Elements*, was the basic textbook on geometry for the Byz., who normally studied it in the revision prepared by THEON OF ALEXANDRIA. The most famous copy of this revision is Oxford, d'Orville 301, dated 888, which belonged to ARETHAS OF CAESAREA. The original version is preserved only in the 9th-C. Vat. gr. 190. Commentators on *The Elements* include PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, PROKLOS, and SIMPLIKIOS. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN gained such renown for his understanding of Euclidean theorems that the caliph al-Ma'mūn tried to lure him to Baghdad (Lemerle, *Humanism* 173–78). Among later scholars who wrote on Euclid were MAXIMOS PLANOUEDES, GEORGE PACHYMERES, NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, ISAAC ARGYROS, and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. *The Elements* was translated into Latin (by BOETHIUS) and into Arabic.

Two other works of Euclid, the *Data* and the *Optics*, survive both in an original version and in a revision by Theon. Both works were translated

into Arabic by Ishāq ibn Hunayn, and there is an anonymous Latin translation of the *Optics*, perhaps made in the 12th C. Pachymeres used the original version of the *Optics* in book 3 of his *Quadrivium*.

The *Mirrors*, which is attributed falsely to Euclid, is perhaps by Theon. Two musical works, the *Introduction to Harmony* and the *Division of the Scale*, are sometimes ascribed to Euclid in Greek MSS; the first is most probably the work of Cleonides, though the second may be in part Euclid's.

ED. Scholia—*Elementa*, ed. E.S. Stamatis, vol. 5.1–2 (Leipzig 1977).

LIT. I. Bulmer-Thomas, J. Murdoch, *DSB* 4:414–59. —D.P.

**EUDOKIA** (Εὐδοκία), feminine personal name. The word is frequent in the New Testament, meaning "good will, favor." Unknown in the 4th C., the name was evidently coined for ATHENAI and soon thereafter given also to the elder daughter of Valentinian III. It was not widely used in the early period, even though Theophanes lists four Eudokiai. However, in the late Byz. acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3, Eudokia holds sixth place among female names, between Theodora and Zoe.

—A.K.

**EUDOKIA INGERINA** (Ἰγγερίνα), mistress of Michael III, wife of BASIL I, mother of Leo VI and Alexander; born ca. 840, died Constantinople 882/3. She was the daughter of Inger, who was perhaps of Scandinavian origin (Mango). Around 855 Michael took Eudokia as his mistress, angering his mother THEODORA and THEOKTISTOS, both of whom hated her "for her impudence" (*TheophCont* 655.3–4). Despite his marriage to Eudokia Dekapolitissa, Michael apparently continued his involvement with Eudokia Ingerina, although nothing was heard about her for a decade. Kislinger speculates that ca. 856 Michael married her to a son of Caesar BARDAS to legitimize her social status and that Bardas took up with her after his son's death.

In 865/6 she married Basil; the notion that she is named and depicted on an ivory casket that is said to have been a wedding present for the couple has been shown to be false (A. Cutler, N. Oikonomides, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 77–87). In Sept. 866 Eudokia gave birth to Leo. Some scholars

consider this a nominal marriage, arranged by Michael to give legitimacy to Leo, who was his child, but most assert that Leo was actually Basil's son (Ch. Toul, *Parnassos* 21 [1979] 15–35). If Eudokia continued as Michael's mistress, then her son Stephen, born in Nov. 867, would have been Michael's child as well. With Basil she had Alexander and three daughters; she is portrayed with her two sons in the PARIS GREGORY. Eudokia became involved ca. 878 with a Niketas Xylinites, whom Basil forced to be tonsured. In 882 she arranged a BRIDE SHOW for her son Leo, at which he chose Theophano, one of Eudokia's relatives. In his funeral oration for Basil, Leo called Eudokia "the finest of women" (A. Vogt, I. Haus-herr, *OC* 26.1 [1932] 52.18).

LIT. C. Mango, "Eudokia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty," *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973) 17–27. E. Kislinger, "Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I., und Michael III.," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 119–36. —P.A.H., A.C.

**EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA**, empress (22/23 May–31 Dec. 1067); died after 1078. Niece of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, Eudokia married Constantine Doukas by 1049. Before he became CONSTANTINE X, she bore him Michael, two other sons, and two daughters; thereafter she had Konstantios and a daughter. She became augusta (EM-PRESS) during her husband's reign; as he was dying, she swore, in the presence of Patr. JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS, synod, and senate, never to remarry. Following Constantine's death, she ruled for her sons, the emperors MICHAEL VII and Konstantios, who appear with her on her coins. Supported by the caesar JOHN DOUKAS, she made her own official decisions. The Turks continued to attack the eastern frontier; Caesarea and the region of Antioch were plundered. The Byz. troops, badly paid and provisioned, were demoralized. Realizing the need for a male ruler, Eudokia obtained from the patriarch the annulment of her oath and selected as her new husband ROMANOS (IV) DIOGENES. She bore him Nikephoros and Leo. When, after the battle of Mantzikert, Romanos was released by ALP ARSLAN and sought to regain his throne (early Oct. 1071), Eudokia hesitated. The caesar John summarily forced her into her own convent of Piperoudion; NIKEPHOROS III recalled her to Constantinople. A copy of the SACRA PARALLELA prepared for Eudokia depicts her with Constantine Doukas and their sons

(Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig. 126). I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25) suggested that Eudokia appears with Romanos IV on a controversial ivory in Paris, against the traditional view that the depiction is of Romanos II and his empress.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt. III (1963), 101–28. —C.M.B., A.C.

**EUDOKIMOS** (Εὐδόκιμος), saint; born Cappadocia 807, died Charsianon? 840. His father Basil was reportedly influential at court, and Eudokimos began his career in Constantinople. Theophilos supposedly appointed him *stratopedarches* of Cappadocia (although Eudokimos's low title of *KANDIDATOS* is incompatible with the high office he allegedly received). He fought victoriously and when he died was buried in the ornate uniform of a general.

His Life is preserved in two versions, one by SYMEON METAPHRASTES; Ch. Loparev (*infra* [1908]) considered the other to be the original, if not composed by IGNATIUS THE DEACON then at least created in his circle. Actually, however, it was written by Constantine AKROPOLITES (H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 [1933] 270f), who suppressed some details of the Metaphrastic version, itself not rich in information. The first part of the Life is a biography of the saint: although he was a soldier and not a hermit, he displays the whole range of traditional virtues, such as celibacy and concern for the poor. The second section describes miracles performed both at Eudokimos's tomb and during the translation of his relics to Constantinople; the most vivid is the story of the theft of the corpse from Charsianon, at the request of Eudokimos's mother, by the monk Joseph (arbitrarily identified by Loparev with JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER): the corpse supposedly lifted his arms and legs in order to help Joseph remove his garment. The hagiographer does not mention Iconoclasm; Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 127) calls Eudokimos "a good candidate for an Iconoclast saint."

**Representation in Art.** Eudokimos, whose portraits first appear in 11th-C. MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, is almost invariably depicted as a young saint in full military costume. In wall painting, despite his natural death, he is

paired with true martyr-warriors such as GEORGE and DEMETRIOS.

SOURCES. Ch. Loparev, "Žitie sv. Eudokima pravednogo," *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti* 96 (1893) 1–23. Idem, *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 199–219.

LIT. BHG 606–607c. Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitja svjatykh VIII–IX vekov," *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 114–19. Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 783–88. —A.K., N.P.S.

**EUDOXIA** (Εὐδοξία), wife of ARKADIOS and empress (from 9 Jan. 400); died Constantinople 6 Oct. 404. Daughter of a Roman mother and Bauto, a Frankish general of Valentinian II, Eudoxia possessed outstanding beauty (Zosim. 5.3.2). She grew up in Constantinople and married Arkadios on 27 Apr. 395. She bore the emperor five children, including PULCHERIA and THEODOSIOS II. Although pregnant during much of her short reign, Eudoxia was involved in politics and managed to secure the fall of the powerful eunuch EUTROPIOS. Her outspokenness and alleged vanity earned the opposition of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who reportedly compared her to Jezebel and Salome; the conflict between the two threatened the normal harmony between the people of Constantinople and the Theodosian house. Upon Eudoxia's urging, Chrysostom was exiled in 403, but popular response forced the court to recall the bishop. He was again exiled in 404. Later in the year Eudoxia suffered a fatal miscarriage, interpreted as punishment for her opposition to the popular bishop.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 48–78. F. van Ommeslaeghe, "Jean Chrysostome en conflit avec l'impératrice Eudoxie," *AB* 97 (1979) 131–59. —T.E.G.

**EUERGETIS MONASTERY**, a foundation of the mid-11th C., located in the European suburbs of Constantinople, approximately 3 km outside the land walls. It was dedicated to the Theotokos Euergetis (Εὐεργέτις). The original founder, Paul, retired to his country estate in 1049 and built a few simple cells for the handful of monks who joined him in his monastic retreat. After Paul's death in 1054, his successor as *hegoumenos*, Timothy, put Euergetis on a solid financial base and constructed a new church and larger *kellia*. Timothy, who lived as an *enkleistos*, was revered as the second founder. Circa 1055 he composed two

ΤΥΠΙΚΑ, a foundation *typikon* containing a rule for daily life and a very lengthy liturgical *typikon*, an important example of STOUĐITE ΤΥΠΙΚΑ.

The foundation *typikon*, which served as a model for the *typika* of the Kosmosoteira (see BERA), MAMAS, HELIOU BOMON, KECHARITOMENE, and HILANDAR monasteries, is our primary source of information about the Euergetis monastery. The monastic complex included a hospice to provide lodging and medical care for travelers and the sick; distributions of food were made daily to the poor. Euergetis also had a *metochion* within the walls of Constantinople. During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) the monastery was given as a dependency to MONTECASSINO, but apparently the Greek monks were not expelled. ST. SAVA OF SERBIA visited the monastery several times between 1196 and 1235 and was a major benefactor of the institution. Euergetis disappears from the sources after the 13th C. It should be distinguished from the Constantinople monastery of Christ Euergetes, which possessed an icon bearing this epithet and was a foundation of the 10th or 11th C. (A. Cutler, *DOP* 37 [1983] 42).

SOURCES. Liturgical *typikon*—ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:256–614. Foundation *typikon*—ed. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Theotokos Evergetis," *REB* 40 (1982) 5–101.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: Le couvent de l'Evergetis," *EO* 9 (1906) 366–73; 10 (1907) 155–67, 259–63 (title varies). Janin, *Eglises CP* 178–83. —A.M.T., A.C.

**EUGENEIANOS, NIKETAS**, 12th-C. writer. A disciple or friend of PRODRAMOS, Eugeneianos (Εὐγενειανός) led a hard life (according to his own very rhetorical statements), until he was rescued by the *sebastos* and *meas droungarios* Stephen Komnenos, whose teacher Eugeneianos claimed to have been. In 1156/7 he wrote a monody on Stephen; he probably also dedicated an *epithalamion* to Stephen's wedding in the early 1150s. Eugeneianos dedicated to Prodramos another monody in prose, as well as two in verse (C. Gallavotti, *SBN* 4 [1935] 222–31). A. Sideras (*JÖB* 37 [1987] 181–200) suggests that Eugeneianos was the author of an anonymous monody that is preserved in Heidelbergensis 18 and has significant similarities with a monody of Prodramos (whom Eugeneianos could imitate). An example of such imitation is also Eugeneianos's romance

*Drosilla and Charikles*; the work contains various allusions to Byz. reality, and the portrait of Drosilla, the heroine, coincides verbatim with that of the ideal bride of his *epithalamion*. In the romance Eugeneianos combines a lofty lyricism with earthy scenes and parody. Some of his epigrams are also preserved (S. Lampros, *NE* 11 [1914] 353–58). D. Christides identified Eugeneianos as the author of an anonymous dialogue ANACHARSIS OR ANANIAS and several letters.

ED. R. Hercher, *Erotici scriptores Graeci* (Leipzig 1859) 2:437–552; corr. Q. Cataudella, *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 29–32. Russ. tr. F. Petrovskij, *Nikita Eugenian, Povest' o Drosille i Charikle* (Moscow 1969). L. Petit, "Monodie de Nicetas Eugéneianos sur Théodore Prodrome," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 446–63.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:133–36. A. Kazhdan, "Bemerkungen zu Niketas Eugenianos," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 101–17. M. Kyriakis, "Of Professors and Disciples in Twelfth (sic) Century Byzantium," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 108–19. F. Conca, "Il romanzo di Niceta Eugeniano: modelli narrativi e stilistici," *SicGymn* 39 (1986) 115–26. —A.K.

**EUGENIKOS, JOHN**, churchman and writer; born Constantinople after 1394, died after 1454/5. The younger brother of Mark EUGENIKOS, John Eugeneikos (Εὐγενικός) was a married deacon who held the positions of notary and *nomophylax* at the patriarchate. Like his brother a fierce opponent of Union, he stayed only briefly at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. On his way home from Venice in 1438, he survived a shipwreck and, in response to this narrow escape, wrote a work titled *Oration of Thanksgiving* (ed. Lampros, *infra*, 271–314). Because of his opposition to the council, he was exiled to the Morea, where he joined the group of literati at Mistra (1439–47). He also traveled to Trebizond, his father's birthplace, and to Mesembria (1454/5). He ended his life administering the metropolis of Lacedaemonia (Sparta).

Eugenikos was a prolific author who wrote in a variety of genres; many of his works are still unpublished. His polemical writings include an *Antirrhethikos* attacking the Decree of Union of 1439. He composed several *paramythetikoi* and monodies, *ekphraseis* of icons, a *threnos* on the fall of Constantinople (which was soon thereafter translated into Slavic), *kanones* and hymns, prayers, and sermons. Recently, A. Sideras ascribed to Eugeneikos an anonymous monody (*Byzantion* 54 [1984] 300–14). His encomiastic *ekphrasis* of Trebizond (ed. O. Lampisides, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 25–36) differs



radically from the *ekphrasis* of BESSARION: while the latter concentrated on the trade of this "emporion of the world" and on the architecture of the palace, Eugenikos praised the rustic beauty of meadows and forests around the city and their gorgeous vegetation. Among his hagiographical writings is a eulogy of James the Persian (ed. C. Hannick, *AB* 90 [1972] 261–87), of whom Eugenikos possessed a relic, and an *akolouthia* for his brother Mark (ed. L. Petit, *SBN* 2 [1927] 195–235). Of his letters 36 survive, many of them attacking Latin doctrine. In his introduction to the *Aithiopika* of HELIODOROS (H. Gärtner, *BZ* 64 [1971] 322–25), Eugenikos suggested a "mystical" interpretation of this erotic romance (S. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 244).

ED. Letters—ed. S. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 1:47–218, 271–322. For complete list, see D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 501–06.

LIT. C. Tsirpanlis, "John Eugenikos and the Council of Florence," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 264–74. *PLP*, no.6189.

—A.M.T., A.K.

**EUGENIKOS, MANUEL**, wall-painter, decorated the monastery church of Calendzicha (Georgia) at the behest of Dadian Vameq I, prince of Mingrelia (1384–96). His large body of surviving work has been related to frescoes in the church of Theodore Stratelates at NOVGOROD and to an icon at Mt. Sinai. Although his name is Trapezuntine, Greek and Georgian inscriptions at Calendzicha report that Eugenikos was brought from Constantinople.

LIT. T. Velmans, "Le décor du sanctuaire de l'église de Calendzicha," *CahArch* 36 (1988) 137–159. I. Lordkipanidze, "La peinture murale de Tsalendjikha," *He Symposium International sur l'art géorgien* (Tbilisi 1977) 1–16. H. Belting, "Le peintre Manuel Eugenikos de Constantinople, en Géorgie," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 103–14. *PLP*, no.6192. —A.C.

**EUGENIKOS, MARK**, metropolitan of Ephesus (1437–45), anti-Latin theologian, and saint; born Constantinople 1394?, died Constantinople 23 June 1445 (J. Gill, *BZ* 52 [1959] 31); feastday 19 Jan. Son of the deacon George Eugenikos, who was *sakellios* of Hagia Sophia, Eugenikos received the baptismal name of Manuel. After his father's death, Eugenikos studied in Constantinople with John CHORTASMENOS and George PLETHON. In 1420 he became a monk on Antigone (Princes' Islands); two years later he returned to the capital,

where he entered the MANGANA monastery and was eventually ordained a priest. Shortly before the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, Eugenikos was made metropolitan of Ephesus. He attended the council as one of the leading Byz. theologians and presented the extreme Greek position concerning the FILIOQUE (M.A. Orphanos in *Philoxenia* [Münster 1980] 223–32) and PURGATORY (C. Tsirpanlis, *BS* 37 [1976] 194–200). He was the only Greek delegate who refused to sign the decree of Union (1439). After his return to Ephesus via Constantinople, he was imprisoned for two years on Lemnos (1440–42). Eugenikos has been both criticized as a "narrow-minded obstacle to Union" (Gill) and praised as an uncompromising and consistent supporter of the conciliar Christian tradition (Tsirpanlis). He was canonized by the Orthodox church in 1456; his brother John EUGENIKOS wrote his vita (ed. S. Pétridès, *ROC* 15 [1910] 97–107). An *akolouthia* also survives (ed. L. Petit, *SBN* 2 [1927] 193–235).

In his numerous theological works Eugenikos defends PALAMISM (e.g., 72 *Kephalaia*) and the anti-Latin position on *filioque* and purgatory. A few of his letters are preserved as well as hagiographical compositions and hymns (*kanones* in honor of the Virgin). He also wrote *ekphraseis* on paintings that indicate his appreciation of art (D. Pallas, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 357–74) and solutions to philosophical questions (*aporiai*) such as the existence of a soul in animals, evil, and free will. Many of his works remain unpublished.

ED. PG 159:1024–93; 160:13–105, 112–204, 1080–1104, 1164–1200; 161:12–244. *Kephalaia*—ed. in W. Gass, *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo* (Leipzig 1899) pt.2, 217–32. Anti-Latin works—ed. L. Petit, *PO* 15 (1927) 25–168; 17.2 (1923) 336–522. For full list of works, see Tsirpanlis, *infra* 109–18 and *Tusculum-Lexikon* 237.

LIT. J. Gill, "Mark Eugenikos, Metropolitan of Ephesus," in *Personalities* 55–64. C. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenikos and the Council of Florence* (Thessalonike 1974). *PLP*, no.6193.

—A.M.T.

**EUGENIOS** (Εὐγένιος), martyr and saint, allegedly a victim of Diocletian's persecutions; feastday 20 or 21 Jan. In Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 116:467–506) he appears as an associate of the martyr Eustratios (see FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTIA), but in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* Eugenios is depicted as the principal hero of another group of martyrs, consisting of Valerianus, Candidius, and Aquilas (*Synax.CP* 406–07). In both

cases, the persecutor is Lysias, *doux* of "Satalea" (Satalea is the name of several towns in Asia Minor and Armenia). Whatever the origin of the legend, by the 11th C. Eugenios became the patron of TREBIZOND; one of the major churches in Trebizond was dedicated to him, and under the Grand Komnenoi his image was common on the local coins, the so-called *aspra komnenata* (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 27). His martyrdom is illustrated in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, the future patriarch and a native of Trebizond, compiled the *passio* of Eugenios and wrote about his miracles (M. van Esbroeck, *OrChrP* 47 [1981] 392). The latter provide information on climate, everyday life, and on an appearance of the Rus' in Trebizond in the days of "Constantine the Younger." The martyrdom of Eugenios and his posthumous miracles were also the subject of several later works, some anonymous and some by known authors (Joseph, metropolitan of Trebizond [1364–67], John Lazaropoulos, Constantine Loukites) who were active at the court of the Grand Komnenoi in the 14th C. The *Miracles* by John Lazaropoulos is rich in factual historical material, beginning with Basil I and including both Trebizond and the neighboring lands (Iberia, Chaldia, and even Cherson).

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii Trapezundskoj imperii* (St. Petersburg 1897). O. Lampsides, "Hagios Eugenios ho Trapezountios," *ArchPont* 18 (1953) 129–201.

LIT. BHG 608y-613. O. Lampsides, *Hagios Eugenios ho polouchos tes Trapezountos* (Athens 1984). F.I. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj imperii* (Leningrad 1929) 13, 23f. Janin, *Églises centres* 266–70. —A.K., N.P.S.

**EUGENIOS OF PALERMO**, high-ranking official at the Sicilian court; admiral (from 1190), translator, and poet; born Palermo ca.1130, died ca.1203. HENRY VI imprisoned him in 1195–96; after his release he was appointed master chamberlain of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro (1198–1202). Jamison's identification of Eugenios with Hugo Falcandus Siculus has not proved valid. Eugenios belonged to the group of Sicilian intellectuals versed in Arab, Latin, and Greek culture. He translated Ptolemy's works from Arabic into Latin and Sibylline oracles from Greek into Latin; he also wrote Greek poems. He focused on human behavior, treating it on the basis of classical and patristic tradition with a slight tint of personal experience. Eugenios published and perhaps ed-

ited a version of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* by Symeon SETH, and in his poems he developed the theme of the instability of human life, typical of Byz. didactic literature of the 11th–12th C. He praised the ideal of ascetic life; in another poem he presented the ideal image (*eikon*) of the ruler—somewhat vaguely, but emphasizing military prowess (v.21.60–66). Many other poems are dedicated to such topics as greediness, garrulity, calumny, and virginity.

ED. *Versus iambici*, ed. M. Gigante (Palermo 1964), with Ital. tr.

LIT. E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenios of Sicily, His Life and Work* (London 1957). M. Gigante, "Il tema dell' instabilità della vita nel primo carme di Eugenio di Palermo," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 325–56. Idem in *I Bizantini in Italia*, eds. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982) 628–30. —A.K.

**EUGENIUS**, usurper (from 22 Aug. 392); died 6 Sept. 394. A former teacher of Latin grammar and rhetoric, Eugenius was *magister scrinii* at the court of Valentinian II when the latter was murdered in 392. When ARBOGAST, the Frankish *magister militum*, failed to hold power in his own name, he appointed Eugenius as Western emperor. Eugenius was nominally a Christian but, as a moderate in the religious controversies, he was acceptable to the pagans of Italy, who chafed under the autocratic religious policies of Theodosios I. When Eugenius could not secure the recognition of Theodosios, he threw himself fully into the arms of the pagan party. Under the direction of the praetorian prefect Nicomachus FLAVIANUS paganism revived in Italy. Theodosios elevated his son Honorius to imperial rank in 393 and marched against Eugenius the next year. At the battle of the Frigidus, Eugenius was taken prisoner and executed.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:211–17. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 238–47. H. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.," *HThR* 38 (1945) 100–244. J. Szidat, "Die Usurpation des Eugenius," *Historia* 28 (1979) 487–508. B. Baldwin, "Jordanes on Eugenius: Some Further Possibilities," *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 103f. —T.E.G.

**EUGENIUS III** (Bernardo Pignatelli of Pisa), pope (from 15 Feb. 1145); died Tivoli 8 July 1153. Eugenius spent almost all of his papacy in a struggle against the Romans, who expelled him from the city even before his consecration. A Cistercian and follower of Bernard of Clairvaux, Eugenius sanctioned the Second Crusade (1 Dec. 1145) and

tried to achieve union with the Greeks (ROGER II of Sicily, in contrast, tried to use the Crusaders for his own purposes against Byz.). After the failure of the Second Crusade, Eugenius was forced to seek alliance with Roger; he took advantage of Roger's military support to return to Rome in Nov. 1149 but did not break with CONRAD III and his ally Manuel I Komnenos.

LIT. J.G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks (1122–1153)," *ChHist* 28 (1959) 122–26, 130, 310–27. M. Maccarone, *Papato e impero* (Rome 1959) 11–103. —A.K.

**EUGENIUS IV** (Gabriele Condulmaro), pope (from 3 Mar. 1431); born Venice ca.1383, died Rome 23 Feb. 1447. After ascending the papal throne Eugenius had to deal with the resistance of many Italian cities, including Rome (from which he fled in 1434, not returning until 1443), as well as church prelates who assembled a council in Basel. He carried on negotiations with Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS and transferred the council from Basel to Ferrara, where he brought the emperor, Patr. JOSEPH II, and their retinue of 700 men. At the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39) a decree of union was signed, but it was short-lived. Eugenius tried to attract to the union other separated Eastern churches—namely the Armenians and the Copts. After the council the pope promised to send a fleet of ten ships to John and to rouse Germany and Hungary to action against the Turks. The fleet was delayed but the papal nuncio Garatoni arrived in Constantinople to outfit ships and crossbowmen. A papal letter to Garatoni of 25 Aug. 1440, however, reveals the growing tensions between the two churches and the inclination of the pope to reduce the patriarchate of Constantinople to the level of an ordinary local church. Eugenius supported the expedition of HUNYADI that ended in 1444 in a defeat at VARNA—a disaster that demonstrated the futility of Byz. expectations of a Western crusade.

LIT. J. Gill, *Eugenius IV* (Westminster, Md., 1961). Th.V. Tuleja, "Eugenius IV and the Crusade of Varna," *Catholic Historical Review* 35 (1949) 257–75. D. Caccamo, "Eugenio IV e crociata di Varna," *ASRSP* 79 (1960) 35–87. —A.K.

**EUGENIUS VULGARIUS**, southern Italian cleric whose surname may indicate Bulgarian background; fl. Naples? ca.900. Hoping for material

reward, Eugenius dedicated to LEO VI four flattering Latin poems—including one figure poem in the shape of a pyramid, complete with a prose explanation of its symbolism. He also composed verses for Pope Sergius III (904–11) and local potentates and wrote defenses of Pope FORMOSUS (ed. E. Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius* [Leipzig 1866] 117–39). His metrical martyrology reflects Byz. tradition on BARNABAS the Apostle (ed. P. Meyvaert, *AB* 84 [1966] 360–67).

ED. P. von Winterfeld, *MGH Poet.* 4.1:412–40.  
LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 446f. B. Schieffer, *LMA* 4:85. —M.McC.

**EUGIPPIUS**, abbot of the monastery of Lucullanum and hagiographer; died Castellum Lucullanum, near Naples, after 533. Isidore of Seville mentions the spiritual rule which Eugippius wrote for his monastery. He corresponded with a number of churchmen, including DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS. Eugippius was also known to CASSIODORUS, who (*Institutiones* 23) deprecates his neglect of secular studies but praises his biblical scholarship, recommending his *Selections from the Works of St. Augustine*. Eugippius is best known for his Life of St. SEVERINUS, the apostle of NORICUM, whose disciple he was and whose remains were deposited at his monastery. This biography was written in some haste ca.511 to get ahead of an anonymous rival whose study of the monk Bassus provoked fears that his treatment of Severinus would be too literary for ordinary readers. It was sent for approval (duly received) to the Roman deacon Paschasius as a *Memorandum* (*Commemoratorium*), a title that disingenuously plays down its own considerable rhetoric. Although giving Severinus his meed of miracles and other supernatural skills, the Life emphasizes secular events, set down in accurate chronological sequence and providing overall a unique eyewitness picture of the last decades of the western Roman province of Noricum, esp. the social life of river towns between Vienna and Passau.

ED. *Vita Sancti Severini*, ed. T. Nüsslein (Stuttgart 1986). R. Noll, *Eugippius: Leben des heiligen Severin*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1963; rp. New York 1965), with Germ. tr. Eng. tr. L. Bieler, L. Krestan, *Eugippius: The Life of Saint Severin* (Washington, D.C., 1965).

LIT. M. Pellegrino, "Il Commemoratorium Vitae Sancti Severini," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 12 (1958) 1–26. H. Baldermann, "Die Vita Severini des Eugippius," *WS* 74 (1961) 142–55. —B.B.

**EUKTERION** (εὐκτήριον), or *eukterios oikos* (εὐκτήριος οἶκος), lit. "a house of prayer" and therefore, in theory, any church building. Generally, however, the term was used of private CHURCHES—ORATORIES and CHAPELS—distinct from, or appended to, the main places of public worship. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities were anxious to ensure that privately founded *eukteria* did not subvert or overburden the church's episcopal structure. Justinian I ordered that construction was not to begin until the local bishop had consecrated the site, approved the priest, and received from the would-be founder (KTETOR) sufficient funds for staffing and maintenance; donors who could not afford this were encouraged to contribute to the restoration of unused or ruined churches (novs. 57.1–2; 67; 123.18; 131.7). He also prohibited the celebration of the liturgy in the oratories of private houses (novs. 131.9; 58), a prohibition that the Council in Trullo repeated and extended to baptism (canons 31 and 59). Insofar as the prohibition was designed to prevent the dissemination of heresy, it had lost much of its urgency by the end of the 9th C., when Leo VI repealed it as being unnecessarily restrictive now that Orthodoxy was secure "and by divine grace *eukterioi oikoi* have been erected to God in almost every house, not only of the illustrious, but also of the common people" (nov.4; see also nov.15).

This policy ignored, however, the now more serious threat that *eukteria* posed to the sacramental raison d'être of the public churches and that Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES later (1028) attempted to remove by forbidding the use of *eukteria* for any service apart from the liturgy (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.835). According to Balsamon, an *eukterios oikos* was a church that lacked consecration through chrismation, deposition of martyr relics, and enthronement of the officiating prelate (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:458f, 479.6–9).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 83–86.

—P.M.

**EULALIOS** (Εὐλάλιος), painter who seems to have flourished as a mosaicist and icon-painter under Manuel I; he is alluded to in several texts of the 12th–14th C. Nicholas MESARITES attributes to him the images of the Pantokrator and the MYRROPHOROI in the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, Constantinople, and suggests that Eulalios in-

serted his own image into the latter scene. This statement was questioned by Demus (*infra*) but is still consistent with the ethos of 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

LIT. N. Bees, "Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage und den Mosaikschmuck der Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel," *RepKunstw* 39 (1916) 97–117, 231–51; 40 (1917) 59–77. O. Demus, "The Sleepless Watcher: Ein Erklärungsversuch," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 241–45. —A.C.

**EULOGIA** (εὐλογία, "blessing" or "benediction"), the term applied to consecrated gifts as well as to the bread offered optionally at the eucharist or blessed separately and distributed in church or sent as a gift. The term was extended to the "blessing" at departure and that received by a pilgrim through contact with a holy place, person, or object. It could be received either directly and immaterially, for example, through kissing the wood of the True Cross, or conveyed indirectly through a substance of neutral origin (e.g., oil, water, earth) that itself had been blessed by such contact. In the latter case, the material itself, as in Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) or its container (e.g., MENAS FLASKS, pilgrimage AMPULAE) might bear a representation of the sanctifying agent or event. The richest account of Byz. pilgrimage *eulogiai* is that recorded ca.570 by the PIACENZA PILGRIM, who, for example, reclined on a couch in the Garden of Gethsemane "to gain a blessing" (ch.17). At the Holy Sepulchre he describes the blessing of little flasks of oil through contact with the True Cross and the blessing of earth brought into the tomb. Pilgrim *eulogiai* were valued for their amuletic and medicinal powers; CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. E. Schwartz, 110.10–11, 164.14–18, 218.6–7, 228.13–14), for example, writes that St. SABAS (among others) used the oil of the True Cross to exorcise evil spirits; a flask at Bobbio (Giabai, *Amproutēs*, Bobbio no.1) is inscribed "Oil of the Wood of Life, that guides us by land and sea."

LIT. A. Stuiber, *RAC* 6 (1966) 900–28. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensburg 1950) 398–43. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 10–14. —G.V.

**EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS**, pagan writer and historian; born Sardis 345/6 (*PLRE* 1:296) or 349 (R. Goulet, *JHS* 100 [1980] 67), died after 414. Eunapios (Εὐνάπιος) lived mainly in Sardis, apart

from five student years at Athens whence his parents recalled him, thus aborting a visit to Egypt. His combination of sophistry and medicine (typical for the age) helped him achieve a friendship with ORIBASIOS, famous doctor and confidant of Julian. So did his rancid PAGANISM, the central emotional and intellectual impulse of his writings, albeit he did admire his Christian mentors Chrysanthios and Prohaeresios. His *Lives of the Sophists*, written in or after 399 (T.M. Banchich, *GRBS* 25 [1984] 183–92), celebrates various Neoplatonists, iatrosophists, and rhetoricians in different degrees of fervor and coolness.

His *History*, surviving only in fragments, formally continued that of Dexippos, and encompassed in 14 books the period 270–414. Its precise structure and date of composition are endlessly debated, as is whether he used AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS as a source or vice versa. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.77) knew two versions or EKDOSEIS: the original being too anti-Christian for pious stomachs, Eunapios produced a toned-down “New Edition,” clumsily done with subsequent obscurities in the text. His *History* is wildly biased toward paganism and Julian, ostentatiously neglectful of precise chronology, and crammed with rhetorical digressions and descriptions of individuals and events; ZOSIMOS exploited it to the point of plagiarism. Photios is relatively kind to his style; modern taste generally prefers C.G. Cobet’s label “most stinking” (*Mnemosyne*<sup>2</sup> 6 [1878] 318).

ED. *Vitae sophistarum*, ed. G. Giangrande (Rome 1956). *Index in Eunapii Vitae sophistarum*, ed. I. and M.M. Avotins (Hildesheim 1983). *Philostrophos and Eunapius*, ed. W.C. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1952), 317–596, with Eng. tr. *History*—Blockley, *Historians* 1:1–26, 2:1–150, with Eng. tr. LIT. A. Baldini, *Ricerche sulla Storia di Eunapio di Sardi* (Bologna 1984). A.B. Breebaart, “Eunapius of Sardes and the Writing of History,” *Mnemosyne*<sup>4</sup> 32 (1979) 360–75. D.F. Buck, “Eunapius of Sardis and Theodosius the Great,” *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 36–53. —B.B.

**EUNOMIOS** (Εὐνόμιος), leader of Neo-Arians (Anomoians); born ca.335 in Cappadocia (in Ol-tiseris or more probably Dakora), died Dakora ca.394. Son of a cultured peasant, Eunomios learned the skill of TACHYGRAPHY and served as a teacher in Constantinople. In Antioch he met AETIOS, whose secretary and disciple he became and whose fate he shared, being exiled by Constantius II, recalled by Julian who gave him properties in Chalcedon, and subsequently becoming

involved in the revolt of Prokopios. In 360 (according to Philostorgios) or ca.366 (according to Sokrates), he was appointed bishop of Kyzikos. After the death of Aetios, Eunomios headed the radical group of Arians and was ordered by Theodosios I to produce their exposition of faith; Theodosios, however, rejected their Anomoian views and banished Eunomios to the lower Danube and then to Cappadocia, where he died.

Like Aetios, Eunomios taught that God the Creator was ingenerate, whereas the Son was created and possessed a different essence and different energy; the Father, the Son, and the Spirit formed a hierarchy of nonsubstantial beings. Naturally, Eunomios avoided the concept of the Trinity. The Logos-Christ was a created deity and never assumed the human nature—a view that Eunomios shared with the Theopaschites. He introduced a particular form of baptism—a single immersion in the name of the death of Christ (and not in the name of the Trinity). Eunomios professed the power of reason, and contemporaries testify to the clarity of his argumentation. He rejected the idea that God was unknowable: Sokrates ascribes to him the assertion that God does not know more of his essence than we do. Eunomios’s works are lost but some of them (the *Apology*, the *Apology of Apology*, and the *Exposition of Faith*) are known in fragments from refutations produced by his opponents (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa).

ED. *The Extant Works*, ed. R.P. Vaggione (Oxford 1987). PG 30:835–68, 67:587–90. LIT. T.A. Kopeck, *A History of Neo-Arianism*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia 1979). B. Sesboué, *L’Apologie d’Eunome de Cyzique et le ‘Contre Eunome’ (I:1–3) de Basile de Césarée* (Rome 1980). F. Diekamp, “Literargeschichtliches zu der eunomianischen Kontroverse,” *BZ* 18 (1909) 1–13. L. Abramowski, *RAC* 6:936–47. —T.E.G., A.K.

**EUNUCHS** (sing. ἐκτομίας) played an important role in the church, the army, and the civil administration. Several patriarchs were eunuchs: GERMANOS I, METHODIOS, IGNATIOS, and others, the last of them being Eustratios Garidas (1081–84); among generals NARSES was especially famous; among civil officials were EUTROPIOS, SAMONAS, Joseph BRINGAS, Basil LEKAPENOS, and JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS. High palace dignities such as PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and PARAKOIMOMENOS were until the 11th C. held mainly by eunuchs. Eunuchs also served in the houses of aris-

tocrats. Legislation prohibited castration, although Leo VI (nov.60) mitigated the punishment imposed for performing this surgery. Despite this legislation the operation was often performed on both children and adults, including members of the aristocracy. Some eunuchs were imported from the Caucasus, the caliphate, and Slavic countries. Rare at the time of Constantine I, eunuchs acquired importance during the reign of Constantius II in conjunction with the growth of the bureaucratic system; Julian’s attempt to restrict the role of eunuchs failed. They retained important positions through the 11th C., but were pushed out of the highest posts under the Komnenian dynasty, as aristocratic ideology with its veneration of manliness became dominant (A. Kazhdan, *ADSV* 10 [1973] 184–97); they were rare in the 14th–15th C. Because of their fear of HOMOSEXUALITY, monastic leaders tried to exclude the “beardless” from certain monasteries (e.g., on Mt. Athos).

It is usually thought that eunuchs, who had no children of their own nor were allowed to ascend the throne, preserved greater loyalty to their masters. G. Walter (*La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes* [Paris 1966] 95) questioned this thesis, arguing that in reality eunuchs participated in diverse plots and schemes against the emperors. Theophylaktos of Ohrid (*Discours, Traités, Poésies*, ed. P. Gautier [Thessalonike 1980] 287–331) wrote a defense of the status of eunuchs, demonstrating that they had always played an important role in the palace, in the church, and esp. in the creation of ecclesiastical music. Theophylaktos provided his reader with a list of eunuch-martyrs and named a worthy contemporary, a certain Symeon, who organized a *synoikia* (community) of eunuch-monks. The monastery of St. Lazaros in Constantinople was reserved for eunuchs by Leo VI (Janin, *Églises CP* 299).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:165–97. M.D. Spadaro, “Un inedito di Teofilatto di Achrida sull’eunuchia,” *RSBS* 1 (1981) 3–38. —A.K.

**EUPHEMIA, CHURCH OF SAINT**, built in the 4th C. at the place of her burial, about 1.5 km from CHALCEDON. It consisted of a basilica with an attached circular martyrion in which the body of EUPHEMIA was kept in a silver sarcophagus. Once a year the body reportedly exuded an efflu-

vium of blood that was distributed in glass ampullae. A painted cycle of Euphemia’s martyrdom (in a “roofed passage”) is described by ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA. The Council of Chalcedon was held in the church in 451. The Persian invasions of the early 7th C. caused its destruction and the transfer to Constantinople of the “uncorrupted body,” which was housed in the converted great hall of the palace of Antiochos next to the HIPPODROME. During the Iconoclastic period the new church was secularized and the relics were thrown in the sea by Constantine V; they were miraculously saved and returned in 796 to the refurbished church, which survived until the end of the Byz. Empire. Excavations in 1942 and 1950–52 revealed part of the palace of Antiochos, including the hexagonal building that housed the church, opening on to a semicircular portico. A late 13th-C. cycle of wall paintings illustrates the saint’s martyrdom.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 120–24. Janin, *Églises centres* 31–33. R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin 1966). —C.M.

**EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON**, saint; died 16 Sept. 303, according to the *Fasti Consulares Vindobonenses* (MGH *AuctAnt.* 9:290). EGERIA mentions the cult of Euphemia (Εὐφημία) in Chalcedon, and ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA describes her annual feast and the pictorial representation of her trial and death by fire. The Church of St. Euphemia housed the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (see EUPHEMIA, CHURCH OF SAINT). Halkin (*infra*, xvii) dates the earliest *passio* (preserved in 11th- and 12th-C. MSS) soon after this council. It provides little information, but the details of the trial and execution differ from Asterios’s description; for example, Euphemia was supposedly thrown to wild beasts and died in the arena. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* p.811–13) assigns to Euphemia the miracle of determining the decision of the Council of 451: two *tomoi*, one orthodox and another heterodox (Monophysite), were placed in Euphemia’s coffin; after several days the council members reopened the coffin and found the heretical creed under Euphemia’s feet and the orthodox one in her hands. Euphemia’s cult was popular in Byz. Constantine of Tios (ca.800) related that Leo III ordered her relics thrown into the sea, but two pious brothers saved



them and brought them to Lemnos. In the 15th C. Makarios MAKRES reworked this legend. Latin versions also survive (H. Boese, *AB* 97 [1979] 360–62).

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of the saint show a virgin martyr clad in a *maphorion* and long tunic. In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.163v) and in some MSS of Symeon Metaphrastes she is shown flanked by beasts from the arena (in accordance with the text), while in others she stands nude in a pyre (as in the description by Asterios) or is beheaded. A fresco cycle of 14 scenes illustrating her martyrdom adorns her church in Constantinople (R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* [Berlin 1966] 113–17).

SOURCE. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels 1965).  
LIT. BHG 619–624n. J. Wortley, "Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 274–77. O. Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," *AB* 102 (1984) 329–53. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:182–85. —A.K., N.P.S.

**EUPHRATAS** (Εὐφράτης), legendary architect of Constantinople during the reign of Constantine I. He is described as a eunuch, *parakoimomenos*, and eponym of a church or *gerokomeion* in the district of Leomakellion in Constantinople. He is mentioned in the *Patria*, in pseudo-Symeon Magistros, and in some legends about Constantine. According to one of the legends, Euphratas built the city ramparts, developed the sewage system, excavated cisterns, and erected Hagia Sophia. Another legend relates that he came to Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge and advised the emperor to abandon polytheism and trust in the true God and his son Christ. Euphratas also reportedly invited inhabitants of various cities to move to Constantinople and furnished them with *annonae* and dwellings. He supposedly provided "the *archontes* of Rome" with new houses, fountains, and gardens identical to those they had possessed in Rome. Euphratas is not mentioned in any source before the 9th C.

LIT. F. Halkin, "L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas," *AB* 78 (1960) 5–17. A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 237–39. —A.K.

**EUPHRATENSIS**, properly Augusta Euphratensis (Αὐγουστοεὐφρατησία, also *Augusta eupatensis* [sic]), province created between 330 and 350

(probably ca.341) from that territory of Coele-Syria that lay along the west bank of the Euphrates. It is identified by Ammianus Marcellinus and Prokopios as former Kommagene. Part of what had earlier been the region of Palmyrene (e.g., SERGIOPOLIS) was incorporated in the province, but it is doubtful, despite Malalas and Prokopios, that Euphratensis included some parts of OSRHOENE. The province contained at least 20 cities, including HIERAPOLIS (the capital), CYRRHUS-Hagioupolis, Doliche (TELOUCH), SAMOSATA, and EUROPOS. The early 7th-C. geographer GEORGE OF CYPRUS calls the region "the eparchy of Euphratensis and Hagioupolis," stressing the special place occupied by Cyrrhus. In the 5th C. southern Euphratensis was carved out, including ZENOBIA and the capital Sergiopolis. After the Arab conquest Euphratensis formed part of the *jund* (military district) of Qinnasrīn (CHALKIS). The name al-Furāṭiyah survives in Arabic sources until the 13th C.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 193–98, 2.R. 4 (1932) 1698. Idem, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain 1952) 102f. —M.M.M.

**EUPHRATES** (Εὐφράτης), longest (2,760 km) river of western Asia. The Euphrates was navigable from north of Edessa; it was a principal waterway for transportation, but vulnerable politically and militarily. Heavily fortified since Roman times, the river provided the principal means for Persian expeditions against Byz. Much defensive construction took place in the reigns of Anastasios I and Justinian I. Important cities along the Euphrates included MELITENE, SAMOSATA, HIERAPOLIS, Zenobia, and Kirkesion. Stretches of the Euphrates were part of the Sasanian-Byz. border. The river continued to be a principal invasion route for Muslims against Byz. in the 7th–9th C. Control of its upper reaches, including such strongpoints as KAMACHA, occasioned much Byz.-Muslim warfare. The Euphrates floods from November to the end of March, and, esp. in April and May, carries heavy silt to the Mesopotamian plain. Its water allowed the agriculture that flourished along its banks, in contrast to the often parched lands beyond the reach of irrigation.

LIT. J.G. Crow, D.H. French in *Roman Frontier Studies* 1979, eds. W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie (Oxford 1980) 903–12. G. Frézouls in *Le Moyen-Euphrate: Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, ed. J. Margueron (Leiden 1980) 355–86. M.G.

Ionides, *The Regime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1937). —W.E.K.

**EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA**, empress (1195–1203); fl. ca.1169–1210. She married the future ALEXIOS III ANGELOS ca.1169 and bore him three daughters: Irene (born ca.1170), Anna (born ca.1171 or 1173), and Eudokia (born ca.1172 or 1174). Stronger-willed and more intelligent than Alexios, she had great influence over him; she occupied the palace when word of his coup reached Constantinople. Her support for Constantine MESOPOTAMITES created opposition from her son-in-law Andronikos Kontostephanos and her brother Basil KAMATEROS, who informed Alexios of her affair with a certain Vatatzes. The latter was executed and Euphrosyne was shut in a convent for six months (1196–97). Upon her return she regained dominance over her husband, although she could not prevent Mesopotamites' fall (1197). Abandoned by Alexios in Constantinople when he fled, she was arrested, but ALEXIOS V DOUKAS took Euphrosyne and Eudokia with him when he left Constantinople. After Alexios V and Alexios III met at Mosynopolis, Euphrosyne joined her husband in his wanderings. Carried off to Montferrat with him, she was ransomed by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and passed the rest of her life near Arta.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 131.

—C.M.B.

**EURIPIDES** (Εὐριπίδης), Greek tragic poet; born Salamis 480 B.C., died Macedonia 406. Following the tradition of late antiquity, Byz. scholars favored the ten so-called select plays of Euripides. Knowledge of the nine other tragedies was rare but evident in PSELLOS, JOHN TZETZES, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (cf. Wilson, *infra* 177, 204). The earliest extant MS of Euripides (Jerusalem, Gr. Patr., Taphou 36) dates from the 10th or 11th C., and his life is included in the *Souda*. In the early 14th C. the triad of *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenician Women*, which had become standard in the school syllabus, received philological study in the form of scholia and/or recensions by MAXIMOS PLANOUDES, MANUEL MOSCHOPOULOS, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and DEMETRIOS TRIKLINIOS. Of particular significance is the latter's edition of all 19 plays.

The only attempt at literary criticism of Euripides—Psellos's comparison of Euripides and GEORGE OF PIDIA (ed. A. Colonna, *SBN* 7 [1953] 16–21)—survives in a damaged MS that, because of its poor condition, prevents any conclusions as to Psellos's verdict. Clearly, however, he admires Euripides for his ability to arouse pity and for his versatility of style. Judging from the number of surviving MSS, Euripides was the most popular of the great tragedians. He influenced the language of the *Verses on Adam* by IGNATIUS THE DEACON, the *Katomyomachia* by Theodore PRODROMOS, and esp. CHRISTOS PASCHON.

While scenes from Euripides are represented in the floor mosaics of ANTIOCH, no illuminated Byz. MSS of the plays survive. Nevertheless, K. Weitzmann (*Hesperia* 18 [1949] 159–210) hypothesized their existence and impact on the Venice *Kynegetika* (see OPIAN). In his view several CASKETS AND BOXES depict episodes from the tragedies, notably the sacrifice of IPHIGENEIA on the VEROLI CASKET and HIPPLYTOS crowned on other ivories. Other scholars, however, connect the Veroli casket with NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS.

ED. *Scholia metrica anonyma in Euripidis Hecubam, Orestem, Phoenissas*, ed. O.L. Smith (Copenhagen 1977). A. Meschini, "Sugli gnomologi bizantini di Euripide," *Helikon* 13–14 (1973–74) 349–62. Michael Psellus, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Vienna 1986).

LIT. G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965). A. Tuilier, *Etude comparée du texte et des scholies d'Euripide* (Paris 1972). Wilson, *Scholars* 177f, 204, 246, 254f. B. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* (New Haven 1968). A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana 1957). —A.C.H., A.C.

**EUROPA**, in Greek mythology daughter of Phoenix or of Agenor (king of Tyre), who was abducted by Zeus disguised as a handsome bull. This episode was known to Byz. authors: for example, Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 142.16–22) compares her with Theodora Komnene, who was seduced by the future emperor Andronikos I. A scholiast to TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:363) transfers Europa from Phoenicia to Egypt and makes her the daughter of Nilus. The church fathers rationalized the myth of Europa in the same manner as the myth of DANAË but did not attempt to allegorize it in a Christian sense, prevented probably by the connotations of BESTIALITY. The rape of Europa is represented twice on the VEROLI CASKET

in London (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.23) and on other ivories.

LIT. W. Bühler, *RAC* 6:982–85. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 183–86. —A.K., A.C.

**EUROPE** (Εὐρώπη). The Byz. retained the ancient concept of three continents—Europe, Libya (Africa), and Asia. Since only narrow straits divided Europe from Libya, Theophanes (Theoph. 95.1–2, 426.3–4) considered Spain “the first country of Europe from the West Ocean.” The border between Europe and Asia was more difficult to define. The Bosphoros-Hellespont was a natural dividing line; to the north, the Tanais (Don) River was considered a border—Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:123.6–8) assumed that “the land beyond the Tanais” was larger and wider than Europe. Prokopios (*Wars* 8:6.13–15), however, rejected such a view and—referring to Aeschylus—established the borderline at Colchidian Phasis. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes (*GGM* 2:222.5–12, 264.44–46), acknowledged the existence of isthmuses that formed buffers between the continents—Arabia between Libya and Asia, and the Caucasus, a “large and broad isthmus between the Caspian Sea and the Euxeinós (Black Sea).” The semilegendary land of Thoule was viewed as the farthest part of northern Europe.

Europe was considered a geographic unity: according to Eustathios (2:264.44–45), it was the most varied in form among the continents, surpassing Asia and Libya in wealth, its production of fruit, and the virtue of its population, but had fewer animals. The idea of Europe as a political, cultural, and emotional concept was not developed in Byz., even though it emerged in the West in the 13th and 14th C. at the expense of the concept of Christendom; Byz. was left outside Europe, which contributed to the relative indifference of the West to the fall of Constantinople.

The name *Europe* was also applied by Greek authors to a part of Thrace, as both an administrative and ecclesiastical division.

LIT. D. Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*<sup>2</sup> (Edinburgh 1968). D.M. Nicol, “The Byzantine View of Western Europe,” *GRBS* 8 (1967) 315–39. P. Grattarola, “Il concetto di Europa alla fine del mondo antico,” *L'Europa nel mondo antico* (Milan 1986) 174–91. J. Koder, “Ho horos ‘Europe’ hos ennoia chorou ste Byzantine historiographia,” in *Byzantio kai Europe* (Athens 1987) 63–74. —R.B.H., A.K.

**EUROPOS** (Εὐρωπός, Ar. Jarābulus, Cerablus on the Turkish-Syrian border), city of EUPHRATENSIS built on the site of ancient Carchemish at a strategic crossing of the Euphrates River. Its walls were built by KALER, *magister militum* of Anastasios I (*JoshStyl*, ch.91) and again by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.9.10). In 542 Europos was made the military headquarters of Belisarios (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.20.24–7). Circa 525 Monophysite monks, expelled under Justin I from SELEUKIA PIERIA, established the monastery of Qenneshre (“eagle’s nest”) on a height opposite Europos. After the Arab conquest (639) it became famous for the preservation of Greek studies until 815, when the monastery was burned by local people; it was restored by DIONYSIOS OF TELL-MAHRÉ (died 845).

LIT. F. Nau, “Histoire de Jean bar Aphthoniya,” *ROC* 7 (1902) 108–10. —M.M.M.

**EURYTANEIA**, modern province in central Greece. The ancient Eurytanes were a tribe in AITOLIA. The rugged mountainous terrain of the region has led to its relative isolation; it contains a number of churches and monasteries, but most are post-Byz. (J.T.A. Koumoulides, *GOThR* 30 [1985] 61–83). One of the most important Byz. monuments was the large 9th-C. domed church at Episkopi, 40 km west of Karpenision, dedicated to the Dormition (P.L. Vokotopoulos, *He ekklesiastike architektonike eis ten dytiken sterean Hellada kai ten Epeiron* [Thessalonike 1975] 69–74). It received three distinct programs of wall painting; the first contemporary with its construction, the second in the late 10th or early 11th C., and the third in the first half of the 13th C. Before the church was submerged beneath the modern reservoir of Kremasta, the frescoes from all three stages were removed to the Byzantine Museum in Athens (M. Chatzidakis in *Holy Image*, nos. 2–6).

LIT. A. Orlandos, “Byzantina mnemeia tes Aitolokarnanias,” *ABME* 9 (1961) 3–20. A. Paliouras, *Byzantine Aitolokarnania* (Athens 1985). —A.C.

**EUSEBIOS** (Εὐσέβιος), personal name (meaning “pious”). The name first appeared in the 4th C. and immediately spread widely in the Christian and the pagan milieus: we know several pupils of Libanios who are called Eusebios as well as many officials whose religious beliefs cannot be deter-

mined. *PLRE* 1:301–09 lists 43 Eusebioi of the 4th C., to whom several clergymen should be added—bishops of Caesarea, Nikomedeia, Emesa, and others (A. Jülicher, *RE* 6 [1909] 1439–44). *PLRE* 2:428–33 contains fewer men of this name in the 5th C.—only 29. Sozomenos is aware of 14 Eusebioi—more than JOHN (11), PAUL (9), and THEODORE (7). Probably by the 6th C. the name went out of fashion; Prokopios lists only two. Theophanes the Confessor mentions 11 Eusebioi: nine were active in the 4th C. and only two were contemporaries of Anastasios and Justinian I, respectively. Thereafter, the name disappeared almost completely: throughout published acts of the archives of Athos only two monks named Eusebios are found (in *Lavra* of the 11th C.); *PLP* (nos. 6328–29) registers two Eusebioi (a bishop after 1439, probably identical with Eusebio da Cremona, and a metropolitan of Sougdaia in the mid-14th C.). Seals give the same impression: in the Laurent *Corpus* 5.1–3, only one clergyman, Eusebios of Gaza (no.2027), is included; the editor dates his seal to the 6th C. In Zacos, *Seals*, vol. 1, five Eusebioi are present: their seals are of the 6th–8th C. Laurent’s *Corpus* 2 contains only one Eusebios (no.715), *koubikoularios* and *primikerios* of the *vestiariou* of the 9th–10th C. It should be noted that the first editor, G. Schlumberger, read the name differently, as Eugenios. —A.K.

**EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA**, churchman and scholar; born ca.260, died 339 or 340; according to a Syriac list of saints he was buried on 30 May. He was educated by Pamphilos, a priest in Caesarea, who developed Origen’s traditions and enlarged Origen’s library; his high esteem for Pamphilos led Eusebios to accept the surname “of Pamphilos.” Pamphilos was arrested in 307 during the anti-Christian persecutions, but he kept working in prison with Eusebios’s assistance; he was beheaded in 309. After the execution of Pamphilos and some of his students, Eusebios fled to Tyre and then to the Thebaid.

In 313, however, as soon as the edict of tolerance was issued by Galerius, he was elected bishop of Caesarea. He became Constantine I the Great’s favorite and a historiographer and participated in many theological discussions of the period. He perceived the threat represented by MONARCHIANISM and was tolerant, even supportive, of the

Arians; allied with EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA he actively contributed to the deposition of the orthodox EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH in 330 and ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in 335. He also participated in the Council of Constantinople in 336 that attacked the views of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA.

As a scholar Eusebios was an outstanding systematizer who assembled copious data. His works are devoted primarily to the problems of apologetics and church history. His major apologetic treatises are the voluminous *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospels*, both dedicated to the Arian bishop of Syrian Laodikeia, Theodotos. In the *Preparation* he endeavors to show that “the philosophy and religion of the Hebrews” is more ancient and richer in content than Greco-Roman paganism and exercises a more powerful influence on human life. In the *Demonstration*, on the other hand, he asserts that Judaism is limited and ephemeral, only a fragile shell, whereas Christianity forms a permanent kernel.

The most important historical works of Eusebios are the *Chronicle*, the *Church History*, and the *VITA CONSTANTINI*. In the *Chronicle*, Eusebios, following in the steps of Sextus Julius AFRICANUS but using other sources as well, gave the lists of ruling dynasties of Chaldeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and in brief form events of biblical and nonbiblical history, with special attention (in the last section) to the growth of Christianity. Thus Eusebios emphasized the same apologetic principle that permeates his *Preparation*: Christianity is not a sheer novelty but a religion properly rooted in the past. Eusebios produced several revisions of the *Church History* that are reflected in the two families of manuscripts, as well as in the 5th-C. Syriac version: he reworked his text in connection with the drastic changes in the political situation. Nevertheless the main principles of his approach remained consistent: first of all, his ten-book *History* presents an enormous amount of information, citing earlier works and documents; these citations may not always be dependable, but Eusebios believes that story-telling must be factual in order to be convincing. Second, history is a field in which the Savior is actively leading mankind to a teleologically foreseen future; accordingly, those who follow the Lord’s path become victorious and, vice versa, those who emerge victorious are men following in the way of the Lord. In other words,

the emperor is successful because he fulfills the plan destined by God; he is the representative of God on earth. Constantine is praised precisely because he was victorious, and Eusebios makes him more Christian than he really was. Third, only the major patterns of development are salient while certain facts deviating from or contradicting them can be omitted or transformed or replaced by myth (as Crispus's murder is omitted; Constantine's conversion to Christianity is provided with a supernatural setting; and Galerius, the author of the first edict of tolerance, is presented as a diehard persecutor of Christians)—all with the noble aim of emphasizing the teleology of human salvation.

The Byz. often criticized Eusebios. Sokrates called him "double-tongued." The Second Council of Nicaea of 787 prohibited quoting Eusebios as a witness of correct belief. Two events account for such a negative attitude: Eusebios's pro-Arian stance and his rejection of the cult of icons. Despite these "shortcomings," Eusebios obtained great authority and for the Byz. remained the major source for the early centuries of Christianity and a textbook for antipagan and anti-Jewish polemics.

ED. PG 19–24. *Eusebius Werke*, 9 vols., ed. I.A. Heikel et al. (Leipzig-Berlin 1902–56). *Eusebius: The History of the Church*, tr. G.A. Williamson (Harmondsworth 1965).

LIT. T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). R.M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford 1980). A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1979). M. Gödecke, *Geschichte als Mythos: Eusebs 'Kirchengeschichte'* (Frankfurt–New York 1987). H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976). —A.K., B.B.

**EUSEBIOS OF EMESA**, bishop of Emesa (from ca.340) and biblical exegete; born Edessa ca.300, died Antioch or Emesa 359. A native speaker of Syriac, Eusebios learned Greek at school prior to exegetical and philosophical training at Antioch and Alexandria; the latter city introduced him to the friendship and Arianism of George, bishop of Laodikeia, though he refused to succeed ATHANASIOS of Alexandria to its see in 339. His advent at EMESA was greeted by riots against his supposedly "too scholarly" personality; intervention by George and the patriarch of Antioch secured his position. Apparently semi-Arian in views, Eusebios was

praised for his rhetorical skills and prolific popular writing by JEROME, who singled out his homilies on the Gospels and pamphlets against the Jews, Gentiles, and Novatians. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS mentions treatises against Manichaeans and Marcionites. Greek fragments of his commentaries on Genesis and Galatians show him to follow the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL of exegesis. About 60 homilies survive in whole or part in Armenian (H.J. Lehmann, *Per piscatores* [Århus 1975]), Greek, Latin, Slavic (M. Matejić in *Literaturoznanie i folkloristika v čest Akademiku Sbornik Petür Dinekov* [Sofia 1983] 145–55), and Syriac. The pseudo-Eusebian Gallican sermons belong mainly to Faustus of Riez (*Eusebius "Gallicanus" Collectio homiliarum*, ed. J. Leroy, F. Glorie, 3 vols. [Turnhout 1970–71]).

ED. PG 86.1:509–62, 31:1476–88. *Eusèbe d'Emèse: Discours conservés en latin*, ed. E.M. Buytaert, 2 vols. (Louvain 1953–57).  
LIT. E.M. Buytaert, *L'héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Emèse* (Louvain 1949). —B.B.

**EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA**, Arian bishop of Nikomedeia (from ca.318); bishop of Constantinople (from 338/9); died ca.342, probably at Constantinople. Eusebios was a fellow pupil of ARIUS under LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. After Arius's condemnation ca.320, Eusebios, who had just become bishop of Nikomedeia, organized an epistolary campaign in support of Arius. Although Eusebios subscribed to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea in 325, he was soon exiled to Gaul by Constantine I on charges of supporting the Meletians (see MELETIAN SCHISM). After his recall in 328, he became a leader of the extreme Arian party, who came to be known as "Eusebians." He gained the favor of Constantine I and in 337 baptized the emperor during his last illness. The triumph of the Arian party was evident when Eusebios became bishop of Constantinople in 338 or 339. His brief tenure in Constantinople was marked primarily by hostile maneuvering against ATHANASIOS of Alexandria.

Virtually none of Eusebios's writings survive, with the exception of a few letters preserved by the ecclesiastical historians Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 1.14), Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 2.16), and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 1.5).

LIT. A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien* (Halle 1903). C. Kannengiesser, *DPAC* 1:1296–99. C. Luibheid, "The

Arianism of Eusebius of Nicomedia," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 43 (1976) 3–23.  
—B.B., A.M.T.

**EUSTATHIANS.** See EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH.

**EUSTATHIOS** (Εὐστάθιος), martyr executed under Hadrian and saint; feastday 20 Sept; prebaptismal name Placidus. His legend is preserved in two Greek passions, one ascribed to SYMEON METAPHRASTES (a Nuremberg MS presents slight variations—J.-M. Olivier, *AB* 93 [1975] 109f); in a panegyric of NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON; in a Latin translation known already in the 9th/10th C. (O. Engels, *HistJb* 76 [1957] 119f); and in a Coptic version. When the legend was created is unclear. It has sometimes been viewed as a reflection of Indian motifs that reached Byz. via Syria; traces of the supposed migration have yet to be shown. In its core the legend is a Christian version of the JOB story: under Trajan, the rich Roman general Placidus, "stratelates in the language of the Romans," saw a huge stag with a cross between its antlers and heard a heavenly voice summoning him to baptism. He became Christian with his whole family, assumed a new name (Eustathios or Eustachios), suffered numerous disasters (plague, death of cattle and slaves), left home for Egypt, and was separated from his wife and two sons en route. Unlike the biblical Job but like the heroes of Greek romances (T. Hägg, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 [1984] 61–63), Eustathios suffered only temporarily, later recovering both family and fame. A new blow struck after Trajan's death, when Hadrian ordered Eustathios and his family burned in a bronze bull.

**Representation in Art.** Eustathios is depicted in military costume from at least the 10th C. onward. The two most frequently illustrated scenes of his legend are (1) his vision, which appears in Cappadocian and Georgian churches and in the marginal PSALTERS (where, rather than a cross, the image of Christ in the form of an icon appears between the antlers of the stag, and Christ asks, "Why are you pursuing me?"); and (2) the martyrdom of Eustathios and his family consumed by flames inside the brazen bull. Further episodes accompany certain MSS of Metaphrastes.

SOURCES. G. van Hooft, "Acta Graeca s. Eustathii martyris et sociorum ejus," *AB* 3 (1884) 65–112. PG 105:375–418. Russ. tr. Poljakova, *Viz. leg.* 208–24.

LIT. BHG 641–43. H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966) 212–39. T. Velmans, "L'église de Zenobani et le thème de la Vision de saint Eustache en Géorgie," *CahArch* 33 (1985) 36–49.  
—A.K., N.P.S.

**EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH**, theologian; bishop of Berroia (Aleppo) and from 323/4 to 326 (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* 49 [1948] 27–35) or more probably to 328/9 (Hanson, *infra*) bishop of Antioch; born Side, died Traianopolis? in Thrace before 337. At the First Council of Nicaea in 325 Eustathios was one of the ardent opponents of ARIUS; subsequently an Arian synod in Antioch deposed him and in 330 Constantine I exiled him to Traianopolis. In 362 his partisans, called Eustathians, consecrated Paulinos as bishop of Antioch in opposition to Meletios, thus precipitating the (second) MELETIAN SCHISM.

Little of Eustathios's writings has survived; some of his work is preserved in Syriac or Georgian translations (e.g., M. van Esbroeck, *OrChr* 66 [1982] 189–214), and attribution is sometimes questionable. Eustathios attacked ancient philosophers, such as PLOTINOS (fragment in Syriac—R. Lorenz, *ZNTW* 71 [1980] 109–28). He also criticized the allegorical exegesis of ORIGEN (in *On the Witch of Endor*, the only completely extant work of Eustathios). Fragments of his work *On Melchisedek*, directed against the Melchisedekians, who thought the Priest-King of Salem greater than Christ, are dated in their present form to 420–50 by B. Altaner (*BZ* 40 [1940] 30–47). The major target of Eustathios was Arianism. His concern was to show that the Logos assumed, in the act of incarnation, the entire man and not the body (*sarx*) only. He strongly emphasized the existence of the two natures of Christ; this later allowed his enemies to accuse him of Nestorianism.

ED. E. Klostermann, *Origenes, Eustathios von Antiochien und Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor* (Bonn 1912) 16–62, with corr. by A. Brinkmann, *RhM* 74 (1925) 308–13. *CPG*, nos. 3350–98.

LIT. R.V. Sellers, *Eustathios of Antioch* (Cambridge 1928). M. Spanneut, *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche* (Lille 1948). Quasten, *Patrology* 3:302–06. R.C.P. Hanson, "The Fate of Eustathios of Antioch," *ZKirch* 95 (1984) 171–79.  
—A.K., B.B., T.E.G.

**EUSTATHIOS OF EPIPHANEIA** (in Syria), historian; died ca.505. His major work, entitled *Brief*



*Chronicle* according to the *Souda*, is now lost, but both Malalas and Evagrius Scholastikos drew upon it. It is plausible that this chronicle began with the destruction of Troy and reached the Roman wars against Persia in 502–05. If we can believe Evagrius, Eustathios epitomized pagan (Zosimos, Priskos, etc.) and ecclesiastical (Eusebios of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, etc.) historians. Eustathios's *Historikon of the Judaean Archaeology* by "Iosepos" is included in the catalog of the library in Patmos of 1200 (P. Maas, *BZ* 38 [1938] 350). Probably the same text is preserved in a MS of the 13th/14th C., Paris B.N. gr. 1555A, where it bears the title *Epitome of the Archaeology by Iosepos* [written] by Eustathios of Epiphaneia in Syria; the short fragment based on JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS begins with Adam and Eve and ends with Vespasian and Titus.

ED. *FHG* 4:138–42.

LIT. C. Benjamin, *RE* 6 (1907) 1450f. P. Allen, "An Early Epitomator of Josephus: Eustathios of Epiphaneia," *BZ* 81 (1988) 1–11. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:323. —A.K.

**EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE**, church official, scholar, and writer; born ca.1115, died Thessalonike? 1195/6. The hypothesis of Kyriakides (*infra*, xxxv–xxxvi) that he belonged to the KATAPHLORON family is not valid. Educated in Constantinople, Eustathios served as a scribe under the future Patr. MICHAEL III; he became deacon, after 1166 *magistros ton rhetoron*, and ca.1178 (the traditional date of 1174 is wrong) archbishop of Thessalonike. Eustathios wrote a commentary on HOMER, sometimes using the epic for allusions to contemporary events. He also commented on PINDAR, ARISTOPHANES, Dionysios Periegetes, and JOHN OF DAMASCUS. Although he is studied primarily as an interpreter of ancient texts and collector of lost antique commentaries, Eustathios was an original thinker and a great writer. Politically he supported MANUEL I, but dared sometimes to criticize the emperor, esp. for his attempts at accommodation with Islamic doctrine. Eustathios praised military prowess, but censured both venal bureaucrats and greedy and illiterate monks; he defended CHARISTIKIA. In contrast to contemporary views, he set secular ideals above those of hermits in his vita of PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION. Eustathios poeticized manual (esp. agrarian) labor and developed the concept of historical progress from a primitive way of life

to civilization. He rejected SLAVERY as an evil and unnatural institution. As a writer, he endeavored to shift from conventional abstraction to the presentation of great events by means of little details and frequent recourse to sarcasm and irony. He enjoyed life, considered human relations more important than ritual, and loved the richness of language; his plays on words are much more complex than the usual hints at the significance of a name. His sermons and official panegyrics are more conventional than his best works, such as *On the Capture of Thessalonike* (in 1185) or *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*, which expressed his individual attitudes in a series of portraits and vivid scenes.

ED. G.L.F. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula* (Frankfurt am Main 1832; rp. Amsterdam 1964). Regel, *Fontes* 1–131. *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. Kyriakides (Palermo 1961). Germ. tr. H. Hunger, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1955; rp. 1967). *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden 1971–87). *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (Leipzig 1825–26). Eng. tr. of intro. by C.J. Herington, *Arion* 8 (1969) 432–34. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 244f.

LIT. P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* (Amsterdam 1980). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 115–95. L. Coletta, "Eustazio neo-omerista," *AntCl* 52 (1983) 260–67. N. Serikov, "K voprosu o 'čuzoj reči' v proizvedenii Evstafija Solunskogo 'O zachvate Soluni'," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 225–28. D. Reinsch, "Über einige Aristoteles-Zitate bei Eustathios von Thessalonike," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. F. Paschke (Berlin 1981) 479–88. —A.K.

**EUSTRATIOS** (Εὐστράτιος), hagiographer; died after 602. A priest of Hagia Sophia, Eustratios was a pupil of EUTYCHIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, whom he accompanied into exile and whose life he commemorated in a panegyric. He also wrote a biography of the Persian saint Golinduch, based on Stephen of Hierapolis (G. Garitte, *AB* 74 [1956] 422). In his treatise on souls, which survives in fragments and is also mentioned by PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.171), Eustratios defended three points: souls are active immediately after their separation from the [dead] body; they act on their own initiative and not as vehicles of God's powers; they are in need of church services that bring about their "freedom and liberation from vices."

ED. *Vita Eutych.*—PG 86:2273–2390. *Vita Golind.*—Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:149–74. Treatise on souls—ed. L. Allatus in *De purgatorio* (Rome 1655) 336–580.

111. Beck, *Kirche* 310f. A. Jülicher, *RE* 6 (1909) 1489f. P. Peeters, "Sainte Golindouche, Martyre Perse," *AB* 62 (1914) 80–92. —B.B.

**EUSTRATIOS** (martyr). See FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.

**EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA**, philosopher and theologian, pupil of JOHN ITALOS; fl. ca.1100. Eustratios was not condemned in 1082 with his teacher but was promoted by Alexios I. He supported the emperor in his confrontation with LEO OF CHALCEDON, became *oikoumenikos didaskalos* ca.1115/16 (Darrouzès, *Eclés.* 306, fr.2) and metropolitan of Nicaea. With John PHOURNES Eustratios participated in the dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO. In 1114 he polemicized in Philippopolis against the Armenians. Eustratios commented on ARISTOTLE and proclaimed the importance of logic for theology: even Christ, he wrote, argued with the help of Aristotelian syllogisms (P. Joannou, *REB* 10 [1952] 34.22–23). Eustratios developed the concept of the *universalia* as pure "names," whereas he regarded only the individual as existing. Accordingly Eustratios stressed the limitations of art, asserting that the artist could not present the substance, but only the appearance of men and animals (Demetrakopulos, *infra*, p.132.9–24); heavenly beings, such as angels, could be painted only symbolically. In his polemic against the FILIOQUE, Eustratios, like Phournes, considered the Logos and the Holy Spirit as the hands of God the Father (Demetrakopulos, pp. 68.29–69.1, 95.5–6), and in his polemics against the Armenians he emphasized the human nature of the incarnated Logos. In 1117 he was accused of heresy: the major charge alleged was his sharp distinction between the divine Logos and Christ incarnated as a slave. Although Alexios I and Patr. John IX (1111–34) tried to rescue Eustratios, he was condemned and forced to abdicate, despite his assertion that the accusation was based on unfinished drafts stolen from him. Rehabilitated after his death, Eustratios was cited as an authority at the council of 1157.

ED. A. Demetrakopulos, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 47–198. P. Joannou, "Die Definition des Seins bei Eustratios von Nikaia," *BZ* 47 (1954) 365–68. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 246.

LIT. P. Joannou, "Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi," *BZ* 47 (1954) 369–78. Idem, "Le

sort des évêques hérétiques réconciliés," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 1–30. K. Giocarinis, "Eustratios of Nicaea's Defense of the Doctrine of Ideas," *Franciscan Studies* 24 (1964) 159–204. A. Aleksidze, "Un traité polémique anti-Latin en version géorgienne," *Trudy Tbilisskogo Universiteta* 162 (1975) 111–23. S. Gukova, "Kosmografičeskij traktat Evstratija Nikejskogo," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 145–56. —A.K.

**EUTHERIOS** (Εὐθέριος), bishop of Tyana and theologian; died Tyre after 434. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 Eutherios supported his friend NESTORIOS and by 433 wrote a treatise conventionally named *Antilogia*, or *Refutations of Various Propositions*—a sharp pamphlet against CYRIL of Alexandria and his followers. This survived in two versions—a shorter and a longer; the MS tradition identified the author as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. By the time Photios read the text in the 9th C., it was attributed to THEODORET of CYRRHUS, but SEVERUS of Antioch in the 6th C. knew it as a work of Eutherios. Eutherios attacked those who followed the opinion of the multitude and were satisfied with their faith without analyzing Scripture; he defended the concept of two natures, stressing the existence of humanity in Christ and the reality of his suffering; he argued that those who deny the human nature of the Saviour do harm to mankind (par.17).

Five of Eutherios's letters (to John of Antioch, Alexander of Hierapolis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, etc.) are preserved in a Latin translation. Eutherios mentions his *Refutation of Cyril* in his letter to John.

ED. and LIT. *CPG* 3, nos. 6147–53. M. Tetz, *Eine Antilogie des Eutherios von Tyana* (Berlin 1964). G. Ficker, *Eutherios von Tyana* (Leipzig 1908). —T.E.G.

**EUTHYMIOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (Feb.? 907–May? 912); born Seleukeia in Isauria ca.834, died *proasteion* Agathou, on the Bosporos, 4/5 Aug. 917. A monk from his youth, Euthymios sympathized with Prince Leo (the future LEO VI) in his conflict with Basil I; after Basil's death Leo appointed him *hegoumenos* of a monastery in the PSAMATHIA quarter of Constantinople, member of the senate and *synkellos*, and made Euthymios his spiritual director. Euthymios opposed Leo's "foreign" advisers (the Armenian Stylianos ZAOUTZES, the Arab SAMONAS, and Italian NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS), and defended the interests of the traditional court aristocracy. During the crisis

over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, when Patr. Nicholas sided with the Doukas family against Leo. Euthymios continued to support the emperor; after Leo banished Nicholas, he appointed Euthymios as his successor. The patriarchate of Euthymios brought no peace, and Nicholas was recalled from exile—either by Leo or, immediately after Leo's death, by Alexander, who banished Euthymios to Agathou.

The writings of Euthymios are insignificant: sermons on the conception of St. Anna and a festal homily on the Virgin. Attribution of certain works ascribed to Euthymios in some MSS is not yet proved (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 33 [1914] 452f, A. Ehrhard, *BZ* 24 [1924] 186f). The anonymous vita of Euthymios, composed by a monk of Psamathia after 932 (D. Sophianos, *EEBS* 38 [1971] 289–96), is one of the richest sources for the period from the death of Basil I to the early years of Constantine VII; unfortunately some sections of the MS are lost. A new fragment has been discovered by B. Flusin (*TM* 9 [1985] 119–31). On the other hand, the panegyric of Euthymios by ARETHAS is conventional and provides only limited data.

ED. Homilies on St. Anna and the Virgin—M. Jugie, *PO* 16 (1922) 463–514, 19 (1926) 441–55.

SOURCE. *Vita Euthymii patriarchae CP*, ed. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels 1970). Russ. tr. A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki* (Moscow 1959) 9–137.

LIT. *BHG* 651–52. M. Jugie, “La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme patriarche de Constantinople,” *EO* 16 (1913) 385–95, 481–92. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 625–29. J. Darrouzès, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 58f. —A.K.

**EUTHYMOS OF AKMONIA** (in theme of Opsikion), theologian of first half of 11th C., who used to be confused with Euthymios ZIGABENOS. His biography is little known. Euthymios states that as a boy, during the reign of Basil II, he visited Akmonia with his mother because of a lawsuit. Later he became a monk in the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. He mentions the death of Romanos III in 1034. Circa 1050 Euthymios sent a letter from Peribleptos to Akmonia to warn his fellow citizens against the menace of the heretics who were called BOGOMILS in the West (this is the first mention of the term in Byz. literature), but PHOUNDAGIAGITES in the Akmonia region; Euthymios was worried that the extreme asceticism of the Bogomils made their teaching attractive to monks. It is quite possible that Euthymios also wrote the so-called first in-

vective against the Armenians, which was formerly attributed to the *katholikos* Isaac or a certain John of Nicaea.

ED. Ficker, *Phundag.* 3–86. PG 132:1155–1217.  
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 532f. M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974) 67–77. M. Jugie, “Phoundagiagites et Bogomiles,” *EO* 12 (1909) 257–62. V. Grumel, “Les invectives contre les Arméniens du ‘Catholikos Isaac,’” *REB* 14 (1956) 174–94. —A.K.

**EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS**, metropolitan of Sardis (ca.785–803); saint; born Ouzara (on the frontier of Lykaonia?) 754, died on island of St. Andrew, near Cape Akritas, 26 Dec. 831 (not 824 as previously believed). A leader of the ICONOPHILES, Euthymios played an important role during the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Some years later, he was accused by Emp. Nikephoros I of participation in the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS and was deprived of his see and exiled to the island of Pantelleria near Sicily. Recalled from exile, he defended the veneration of icons during the reigns of the Iconoclast emperors Leo V and Theophilos and was twice banished. Several letters of Theodore of Stoudios to Euthymios survive. His vita was written by Patr. METHODIOS I; a rhetorical panegyric by a certain Metrophanes is also preserved. Methodios relates that Euthymios forced the young woman whom the future emperor Nikephoros I wanted to marry into a nunnery, thus kindling Nikephoros's animosity.

SOURCES. J. Gouillard, “La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831),” *TM* 10 (1987) 1–101, with Fr. tr. A. Papadakis, “The Unpublished Life of Euthymios of Sardis: Bodleianus Laudianus Graecus 69,” *Traditio* 26 (1970) 63–89.

LIT. *BHG* 2145–46. J. Pargoire, “Saint Euthyme et Jean de Sardes,” *EO* 5 (1901–02) 157–61. —A.K.

**EUTHYMOS THE GREAT**, a founder of cenobitic monasticism in Palestine; saint; born in Melitene 376/7, died in his lavra near Jerusalem 20 Jan. 473. Nobly born and dedicated to God from infancy, Euthymios became a priest ca.396 in Melitene. Around 406 he went to Palestine, where he met Theoktistos from Cappadocia (died 466), who became Euthymios's closest associate. Circa 411 they settled in a cave, which served as church for the cenobitic monastery they founded after some hesitation (vita, ed. Schwartz, p.17.3); here the Arab PHYLARCH Aspebetos converted to Christianity. Leaving Theoktistos as head of the monastery, Euthymios wandered through Pales-

tine and organized monasteries in Marda and Aristoboulias; then he built his lavra 5 km from Theoktistos's monastery; the church was dedicated in 428/9. The lavra had 15 cells, where the monks stayed during the week; on Saturday and Sunday they gathered to eat in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory. Euthymios remained neutral during the first phase of the Nestorian dispute; after the Council of Chalcedon of 451 he sided with JUVENAL of Jerusalem, denounced his rival Theodosios, and helped to win the support of the empress Eudokia. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote Euthymios's Life.

**Representation in Art.** Generally depicted as a balding old monk with a particularly long white beard (sometimes tucked under his belt), portraits of Euthymios occur as early as the frescoes of BAWĪT and SAQQĀRA and wherever groups of desert monks are included. The illustration of nine events in the saint's life adorns a parekklesion (renovated in 1303) adjacent to the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike; the fresco cycle begins before the saint's conception and ends with his death, emphasizing his role as a ministrant of the church and his activity in baptizing Aspebetos (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–83).

SOURCE. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 3–85. Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines de Palestine* (Paris 1962) 55–144.

LIT. *BHG* 647–650d. S. Vailhé, *Saint Euthyme le Grand moine de Palestine (376–473)* (Paris 1909). Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 1:166f. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:201–03. J. Noret, “A propos des Vies de saint Euthyme, abbé,” *AB* 104 (1986) 453–55. —A.K., N.P.S.

**EUTHYMOS THE IBERIAN**, saint, also known as Euthymios Mt'ac'mindeli (“of the Holy Mountain”); born Georgia between 955 and 960, died Constantinople, 13 May 1028. Son of John the Iberian and cofounder of the monastery of IVERON on Athos, Euthymios served as superior from 1005 to 1019. He contributed much to the translation of Greek theological and hagiographical works into Georgian (lists of these translations are found in his Life and in the *Testament* of his father); some sources also ascribe to him translations from Georgian into Greek, including BARLAAM AND IOASAPH—the latter is, however, questionable. The *typikon* written by Euthymios for his monastery is lost, but it is cited in his Life. The Life of Euthymios and his father was written in Georgian by GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI ca.1045 and

includes valuable information about the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS.

SOURCE. I. Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli agiografiuli literaturis dzegebi*, vol. 2 (Tbilisi 1967) 38–100. Lat. tr. P. Peeters, “Histoires monastiques géorgiennes,” *AB* 36–37 (1917–19 [1922]) 5–68.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg.Lit.* 126–54. J. Lefort in *Ivyr.* 1:39–42. —A.K.

**EUTHYMOS THE YOUNGER**, also called Euthymios of Thessalonike, saint; baptismal name Niketas; born village of Opso, Galatia 823/4, died island of Hiera 14/15 Oct. 898. Euthymios was born to a well-to-do family (*eupatrides*) obliged to give military service (*strateia*). He married Euphrosyne, also of prosperous background, and fathered a daughter, Anastaso. In 841/2 he left his family and fled to Bithynian Olympos to become a monk. He traveled much: twice to Athos, to Thessalonike, to the island of Neoi, and elsewhere. He ascended a column (*stylos*) at least twice and ended his life as a hermit in a cave; nevertheless, the cenobitic monastery was his ideal, and he tried to establish order among dispersed monastic settlers on Athos. Circa 864 Euthymios became a deacon (D. Papachryssanthou suggests that he was a priest) in order to arrange liturgical services for Athonite hermits; ca.870 he converted the ruinous Church of St. Andrew at Peristerai, east of Thessalonike, into a monastery. In a sense, his activity foretold and prepared the way for ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Euthymios's Life was written by his disciple Basil, tonsured ca.875 (erroneously identified by Porfirij Uspenskij with an archbishop of Thessalonike). His eyewitness account has many chronological indications (not always accurate). Basil persistently stresses the importance of manual labor for monks. He mentions Arab raids on Athos and surrounding areas but is quite uninterested in events in Constantinople.

ED. L. Petit, “Vie et office de St. Euthyme le Jeune,” *ROC* 8 (1903) 55–205, also in *BHO* 5 (1904) 14–51.

LIT. *BHG* 655. D. Papachryssanthou, “La Vie de saint Euthyme le Jeune et la métropole de Thessalonique à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> et au début du X<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *REB* 32 (1974) 225–45. —A.K.

**EUTOKIOS** (Εὐτόκιος), commentator on mathematical works; born Ascalon ca.480. A contemporary of AMMONIOS and ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES, Eutokios was active in Alexandria and perhaps

Constantinople in the early 6th C. He is also known to have lectured on philosophy. Eutokios wrote commentaries on three works of ARCHIMEDES—*On the Measurement of a Circle*, *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*, and *On Plane Equilibria*. The first two of these commentaries were used by ISIDORE OF MILETUS, the last two were translated into Latin by WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE at Viterbo in late 1269. Eutokios also wrote a commentary on books 1–4 of the *Conics* of Apollonios of Perge that is dedicated to Anthemios. Finally it has been persuasively argued by J. Mogenet (*L'introduction à l'Almageste* [Brussels 1956] 22–34) that Eutokios was also the author of the *Introduction to Ptolemy's Great Composition*, which was originally the scholia to book 1 of the *Almagest* to which he refers in his commentary on the *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*. The *Introduction* seems to have been used by GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS for his *Introduction* of 1451 (J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984] 674, 687f).

Eutokios was not a mathematician of any originality but did understand almost all of the technical material that he commented on. He also preserves a number of solutions by earlier mathematicians whose works are no longer available to us.

ED. Commentaries—*Archimedis opera omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, E. Stamatis, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1972). *Archimède*, ed. C. Mugler, vol. 4 (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr. *Apollonii Pergaei quae Graece exstant*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1893) 168–361.

LIT. I. Bulmer-Thomas, *DSB* 4:488–91. Wilson, *Scholars* 45f, 86. —D.P.

**EUTROPIOS** (Εὐτρόπιος), favorite of Arkadios; born near the Persian frontier, died Chalcedon Aug.? 399. An emancipated slave and eunuch, he entered the service of Theodosios I and became the guardian of the young Arkadios. With the support of STILICHO, Eutropios removed RUFINUS and replaced him as the most powerful figure in the empire, first as *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (from 395), then as *patrikios* (398) and consul (399)—both titles never previously awarded to eunuchs. He granted privileges to the Jews (esp. merchants) and secured the support of the church by appointing JOHN CHRYSOSTOM as bishop of Constantinople and by issuing ordinances against heretics and pagans. Eutropios successfully commanded an army against the Huns who invaded Armenia in

397/8. He nevertheless excited hatred by his avarice, by demoting and condemning respected officials, by abolishing the church's right of asylum, by disrupting the alliance with Stilicho when he supported the revolt of GILDO, and by showing contempt toward Gothic mercenaries (esp. TRIBIGILD and then GAINAS). In 399 Eutropios finally managed to offend the empress EUDOXIA, who dismissed him. Fearing for his life, the eunuch fled to Hagia Sophia. Chrysostom, in a brilliant speech, requested imperial mercy for the former consul. Eutropios was nevertheless exiled to Cyprus, then recalled and executed. His acts and honors were nullified by an edict of 17 Aug. 399. The sources (Eunapios, Zosimos, Claudian, etc.) describe Eutropios in extremely negative terms.

LIT. PLRE 2:440–44. Demougeot, *Unité* 162–234. S. Döpp, *Zeitgeschichte in Dichtungen Claudians* (Wiesbaden 1980) 159–74. A.S. Kozlov, "Bor'ba meždu političeskoj oppoziciej i pravitel'stvom Vizantii v 395–399 gg.," *ADSV* 13 (1976) 74–79. —T.E.G.

**EUTROPIUS**, Latin historian and, according to the *Souda*, a sophist; born Bordeaux? 4th C. Although there is some discussion about his identity and career, Eutropius apparently held a string of high offices under various emperors: *magister epistularum* (before 361), *magister memoriae* (369), proconsul of Asia (371–72), praetorian prefect (Illyricum, 380–81), and consul (in 387). Both SYMMACHUS and LIBANIOS addressed letters to him in the period 387–90. In 363 he was one of several historians to accompany the emperor JULIAN on his ill-fated Persian expedition. Eutropius composed a breviary of Roman history in ten books from 753 B.C. to Valens' accession in 364. It is conventional in opinions, sober in subject matter, and clear in language. His silence on Christianity does not prove him a pagan, as some believe, as such reticence is a stylistic affectation of many late Roman historians. Eutropius's book became accessible to the Byz. through the Greek translations of Paionios, a pupil of Libanios (L. Balfetti, *BNJbb* 3 [1922] 15–36), and of Capito Lycius in Justinian I's time.

ED. *Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita*, ed. C. Santini (Leipzig 1979).

LIT. H.W. Bird, "Eutropius: His Life and Career," *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32 n.s. 7 (1988) 51–60. D. Tribolis, *Eutropius historicus kai hoi Hellenes metaphrastai tou Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Athens 1941). —B.B.

**EUTYCHES** (Εὐτύχης), monk and archimandrite of a suburban Constantinopolitan monastery (from 410); born ca. 370, died after 451 or even 454 (D. Siernon, *DPAC* 1:1307). An ardent opponent of NESTORIOS, Eutyches was a staunch supporter of CYRIL of Alexandria; he defended the interests of Alexandria at the court of Theodosios II, exercising influence there due to his connections with the eunuch Chrysaphios, his godson. Developing Cyril's ideas, Eutyches launched the concept of MONOPHYSITISM. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS attacked him anonymously in the *Eranistes*, and Eusebios, bishop of Dorylaion, accused him of heresy in 448. At his trial later that year, Eutyches denied that Christ had two natures after the Incarnation; he refused to acknowledge even the hypostatical union of two natures in Christ and to accept that Christ was consubstantial (*homoousios*) with mankind. Patr. FLAVIAN condemned him on 22 Nov. 448, a condemnation subsequently supported by Pope LEO I. Eutyches, however, won the day at the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS in 449 when Flavian was deposed. The death of Theodosios II was a heavy blow for Eutyches: he was deposed and exiled to a site not far from Constantinople. Pope Leo, in a letter of 9 June 451, insisted on Eutyches' banishment to a more remote place. His subsequent fate is unknown.

ED. *CPG* 3, nos. 6937–40. P. Anannian, "L'opuscolo di Eutichio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, sulla 'Distinzione della natura e della persona,'" in *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice 1969) 316–82, with Ital. tr.

LIT. A. van Roey, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 87–91. E. Schwartz, *Der Prozess des Eutyches* (Munich 1929). R. Draguet, "La christologie d'Eutychès d'après les Actes du synode de Flavien," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 441–57. —A.K.

**EUTYCHIOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 552–between 22 and 31 Jan. 565; 2 Oct. 577–6 Apr. 582) and saint; born Phrygian village of Theios/Theion 512, died Constantinople; feast-day 6 Apr. His father was a lieutenant of BELISARIOS (PG 86:2281BC). Educated in Constantinople, Eutychios became a monk and then *katholikos* (i.e., superior of all the monks) in the metropolis of Amaseia (col. 2296AB). Justinian I selected him to succeed MENAS as patriarch, since Eutychios supported the emperor's position in the dispute about the THREE CHAPTERS. Eutychios presided over the Council of Constantinople in 553 and dedicated Hagia Sophia after its restoration. Prob-

ably by 558 relations between Eutychios and Justinian had begun to deteriorate; the emperor urged both him and Belisarios to attend a *silentium* that investigated the case of some subordinates of Belisarios who were involved in a plot (Theoph. 238.11–15). The patriarch's opposition to APHTHARTODOCETISM aroused Justinian's anger, and the emperor exiled him to Amaseia, replacing him with JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS; after the latter's death Eutychios was restored by Justin II. Eutychios had a theological discussion with the future pope GREGORY I on the question of the resurrection of the flesh.

Of his works (on Origenism, against the Monophysite interpretation of the Trisagion, etc.) little has survived excepting titles. His pupil Eustratios wrote the *vita* of Eutychios, full of biblical and patristic allusions; it contains some data on Chosroes I's invasion, and some miracles worked by Eutychios are of interest for cultural history. Thus the patriarch healed a young mosaicist who had been injured by a demon after he was forced to destroy a mosaic in a private house in Amaseia on which the story of Aphrodite was depicted (PG 86:2333D–2340B). Eustratios called his hero "the *archiereus* of the *oikoumene*" (col. 2281A), an early case of the use of this title.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Eustratios—PG 86:2273–2390.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 244–49, 260–63. Beck, *Kirche* 380. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no. 1. R. Janin, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 94f. —A.K.

**EUTYCHIOS**, exarch of Ravenna (ca. 728–ca. 751). A eunuch of patrician rank, Eutychios was sent by Leo III to Italy after the murder of the exarch Paul, probably to remove Pope GREGORY II for opposing the emperor's Iconoclasm (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 26–31; D. Miller, *MedSt* 36 [1974] 102–05). Eutychios went first to Naples and unsuccessfully attempted to have Gregory and the Roman nobles murdered. He then approached the LOMBARDS and agreed to help King Liutprand gain Spoleto and Benevento in exchange for aid against Gregory. When they arrived in Rome (729?), however, the pope won over Liutprand, who reconciled Eutychios and Gregory. Eutychios apparently stayed in Rome, for shortly thereafter (730?) Gregory gave him troops against Tiberius Petasius. The sources do not mention Eutychios further by name, but he is assumed to have been exarch until the Lombards' capture of Ravenna



ca. 751. If so, he was the exarch who sought refuge and help in Venice in the late 730s, when the Lombards first took Ravenna; entreated by Pope GREGORY III, the Venetians recaptured the city and returned it to Byz. control. So, too, Eutychios would have been the exarch who petitioned Pope ZACHARIAS in the early 740s to dissuade Liutprand from attacking Ravenna.

LIT. C. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne* (Paris 1888). T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders (600–744)*, vol. 6 (Oxford 1916) 487–98. J.T. Hallenbeck, "The Roman-Byzantine Reconciliation of 728: Genesis and Significances," *BZ* 74 (1981) 29–41.

—P.A.H.

**EUTYCHIOS** (painter). See MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

**EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA**, known in Arabic as Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (i.e., "patriarch"); Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (from 22 Jan. 935); born 17 Aug. 877, died Fuṣṭāṭ 11 May 940. A learned physician, Eutychios is best known for the *Annals* that go under his name, a chronography on the Byz. model written in Arabic and extending from the age of Adam to the year 938. The form in which the *Annals* of Eutychios has been published in modern times is the result of numerous editorial expansions by later Melkite writers. A notable feature of the *Annals*, in the accounts of the years after the rise of Islam, is the coordination of the reigns of the caliphs and of the Oriental patriarchs with the reigns of the patriarchs and emperors of Byz. The *Annals* report important events in the history of Byz., such as the so-called MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY in the time of Constantine VI, and they propose an eccentric account of ICONOCLASM by representing it solely as an over-reaction to the abuses of certain iconophiles on the part of Emp. Theophilos (Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic" 154–90).

A number of other Christian Arabic works are assigned to Eutychios, most importantly a long apologetic treatise, *The Book of the Demonstration*. It is now clear, however, that this and other texts attributed to him were not written by Eutychios.

ED. *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, 2 vols. (Beirut-Paris 1906–09). Lat. tr. PG 111:907–1156. Excerpts—*Das Annalenwerk*, ed. M. Breydy, 2 vols. (Louvain 1985), with Germ. tr. *The Book of the Demonstration*, ed. P. Cachia, 4 vols. (Louvain 1960–61), with Eng. tr. by W.M. Watt.

LIT. M. Breydy, *Études sur Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources* (Louvain 1983). L.V. Isakova, "K voprosu o chronike Eutichija i ee rukopisjach," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 112–16.

—S.H.G.

**EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS** (Εὐάγριος Ποντικός), monastic writer; born Ibora, Pontos, ca. 345, died Egypt 399. He was ordained *anagnostes* by Basil the Great and deacon by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, who was also his teacher. In 380 he accompanied Gregory to Constantinople, where he attained fame as a preacher; a scandalous love affair, however, soon forced his departure. Having been received by Melania the Elder at Jerusalem, in 383 Evagrius embraced the monastic life in Egypt, living in Nitria and Kellia. He associated with MAKARIOS THE GREAT and Makarios of Alexandria (G. Bunge, *Irénikon* 56 [1983] 215–27, 323–60) and supported himself as a calligrapher. Evagrius also composed his works on the monastic life during his sojourn in the Egyptian desert.

Evagrius followed ORIGEN, accepting his idea of the preexistence of souls as pure intellectual beings that assumed flesh and became sinful but are to be reconstituted in angelic shape (*apokatastasis*) and unified with God. Jesus Christ was the single spiritual being who did not fall away from the Logos, although he remained united to the flesh. Asceticism was for Evagrius the main path to salvation. He developed the concept of "practical" behavior, which he interpreted not as the "active" but the anachoretic life; its major purpose was the struggle against eight wicked *logismoi*, or sinful desires, namely gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, wrath, torpor, vainglory, and arrogance. Cleansed of these *logismoi* the pious man would be able to contemplate the created world and divine wisdom.

After Evagrius was condemned for Origenism in 553, many of his works were lost; some are preserved under the name of NEILOS OF ANKYRA, some in Syriac, Armenian, Latin, and other translations. Nevertheless his concept of practical behavior, his list of eight *logismoi*, and his aphoristic style as well as the literary genre of spiritual *centuria* (short catechetical units) or CHAPTERS influenced subsequent monastic literature, for example, CASSIAN, PALLADIOS, and later SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN.

ED. *Traité pratique ou le moine*, ed. A. & C. Guillaumont, 2 vols. (Paris 1971), with Fr. tr. *The Praktikos: Chapters on*

*Prayer*, tr. J.E. Bamberger (Spencer, Mass., 1970). Syriac version—ed. A. Guillaumont, *Les six siècles des "Kephalaia gnostica"* (Paris 1958), with Fr. tr.

LIT. W. Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus* (Berlin 1912). A. Guillaumont, "Un philosophe au désert: Evagre le Pontique," *RHR* 181 (1972) 29–56. Idem, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Evagre le Pontique* (Paris 1962).

—B.B., A.K.

**EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS**, ecclesiastical historian; born Epiphaneia in Coele Syria ca. 536, died after 594. Evagrius was a lawyer (SCHOLASTIKOS) at Antioch, also holding some probably honorary administrative offices. His *Church History* covers in six books the years 431–594, using both secular and ecclesiastical sources. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 29) thought him an undistinguished stylist, but soundly orthodox and commendably interested in the history of images. A Chalcedonian in theology, he treats the Council of 451 at length, but is compromising toward MONOPHYSITISM. His secular narrative emphasizes the virtues and achievements of Marcian, Tiberios I, and Maurice. A certain parochialism, however, results in more space being given to the affairs of ANTIOCH (esp. the career of Patr. Gregory [570–93]) than to Constantinople. His style is conventionally rhetorical, but not excessively poetic, and he eclectically uses pagan and Christian models (V. Caires, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 29–50). Overall estimates vary widely, often criticizing him for credulity, but his eyewitness accounts, sifting of sources, citation of documents from the archives of the Antiochene patriarchate, and inclusion of bibliography make his history invaluable.

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez, L. Parmentier (London 1898; rp. Amsterdam 1964); Fr. tr. A.J. Festugère, *Byzantion* 45 (1975) 187–488.

LIT. P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian* (Louvain 1981).

—B.B.

**EVANGELION** (εὐαγγέλιον), evangeliary, the Byz. Gospel LECTIONARY, used chiefly at Eucharist. The *evangelion* contains only those Gospel passages that are actually read. The first part has the Gospel LECTIONS for the mobile cycle, in liturgical order John, Matthew, Luke, Mark. It must not be confused with the *tetraevangelion* (see GOSPEL BOOK), which contains the complete text of the four Gospels, arranged exactly as they are in the New Testament, but with the beginning and end of each passage to be read indicated in the margin

and numbered. The second part, known as the SYNAXARION (wrongly as the *menologion*), lists the LECTIONS for each day of the year from 1 Sept., providing the full Gospel passage unless it already appears earlier in the volume. The Gospel lections for feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church CALENDAR are select; those of the movable, temporal cycle, which varies depending on the date of Easter, are semicontinuous, i.e., read more or less in the order in which they occur in the Bible text. In the latter cycle, each Gospel is associated with a particular period of the year: John, the period from Easter to Pentecost; Matthew, from Pentecost to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 Sept.); Luke, from then until the beginning of Lent; Mark, throughout Lent.

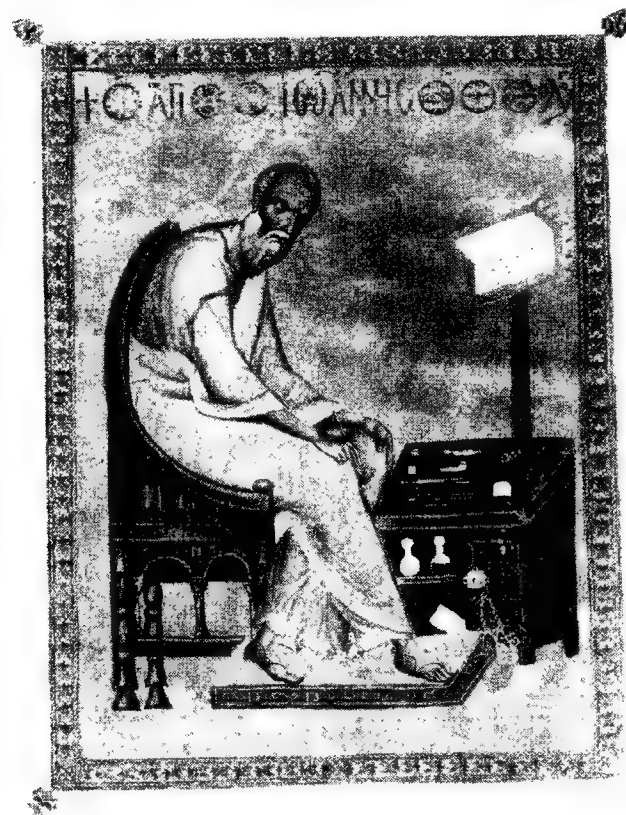
Usually included in MSS of the *evangelion* are the Twelve Passion Gospels read at Good Friday *orthros*. These are a composite series of harmonized readings from the four Gospels, of Palestinian origin, arranged to recount in chronological sequence the events of Jesus' passion and death.

**Lectionary Illustration.** *Evangelia* are frequently adorned with EVANGELIST PORTRAITS; further figural illustration, which is relatively rare, may comprise headpieces, smaller framed or unframed pictures near the appropriate lection, marginal illustrations, and inhabited initials. In the most sumptuously illustrated *evangelia* the *synaxarion* section is also illustrated; these MSS date primarily between the 10th and 12th C.

LIT. E.C. Colwell, D.W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago 1933). Y. Burns, "The Greek Manuscripts connected by their Lection System with the Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionaries," *Studia Biblica* 2 [= *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*], supp. (1980) 13–28. W.C. Braithwaite, "The Lection-System of the Codex Macedonianus," *JThSt* 5 (1904) 265–74. S. Tsuji, *Illuminated Greek MSS* 34–39. K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London 1980), pts. VIII, X, XI, XII, XIV.

—R.F.T., A.C.

**EVANGELIST PORTRAITS**, found throughout Byz. art, are prominently represented in the PENDENTIVES below the domes of churches, on the TEMPLON, on the EPITAPHIOS, and esp. in MSS, where they are the most commonly illustrated subject. In physical type, the older, gray-haired MATTHEW and JOHN contrast with the younger, dark-haired MARK and LUKE. In MSS, they are rarely represented standing; they are usually seated, and depicted as writing, meditating, reach-



EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. Portrait of St. John the Evangelist in a Gospel book (Athens, gr. 57, fol.265v); 11th C. National Library, Athens.

ing forward to a lectern, dipping their pens in an inkwell, or occasionally erasing a text or sharpening their quills. The evangelists write on a codex or roll, usually in Greek, but, in the 13th C., sometimes in Latin. Often shown before architectural backgrounds, they are surrounded by lecterns and desks with writing paraphernalia. They may be framed by arches and accompanied by illustrations of the liturgical feast at which the beginning of each Gospel was read. From ca.1000, John is depicted dictating to his assistant Prochoros, and, less frequently, Peter and Paul instruct Mark and Luke, respectively. The inclusion of EVANGELIST SYMBOLS is rarer than in the Latin West. The importance and ubiquity of evangelist portraits was such that other authors (e.g., DAVID, the church fathers, hymnographers) were commonly represented in the same manner.

LIT. H. Hunger, K. Wessel, *RBK* 2 (1968) 452-507. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75-91. I. Spatharakis, *The Left-Handed Evangelist: A Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography* (London 1988). —R.S.N.

**EVANGELIST SYMBOLS.** The four beasts (ZODIA) of Ezekiel 1:10—man, lion, ox, eagle—were associated from the 2nd C. onward with the four Evangelists of the New Testament. In Byz. art, they most often surround Christ in Majesty. Thus they first appear projecting from the MANDORLA of the youthful Christ in the apse mosaic at HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike. In several 10th-through 11th-C. Cappadocian apses showing the Prophetic VISION, the symbols accompany a mature Christ; labeled with the words intoned in the liturgy before the TRISAGION, the symbols link the Christ of the image with the revealed Christ of the liturgy. In various Gospel frontispieces, they surround the MAJESTAS DOMINI, echoing certain Gospel prefaces that explain the existence of four Gospels by referring to the four beasts crying the glory of "him who sits upon the Cherubim." In some Gospel books, each Evangelist is paired with a symbol. The pairing of symbols and Evangelists varies from book to book throughout the 11th-12th C. Only with a late 12th-C. set of verses found in eight DECORATIVE STYLE Gospels does the pairing standard in the West and in Armenian art appear: man/Matthew, lion/Mark, ox/Luke, eagle/John. Possibly through Western influence, this pairing becomes customary in Palaiologan art.

LIT. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies-Visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," in *Synthronon* 135-43. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 15-53, 109-18. —A.W.C.

**EVARISTOS**, mid-10th-C. deacon and librarian (*bibliophylax*), author of a letter addressed to CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, "born in the purple silk." The letter is preserved only in Arabic. The emperor had commanded Evaristos to produce a history of the saints "in easy language." In his letter Evaristos informs the ruler that he has sketched biographies of the saints, established their dates, and verified the records. Evaristos's compilation, now lost, was probably a step toward the comprehensive work by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

ED. A.S. Lewis, M.D. Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic MSS* (Cambridge 1907) 27f (with Eng. tr.). LIT. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1.1:24, n.1. —A.K.

**EVE.** See ADAM AND EVE.

**EVERYDAY LIFE**, in the broad sense, encompasses the entirety of Byz. culture: thus, T. Talbot Rice's book (*infra*) includes sections on the imperial court, church, administration, army, etc. In the narrow sense, everyday life is ordinary human activity and comprises diet and costume, BEHAVIOR and superstitions, ENTERTAINMENT, housing, and FURNITURE. The subject is poorly studied and sources are limited: historiography, rhetoric, and liturgical texts are not very helpful, although they are the best known writings; archaeology provides some scattered data; hagiography, documents, and letters offer only small nuggets of information (P. Magdalino, *BS* 48 [1987] 28-38). The content of mural and book illustration is of mixed evidential value: the costumes, gestures, and attitudes of protagonists in sacred iconography appear to be conventional and often antique, yet peripheral details in both urban and rural scenes may well reflect current circumstances.

While daily life in late antiquity was municipally oriented and situated primarily in open spaces, Byz. funneled its energy inside closed buildings. A comparison of two great vitae, those of SYMEON OF EMESA (6th C.) and BASIL THE YOUNGER (10th C.), reveals the change: Symeon is depicted in the streets and squares, Basil within the houses of his supporters. Public life did not totally disappear—some processions and feasts continued to be held in public—but it was significantly contracted: the THEATER ceased to exist, religious services dispensed with many outdoor liturgical ceremonies, even races and circus games tended to be replaced by CARNIVALS and by SPORTS and competitions, such as polo and tournaments, which were on a reduced scale and socially restricted. The shift from reading aloud to silent reading, the adoption of silent prayer, the abandonment of public repentance, the playing of quiet board GAMES like CHESS—all these belong to the same phenomenon of "privatization" of everyday life.

With the exception of churches, there was no new construction of public buildings in Byz. towns, and the regular city planning of antiquity, with squares, porticoes, and wide avenues, was replaced by a chaotic maze of narrow streets and individual habitats. The HOUSES of the nobility (villas or mansions) also lost their orderly arrangement, which was replaced by a group of irregularly shaped rooms, bedchambers, terraces, and

workshops; also abandoned was their openness to nature in the form of the ATRIUM—with its impluvium, inner garden, and fountain—or naturalistic floor mosaics. Houses became darker, and the shift in LIGHTING from lamps to candles after the 7th C. contributed as well to this change.

The increased use of TABLES and of the WRITING DESK influenced various habits—from reading and writing (including the format of the BOOK) to dining and games. The BED as the symbol of the most private aspect of daily life became consistently distinct from CHAIRS or stools, which were used for more social occasions. Pottery (see CERAMICS) grew more uniform and less decorated than in antiquity; it served primarily the private needs of the family, whereas imperial BANQUETS used gold and silver ware.

A respect for the human body determined the form of ancient COSTUME: the body was covered only minimally and there was no fear of nakedness. Byz. costume, however, which began to adopt the use of TROUSERS and sleeves, was a reaction against the openness of antiquity, and heavy cloaks provided people with additional means of concealment.

Patterns of food consumption evidently changed as well: in the ordinary DIET, the role of BREAD decreased, whereas MEAT, FISH, and CHEESE became more important. Dining habits changed, too, from a relaxed reclining to the more formal sitting on chairs. While we can surmise that the actual diet was not spare by medieval standards, the predominantly monastic ideology of the Byz. condemned heavy meals and praised ascetic abstemiousness.

Bathing habits also changed: the public BATHS, which had served virtually as a club for well-to-do Romans, almost disappeared and ancient bathhouses were often transformed into churches. Provincial baths were few, located in log huts full of smoke coming from an open hearth.

The nuclear FAMILY was the crucial social unit responsible for the production of goods, so that hired workers (MISTHIOI) and even slaves (see SLAVERY) were considered an extension of the family; the education of children was also the family's responsibility. The family was limited to a certain extent by the neighborhood, guild, or village community; it was these MICROSTRUCTURES that took charge of organizing FEASTS. WOMEN, who indisputably played a decisive role in the



household, were compelled to remain in a special part of the house and to wear "decent" dress, which served clearly to distinguish a matron from the PROSTITUTE, whose more revealing costume suggested immoral conduct. The unity of the family was emphasized by the custom of common meals and by the father's right to indoctrinate (sometimes with physical force) all the members of his small household.

Depictions of everyday life are rare as primary subjects in art, although many indications can be gleaned from biblical images in MSS such as the OCTATEUCHS where, for example, scenes of birth, legal penalties, and activities such as threshing and various modes of transportation reflect Byz. practice. A market scene appears in a fresco at the Blachernai monastery in ARTA which depicts a procession of the Virgin Hodegetria. It shows merchants displaying their merchandise in baskets and on benches, fruit and beverage vendors, and their customers. By contrast, ceramic household VESSELS made for everyday use, when they do contain figural decoration of any sort, show scenes from mythology, fable, or epic.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos*, 6 vols. (Athens 1952-57). T. Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (London-New York 1967). C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *JOB* 31.1 (1981) 337-53; 32.1 (1982) 252-57. G. Litavrin, *Kak žili vizantijscy?* (Moscow 1974). M.A. Poljakovskaja, A.A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989). He katherine zoe sto Byzantino (Athens 1989). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 74-83. Veyne, *Private Life* 235-409, 551-641. G. Walter, *La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes* (Paris 1966). —A.K., A.C.

**EVIL** (κακία). The core of the problem of evil is how far responsibility for it can be attributed to God. Late antiquity presented two diametrically opposed concepts of evil. The dualistic systems of Gnosticism and Manichaeism considered evil as a "substance" warring with the good, symbolically treated as a battle of darkness against light. The material world is the realm of evil, created by the inferior deity and contrasted to the divine and heavenly world. In contrast, Proklos assumed that evil had only a dependent existence (*parhypostasis*) and was caused by manifold factors such as weakness, lack of knowledge, or lack of goodness; he criticized Plotinos, for whom evil was an inherent quality of matter.

Christianity overcame the contradiction after painful vacillations; Origen, for example, viewed

the cosmos as consisting of an opposition of light and darkness. The core of the Christian solution is Augustine's view that Adam's original sin was perpetrated contrary to nature (divine nature has no evil in itself); original sin was committed not due to human FREE WILL (as was the view of Pelagianism), but by the mysterious dispensation of God, who knows how to transform evil into good. John of Damascus, on the other hand, emphasized that any creation of God was good, but that both angels and mortals were *autexousioi*, that is, granted freedom of choice to follow God's law or deviate from it; we are responsible for our wrongdoing, just as the criminal, not the judge, is responsible for a felony and deserves punishment. John also drew a distinction between evil "by nature" (deviation from God's law) and "apparent" (subjectively perceived) evil, that is, the hardships and trials of life (including fasting, vigils, etc.) that in fact contribute to our salvation. Redemption from Adam's sin was achieved by Christ's sacrifice and is continued in Baptism and other sacraments. John Chrysostom consistently explains Christ's sacrifice as propitiating the Father and reconciling mankind with an angry God. In Christian belief, the Devil and his demons are the embodiment of evil; the mission of saints is the battle against demons. Despite the symbolism of light and darkness this struggle is not conceived dualistically, since it evolves under God's paternal care and aims at the improvement of corrupted human nature.

LIT. F. Young, "Insight or Incoherence? The Greek Fathers on God and Evil," *JEH* 24 (1973) 113-26. M. Erler in *Proklos Diadochos: Über die Existenz des Bösen* (Meisenheim am Glan 1978) v-ix. H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). —A.K.

**EVIL EYE**, a popular amuletic image of the 4th-8th C. characterized by an eye surrounded by a variety of threatening beasts and instruments: lions, snakes, scorpions, daggers, etc. Most often it is found on a bronze pendant AMULET whose other side bears the HOLY RIDER. Amuletic inscriptions against the evil eye, without a representation, are also common (e.g., "the seal of Solomon holds the evil eye"—Russell, *infra* 540). Both would combat the envious glance that was popularly believed to facilitate the access of demons to a coveted thing or person. The antidote was to display the inevi-

table suffering of the covetous individual or, more specifically, of his "evil eye." In *The Testament of Solomon* (ed. C.C. McCown [Leipzig 1922] 18.39) one demon reports: "My power is annulled by the engraved image of the much-suffering eye."

LIT. J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society," *JOB* 32.3 (1982) 539-48. —G.V.

**EVLIYA ÇELEBI**, Ottoman scholar, *sipāhī*, and traveler; born Istanbul 25 Mar. 1611, died Istanbul? 1684. Evliya was the author of the ten-volume *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels), professedly a description with considerable elaborations of Evliya's extensive journeys and various sojourns throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond, primarily for ca. 1630-76. Evliya wrote to entertain and his language is a mixture of learned and vernacular Ottoman. His sources include his personal observations, hearsay, cited and uncited literary works, and his own lively imagination. Assuredly, some of what Evliya wrote is fictitious. Nonetheless, he conveys a plethora of credible data regarding the geography, cities, monuments, institutions, peoples, and cultures of the Ottoman Empire of his time. For Byz. studies, Evliya's work is replete with information concerning the status and development of previously Byz. peoples under Ottoman rule. Book 1 is esp. important for its material on the topography, ethnography, and folklore of Istanbul. No critical edition of this work yet exists.

ED. AND TR. *Evliya Çelebi seyâhâtname*, 10 vols. (Istanbul 1896-1938), in Ottoman. *Evliya Çelebi seyâhâtname*, 15 vols. (Istanbul 1971), in Turkish. Eng. tr. Books 1-2—J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century* (by Evliya Efendi), 2 vols. in 1 (London 1834; rp. New York 1968). *He Kentrike kai Dylike Makedonia kata ton Ebligia Tseleb*, ed. B. Demetriades (Thessalonike 1973).

LIT. J. Mordtmann-H. Duda, *EI* 2:717-20. B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York-London 1982). —S.W.R.

**EVRENOS** (Εβρενέζ and similar forms), Ottoman general; died Yenice-i Vardar 1417. Originally a *beg* of KARASI, Evrenos joined the Ottomans after they conquered that *beylik*. Evrenos had served from 1359 as general under Süleyman Pasha, Murad I, Bayezid I, Süleyman Çelebi, and Mehmed I. Evrenos participated in virtually all the critical campaigns and battles fought by the

Ottomans in Europe during his lifetime. During the 1360s-80s, he led many of the Turkish conquests in Byz. Thrace and Macedonia and captured Corinth in 1397. Evrenos himself acquired vast estates, centered at Yenice-i Vardar (mod. Yiannitsa in northern Greece), the site of his family tombs.

Byz. views of Evrenos were typically negative. Manuel II, writing ca. 1409, attributed to him an "unrivaled" hatred of Christians and extreme cruelty. Among Muslims, Evrenos was renowned for his heroism, piety, and generosity.

LIT. I. Melikoff, *EI* 2:720. I. Uzunçarşılı, *IA* 4:414-18. —S.W.R.

**EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO**, patriarch of Bulgaria, teacher, and writer; born Tŭrnovo between about 1320 and 1330, died Bačkovu ca. 1400. As a young monk in a monastery in Tŭrnovo he was attracted by HESYCHASM, of which he became a lifelong defender. He was the protégé of Patr. TEODOSIJE, with whom he went to Constantinople in 1363. He then spent some years in the Lavra and Zographou monasteries on Athos. Returning to Bulgaria in 1371 he founded the monastery of Holy Trinity near Tŭrnovo, which became a center of scholarship and literature. Elected patriarch in 1375, he helped in the struggle to preserve Bulgarian independence and to maintain the religious unity of the Bulgarian people. After the Turkish capture of Tŭrnovo in 1393, he was expelled and imprisoned in the PETRITZOS monastery at Bačkovu.

Evtimij revised and corrected earlier CHURCH SLAVONIC translations from Greek and sought to standardize Slavonic orthography and grammar in the face of linguistic change. His original writings comprise Lives of Bulgarian saints (for example, St. JOHN OF RILA), panegyrics of saints, theological treatises, and liturgical texts. He extended the flexibility and expressiveness of Old Slavonic and introduced to Slavonic literature something of the culture of mid-14th-C. Byz. His works enjoyed great influence in Serbia, Rumania, and Russia as well as in Bulgaria.

ED. *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymios*, ed. E. Kałużniacki (Vienna 1901; rp. London 1971).

LIT. I. Bogdanov, *Patriarh Evtimij* (Sofia 1970). Kl. Ivanova, *Patriarh Evtimij* (Sofia 1986). P.A. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1890-98). N.C. Kočev in *Kulturno razvitiie na Bŭlgarskata*

*dŕžava: krajat na XII-XIV vek* (Sofia 1985) 278–84. G. Dančev, "Otnošenje Evfimija Tyrnovskogo k eretičeskim učenijam, rasprostranjavšimsja v Bolgarskich zemljach," *BBulg* 6 (1980) 95–104. —R.B.

**EWER.** See CHERNIBOXESTON.

**EX VOTO.** See VOTIVES.

**EXAGION** (ἐξάγιον, Lat. *exagium*), a unit of weight equal to 1/72 of the heavy Roman *libra* or Byz. *logarike* LITRA [= 4.44 g]. Synonymous terms are *stagion*, *saggio* (It.), and *mitqāl* (Ar.). Since the SOLIDUS weighed exactly one *exagion*, the term was also used to refer to the coin. *Exagion* can also identify the WEIGHTS used to control gold coins. After 1204 *exagia* of different weight are reported, that is, they are 1/72 of "pounds" that differed from the *logarike litra*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 183, 204. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:795–800. —E. Sch.

**EXAKTOR** (ἐξάκτωρ), fiscal official in the late Roman Empire whose main function was to exact arrears of taxation; *exaktōres* had under their command a staff of subaltern officials, including *praktōres*. Usually attached to a particular city, the *exaktor* was first appointed by the emperor, later by the CURIA. After the 6th C. the *exaktor* disappears temporarily.

The 9th-C. *TAKTIKA* do not mention *exaktōres*, but the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escorial* places them between the *protasekretis* and *mystikos*. They seem to have retained certain fiscal functions. An act of the 11th C. is signed by John, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* and *exaktor* (N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 [1968] 18.18). TZETZES (*Hist.* 5.609–11) boasts that his grandfather George was a renowned *exaktor* who fulfilled the duty of *praktor* in various themes. At the same time, the *exaktor* became a high-ranking judge of the imperial tribunal. After 1204 the post is unknown.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 325f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 68. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:480–83. O. Seeck, *RE* 6 (1909) 1542–47. —A.K.

**EXALEIMMA** (ἐξάλειμμα, from *exaleipho*, "to wipe out, erase" [from the tax roll]), a fiscal term applied to immovable property. The term appears, almost exclusively in documents, from 1259 to

1361, although the adjective *exaleimmatikos*, as in *exaleimmatike stasis*, is firmly attested from 1300 until 1420. *Exaleimmata* were bought, sold, donated, granted in PRONOIA, reassigned to other *paroikoi*, broken up and parceled between *paroikoi* and their lord, and given fiscal assessments comparable to other properties. While V. Vasil'evskij (*ŽMNP* 210 [1880] 158) first identified *exaleimma* as escheat, later scholars (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 122; Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:240; Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 432) frequently interpret *exaleimmata* as ruined properties. A few documents, however (Zogr., no.18.11–14; M. Goudas, *EEBS* 3 [1926] 133f, no.7.6–10; *Docheiar.*, no.40.13–14), demonstrate that *exaleimmata* could be cultivated properties producing income.

The use of the participle *exalipheis* in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 116.2–6) and later documents through the 12th C. and the use of the adjective *exaleimmenos* in mid-11th- to mid-13th-C. documents suggest that an *exaleimma* was an escheated property, which reverted to the owner's lord (a private landlord or the state in its role as a landlord) as a result of the death or flight of its owner (usually a *paroikos*) without leaving a proper heir. The use of these terms also suggests that in the late Byz. agrarian system, based on the *paroikia*, *exaleimma* played a role analogous to that held by *KLASMA* in the earlier Byz. agrarian system based on the village community.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "Exaleimma: Escheat in Byzantium," *DOP* 40 (1986) 55–81. —M.B.

**EXALTATION OF THE CROSS.** See CROSS, CULT OF THE.

**EXAMPLE** (παράδειγμα) was considered by ancient rhetoricians as a *TROPE* (Martin, *Rhetorik* 262), based on the juxtaposition of objects and aimed at exhortation or dissuasion; unlike the *PARABLE*, examples dealt with actual phenomena and not with possible ones (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:200.21–201.2). The church fathers frequently used examples to clarify subtle theological concepts, such as illustrating the Trinity by means of the sun and its rays, or demonstrating the existence of two natures in Christ by the example of the human soul and body. Leontios of Byzantium (PG 86:1453A–C) asserted that theological truth could not be proven by "natural reason" and

ridiculed the philosophers who rely on examples. The prototype, he said, always lacks likeness; even though Ethiopians and ravens are both black, they are totally dissimilar. JOHN OF DAMASCUS explicitly emphasized that examples must not be completely identical (*Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 2:169.19–24, 4:128, ch.54.6–7). —A.K.

**EXARCH** (ἐξάρχος), the name of several officials in both secular and ecclesiastical administration.

**Secular Exarchs.** At the time of Justinian I exarch was identified with a *DOUX* (C. Benjamin, *RE* 6 [1909] 1552f); eventually the term became the designation of the governor of an EXARCHATE, holding both civil and military power. Later, in the 10th-C. BOOK OF THE EPARCH, the term was applied to the heads of several guilds, the PRANDIOPRATAI and METAXOPRATAI; it is found, without any definition, in charters of 982 and 1008 (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 4, 15)—Dölger (*Schatz.* 297f) had hypothesized that they were heads of guilds. Clearer is a purchase deed of 1320 that testifies to the existence of an exarch of *myrepsoi* in Thessalonike who was personally involved in the production of perfumes (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 307). There is no evidence concerning the exarchs of guilds in Constantinople after the 10th C.

**Ecclesiastical Exarchs.** The chief bishop of a civil DIOCESE was also called exarch. In ecclesiastical usage therefore the title meant "primate" and was given to both METROPOLITANS and PATRIARCHS exercising authority over a wide area (CHALCEDON, canon 9). Thus ZONARAS comments that this canon designates the patriarchs themselves as exarchs of their dioceses (PG 137:420C). Although the title was abandoned by the 6th C. in favor of the familiar "patriarch," in later centuries it was frequently given to metropolitans as a purely honorary designation. At the same time, however, it was also used to denote a patriarchal functionary or representative of a territory directly dependent on the patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus*, 5.1, nos. 241–45; 5.3, nos. 1681–83). Indeed, by 1350 priests in Constantinople were even appointed exarchs in charge of the clergy in their GEITONIAI (neighborhoods). Finally, the title could denote a "supervisor" (cf. ARCHIMANDRITE) of monastic foundations subject to the patriarch. The superiors of the DALMATOU MONASTERY in Constantinople were already using the title in this sense in the 5th C.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 78–86. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 109–11. —A.K., A.P.

**EXARCHATE**, a new type of territorial and administrative unit created at the end of the 6th C. in CARTHAGE and RAVENNA; these existed until the end of the 7th and the middle of the 8th C., respectively. The external feature of the exarchate was the unification of military and civil power in the hands of the EXARCH, a reform that had been prepared by partial changes of provincial administration under Justinian I. Structurally considered, both exarchates were territories threatened by constant hostile pressure, populated by people with a language and cultural traditions different from those of Constantinople, strongly rural, with an aristocracy that tended to emigrate to Constantinople and a local church that acquired political power. All this formed a certain antinomy between the strong administration of an exarchate and its tendency toward economic and social separation from the empire.

LIT. A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle* (Rome 1969). —A.K.

**EXCERPTA** (Ἐκλογαί), conventional title of an "encyclopedia" produced by CONSTANTINE VII and his collaborators. According to the preface, the emperor gave orders for necessary books to be collected from the whole *oikoumene*, excerpted and arranged in 53 sections (*hypotheseis*) dedicated to specific topics. The purpose was to use the experience of the past for moral and political education. One of these *hypotheseis*, *De legationibus*, is preserved in full, and significant parts of *De virtutibus et vitiis*, *De insidiis*, and *De sententiis* also survive. Only the titles are known of several other sections. The compilers used both ancient and Byz. writers; the latest is GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. Some of these sources are now lost. Only from the *Excerpta* do we know PRISKOS, PETER PATRIKIOS, MENANDER PROTECTOR, EUNAPIOS, and JOHN OF ANTIOCH. The excerpts were slightly edited and supplied with commentaries. The compiler of the SOUDA used the *Excerpta* (C. de Boor, *BZ* 21 [1912] 381–424; 23 [1914/19] 1–127).

ED. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 parts (Berlin 1903). *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, eds. T. Büttner-Wobst, A. Roos, 2 pts. (Berlin 1906–10). *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin 1905). *Excerpta de sententiis*, ed. U. Boissevain (Berlin 1906).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 323–32. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:359–61. O. Musso, "Sulla struttura del cod. Pal. gr. 398 e deduzioni storico-letterarie," *Prometheus* 2 (1976) 1–10. P. Schreiner, "Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des Konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 1–29. —A.K.

**EXCERPTA LATINA BARBARA.** See BARBARUS SCALIGERI.

**EXCERPTA VALESIANA** (or *Anonymus Valesii*), so called after their first publication in 1636 from a single 9th-C. MS by Henri de Valois (Valesius), comprise two very different works. The first, apparently composed ca.390, is a biography of CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, entitled *Origo Constantini imperatoris*. This piece has won much modern praise for its clarity, accuracy, and impartiality; here and there the text corresponds with passages in OROSIUS. The second excerpt, seemingly written ca.550, deals with Italy under the Ostrogoths ODOACER and THEODORIC THE GREAT in the period 474–526, under the title *Item ex libris chronicorum inter cetera*. This extract, demonstrably using such sources as the Life of St. Severinus by EUGIPPIUS and the *Chronicle* of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna (died 556), is equally notable for its anti-Arian bias and unclassical Latin.

ED. *Excerpta Valesiana*, ed. J. Moreau, revised V. Velkov (Leipzig 1968). Eng. tr. in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, vol. 3 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 506–69.

LIT. R. Browning in *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1982) 743. J.N. Adams, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus II)* (London 1976). —B.B.

**EXCOMMUNICATION** (ἀφορισμός, "casting out") entailed the exclusion of the transgressor from the community or fellowship of the church and its sacraments, esp. the Eucharist. Offending members included emperors, for example, LEO VI and MICHAEL VIII. The separation from the church's sacramental life was either absolute or partial, that is, it could be either temporary or for the lifetime of the individual. Thus excommunication could be either "greater" or "less." (Like the ANATHEMA, the greater meant full removal from Christian society.) Once excommunication was imposed, the offender was obliged to express METANOIA and to avail himself of the church's

PENITENTIAL procedure by which he was gradually reconciled to the church. Thus, ultimately neither partial nor total isolation from the church's sphere deprived the wrongdoer of membership in the Christian community.

LIT. A. Catoire, "Nature, auteur et formule des peines ecclésiastiques d'après les Grecs et les Latins," *EO* 12 (1909) 265–71. E. Herman, "Hatte die byzantinische Kirche von selbst eintretende Strafen (poenae latae sententiae) gekannt?," *BZ* 44 (1951) 258–64. —A.P.

**EXECUTION**, or capital punishment, the most severe of PENALTIES. The *ECLOGA* lists crimes punished by execution: intentional MURDER, RAPE, incest and pederasty, robbery and arson, and esp. crimes against the state—MUTINY or lèse majesté, TREASON or espionage. The death sentence was also to be imposed on apostates from Christianity and those who robbed churches at night, magicians and sorcerers, and heretics (MANICHAEANS and MONTANISTS are specifically named). As the means of execution, the *Ecloga* mentions primarily the sword, and rarely burning at the stake or hanging on the *phourka*, the fork-shaped gallows that replaced the CROSS, which as the Christian symbol was prohibited as a means of execution from the time of Constantine I. Historical texts seldom mention execution. *Phourkai* were employed for the mass execution of rebels or traitors (e.g., Theoph. 184.4–6; *TheophCont* 303.17, 877.4); burning at the stake was the fate of BASIL THE COPPER HAND and BASIL THE BOGOMIL as well as the slaves who murdered Asylaion, Basil I's brother.

Hagiographical legends abound with stories of execution, but it is difficult to distinguish truth from pious invention. There was always a hesitancy to resort to execution; in the case of political crime, BLINDING, EXILE, or confinement in a monastery often substituted for execution. In the 14th-C. Balkans there was a tendency to replace the death penalty with a fine (B. Krekić, *BS/EB* 5 [1978] 171–78); the spread of the PHONIKON reflects the same tendency in Byz. On the other hand, the government always strove to prevent private persons from carrying out execution, particularly in the form of religious or BLOOD VENGEANCE (A. Mirambel, *Byzantion* 16 [1944] 381–92).

LIT. B. Sinogowitz, "Die Tötungsdelikte im Rechte der Ekloge Leons III. des Isauriers," *ZSavRom* 74 (1957) 319–36. —A.K.

**EXEDRA** (ἐξέδρα), any room, semicircular or rectangular in plan, that opens full-width directly onto an adjacent larger space or room, covered or uncovered. Widely used in antiquity to flank streets, porticoes, and forums, exedrae figured prominently in the interiors of imperial Roman baths, palaces, and villas. Eusebios of Caesarea noted their presence at the basilica in TYRE, the Octagon at ANTIOCH, and the Constantinian Martyrion in JERUSALEM. Christian Latin authors (e.g., Paulinus, PL 14:37) apply the term to the apse of a basilica. Exedrae like these, open only to the central room, flanked the Octagon in the Palace of Galerius, Thessalonike, and several Constantinopolitan palaces. Much later they are found at the NEA MONE, Chios, and elsewhere. Concomitant with their role as adjacent rooms, other exedrae were designed as essential parts of centralized churches. Carried on arches that link the major piers, these allow free passage from the central space to the aisles or ambulatory spaces, expanding the breadth while articulating the elevation of the space covered by the central dome (S. Vitale, Ravenna; Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, Constantinople; Hagia Sophia, Constantinople). Exedrae enabled the Late Antique and Byz. architect to transform a square, rectangular, or polygonal plan into a single volume of space unified around a central, vertical axis. Hence their pervasive use in Byz. architecture.

LIT. F. Deichmann, *RAC* 6:1171–74. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 215–48. D. Mallardo, "L'exedra nella basilica cristiana," *RACr* 22 (1946) 191–211. D.I. Pallas, "Hai par' Eusebio exedrai ton ekklesion tes Palaistines," *Theologia* 25 (1954) 470–83. —W.L.

**EXEGESIS** (ἐξήγησις, lit. "leading out"), hermeneutics, explanation or interpretation of the BIBLE. The foundations of exegesis were laid by the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, esp. ORIGEN, who suggested that the sacred text had several layers of meaning. He recommended threefold exegesis on the model of a tripartite human nature, consisting of body, soul, and spirit. This approach supposes literal, allegorical, and spiritual senses of the text, or—to put it differently—references to the past, present, and future. Against this, the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL emphasized the need to grasp the real (historical) sense of the text and saw the basis for this in the contemplation of words, including study of the Hebrew original of the Septuagint. The

main direction of Byz. exegesis was to find in the Old Testament testimonies concerning Christ, which were then exploited in the theological disputes of the 4th–5th C. Among the greatest exegetes were ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, GREGORY OF NYSSA, CYRIL of Alexandria, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. In the 6th C. original exegesis came to an end, to be replaced by study of the exegesis of church fathers and by the assembly of authoritative citations in CATENAE. The Council in TRULLO (692) restricted creative hermeneutics; this plus the loss of the knowledge of Hebrew contributed to the decline of exegesis.

LIT. B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, vol. 1 (Paris 1980). M. Simonetti, *Profilo storico dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome 1981). H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, vol. 1 (Paris 1959). P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (New York 1983). —J.L., A.K.

**EXEMPTION**, the term commonly used by modern historians to denote a form of IMMUNITY—any of several means whereby persons or property were released from some or all of their state obligations for the benefit of a person or institution, reflecting the basic principle that all property and persons bore fiscal burdens. Some exemptions were temporary (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOU-PHISMOS) and were granted and revoked by an APOGRAPHEUS with each fiscal survey (*exisosis*); others were (usually) permanent privileges (EXKOUS-SEIA, *ateleia*) that could only be granted by the emperor: they exempted MERCHANTS from taxes on commerce and owners from the taxes due on their property (land, ships, etc.) or from the taxes (TELOS, KANON) or supplementary charges (EPE-REIAI, CORVÉES) owed by their dependent peasants. Yet another category of exemption (*astrateia*) exempted persons from the service connected with STRATEIA. Permanent exemption from taxation, granted to certain properties of a few privileged monasteries and individuals in the 10th and 11th C., seems to have become almost the rule in regard to large landowners by the 14th C. Scholars view this devolution of fiscal authority to private individuals and religious corporations as either a symptom or cause of the gradual weakening and collapse of state authority in the 12th–15th C.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 122, 168–70, 173f, 208, 244. —M.B.



**EXILE**, a form of punishment. Byz. law distinguished two types of exile: *exoria*, banishment or deportation, which could be temporary or permanent, and *periorismos*, confinement within prescribed boundaries (*Basil.* 60.51.4). In defining *exoria* the author of the SYNOPSIS MINOR (Zepos, *Jus* 6:398f, par. 70) stressed the prohibition against being in the city in which the emperor resided or was passing through. The *QUAESTOR* had the right to banish illegal aliens from Constantinople. The major difference between *exoria* and *periorismos* concerned the disposition of the property of the criminal: those under *periorismos* had their property confiscated; those under *exoria* retained it (Zepos, *Jus* 6:501, par. 80). The *BOOK OF THE EPARCH* several times mentions *exoria* as a PENALTY for economic crimes; normally, however, exile was reserved for political criminals and suspects, esp. church leaders (JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, POPE MARTIN I, THEODORE OF STODIOS, PHOTIOS, etc.). The place of banishment could be to the border of the empire, an island, or some less remote location; some suspects or criminals were relegated to monasteries or placed under house arrest on their own estates. Experiences of exile varied widely; a special genre of letters from exile presents a broad range of feelings, from nostalgic longing for the capital to complaints about lack of books, starvation, and torture.

LIT. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "Formy zesłania w państwie bizantyńskim," in *Okeanos* 166–73. —A.K.

**EXISOTES** (ἐξισώτης), a fiscal official whose functions were similar to those of the *EPOPTES*. The term *exisis* designated the fiscal survey that in the 13th C. was carried out by high-ranking functionaries. The distinction between *exisis* and *apographe* (see *APOGRAPHEUS*) is not clear. In 1254 Constantine Diogenes, who was *apographeus* and *exisotes* of the islands of Leros (Lerne) and Kalymnos, conducted *apographe* and *exisis* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.65.1); the forged document allegedly signed by Joseph Pankalas in 1261 speaks of the *anatheoresis* and *exisis* of the island of Kos (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, II.29); an act of 1407 mentions the *apographike exisotes* [*sic*] of the island of Lemnos (*Pantel.*, no.17.9), a *praktikon* of 1430 the *apographike exisis* of the same island (*Dionys.*, no.25.1). The term *exisis* was employed for surveys of the

theme of Thessalonike (*Xénoph.*, no.12.1) and elsewhere.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 210–12.

—A.K.

**EXKOUBITOI**. See *DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON*.

**EXKOUSSATOS** (ἐξκουσσάτος, from Lat. *excusatus*, "excused," cf. *EXKOUSSEIA*), an uncommon term of unclear meaning, applied to people, *oikoi*, and ships (*plōia*). In the 10th C. some people called *exkoussatoi* were engaged in crafts for the imperial household (*De cer.* 488.18; R. Cantarella, *BZ* 26 [1926] 31.2). A chrysobull of 1060 distinguishes *exkoussatoi tou dromou* from *STRATIOTAI* and *DEMOSIARIOI* (*Lavra* 1, no.33.32–34); ostensibly, these *exkoussatoi* served the imperial *DROMOS*. In an early example of the devolution of state revenues to private landowners, documents from the second half of the 10th C. refer to *exkoussatoi* or *exkouseuomenoi* households granted to the monastery of Iveron, which received their *telos* (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 2.21–22, 6.23.33); in the 13th C., *exkoussateutoi* households are known (*MM* 5:15.6–7).

Apparently, the designation *exkoussatos* did not necessarily imply that the individual, household, or ship served the state or that the *exkoussatos* was excused from paying the *telos*. It meant, rather, that the state no longer received some or all of the fiscal obligations owed by the *exkoussatos* (whether *telos* and/or *EPEREIA* is disputed), either because of service to the state (in which case the *exkoussatos*, if a peasant, paid less or no taxes) or because some or all of the *exkoussatos*'s state obligations were granted to a private individual or corporation. In later texts, the terms *exkoussatoi* (*MM* 5:260.20, a.1342), *enkoussatoi* (the *Chronicle of Morea*), and the Latin *incosati* (derived therefrom) designated privileged individuals, probably exempt from taxes and military service.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Ekskussija i ekskussaty v Vizantii X–XII vv.," *VizOč* (1961) 187–91. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 175f. Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 264f. —M.B.

**EXKOUSSEIA** (ἐξκουσσειά, from Lat. *excusatio*, "release"), a type of EXEMPTION from certain obligations toward the state and from *introitus* (the entrance of officials into an estate). As a fiscal term, *exkousseia* appears in documents and literary

texts from the 10th C. through the end of the empire. *Exkousselai* were granted to the owners or holders of a variety of economic instruments that bore fiscal obligations, including land, *PAROIKOI*, ships, buildings, and animals. The two interpretations of the nature of an *exkousseia* conflict. The most common opinion is that *exkousseia* is essentially synonymous with Western IMMUNITY and implied complete tax exemption (*ateleia*) and, in the 14th C., specific judicial privileges over a property owner's *DEMESNE*. A. Kazhdan (*VizOč* [1961] 186–216), however, argues that, at least in the 10th–12th C., *exkousseia* was unrelated to immunity; it was rather an exemption, not from the *TELOS*, but from *EPEREIAI*. In the 14th–15th C., *exkousseia* seems to refer to any kind of tax exemption.

LIT. P. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* (Juriev 1908). G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 165–254. M. Frejdenberg, "Ekskussija v Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *Učenyje zapiski Velikoluk-skogo pedinstitutu* 3 (1958) 339–65. H. Melovski, "Einige Probleme der Exkousseia," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 361–68. —M.B.

**EXOKATAKOILOI** (ἐξωκατάκοιλοι), term known from the 11th C. onward to designate five (a pentad) or six principal officials of the patriarch or a bishop: *meas OIKONOMOS*, *meas SAKELLARIOS*, *meas SKEUOPHYLAX*, *CHARTOPHYLAX*, the head of the *SAKELLION*, and later the *PROTEKDIKOS*.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 59f, 101–03. Beck, *Kirche* 119f. —A.K.

**EXORCISM** (ἐξορκισμός), an imprecation against the DEVIL and DEMONS, to drive them away, or out of a possessed person or area; also a liturgical rite for that purpose. Exorcism occurs often in the New Testament. Tertullian considered it an act that any Christian was able to perform, but by the 3rd C. professional exorcists appear. Particular importance was ascribed to the exorcism preceding BAPTISM. Other exorcistic rituals, blessings, and prayers contained in the *EUCHOLOGION* are the *euchelaion* (see *UNCTION*), the "Exorcism of St. Tryphon" recited on Holy Thursday and Easter; the blessing of a field, garden, vineyard, or house; prayers against the evil eye and against evil spirits dwelling in people or in houses.

Hagiographical texts present abundant cases of exorcism—healing of the possessed, the expulsion

of demons (in the form of wild beasts, dragons, scorpions, etc.) from the places they had occupied, and the elimination of evil forces preventing a good harvest or catch. Exorcism was performed by imposition of hands, anointing with oil, the sign of the cross, by prayers, and by application of pieces of a saint's clothing.

LIT. F.J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn 1909). P. de Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantino* (Rome 1930) 255–68. L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels 1957). K. Thraede, *RAC* 7:58–117. J. Daniélou, *DictSpir* 4 (1961) 1997–2004. —R.F.T., A.K.

**EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI**, an anonymous treatise preserved in two Latin versions and probably translated from a Greek original; the latter was compiled in the mid-4th C., perhaps ca.360. The treatise begins with a description of Eden, which is populated by *makarenoi* (the Blessed; *camarini* in one Latin version); discussions of India and Persia then follow. This introductory part has parallels (probably originating in the same source) in Greek *hodoporeiai*, or guides, to Eden. After Persia comes the description of "our land," that is, the Roman Empire: Syria, Egypt (essentially limited to Alexandria), Asia Minor from Cilicia to Bithynia, Thrace (where its "two splendid cities" of Constantinople and Herakleia are treated as equals), Macedonia, Greece, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the islands—Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, and Britannia. This part is free of the legendary cast that characterizes the introductory section; in addition to a list of districts and cities, it contains observations on climate, commerce, political structure, and behavior. The treatise shows little trace of a Christian worldview. Its author may have been a widely traveled merchant.

ED. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. J. Rougé (Paris 1966). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova, I. Felenkovskaja, "Anonimnyj geografičeskij traktat," *VizVrem* 8 (1956) 277–305. Germ. tr. H.J. Drexhage in *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handels-geschichte* 2.1 (1983) 3–41.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, "Expositio totius mundi," *SemKond* 8 (1936) 1–39. F. Martelli, *Introduzione alla "Expositio totius mundi"* (Bologna 1982). M. Philonenko, "Camarines et Makarinoi," in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980) 371–77. —A.K.

**EZĀNĀ** (Ἐζῆανᾶ), "tyrant" of AXUM (ca.323 to 340/1 or 347/8) and identical to "Abreha" (Dombrowski, *infra* 162–64); known primarily from

undated, mostly bilingual inscriptions and from a letter of CONSTANTIUS II cited by Athanasios of Alexandria. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (*Klio* 39 [1961] 234–48) denied, however, that the ‘Ezānā of the inscriptions was the Aeizana of the letter, and dated ‘Ezānā to the 5th C. The ‘Ezānā of the inscriptions claimed authority over HIMYAR and other lands. In the first half of the 4th C. Frumentius, a captive in Axum, started to organize Christian communities, but Christianity was not yet the state religion in Axum. Frumentius traveled to Alexandria, where Athanasios ordained him bishop of “India” (i.e., ETHIOPIA). In the letter to ‘Ezānā and his brother She’azana, Constantius required Frumentius to return to Alexandria ca. 328 and receive ordination from a new Arian patriarch, George. Another attempt to include Axum within the orbit of Byz. influence is reported by Philostorgios, who recounts that THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN visited both Himyar and Axum on his way to the East; since the embassy was sent by Constantius, it is reasonable to suppose that Theophilos negotiated with ‘Ezānā.

LIT. B. & F. Dombrowski, “Frumentius/Abbā Salāmā: Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums

in Äthiopien,” *OrChr* 68 (1984) 114–69. Yu. Kobishchanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.-London 1979) 64–73. A. Dihle, *Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer* (Cologne-Opladen 1965) 36–64. —W.E.K.

**EZERITAI** (Ἐζερίται), one of two groups of SKLAVENOI attested in the Peloponnesos. An etymology from the Slavic *ezero* (lake) is evident; D. Georgacas (*BZ* 43 [1950] 327–30) hypothesized that *ezero* was a translation of the toponym *Helos* (lit. “marsh meadow”) near Taygetos, where the Ezeritai settled. In Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.* 50) the Ezeritai are mentioned, along with the MELINGOI, as paying tribute of 300 nomismata; they revolted in the reign of Romanos I, were defeated, and ordered to pay 600 nomismata. Unlike the Melingoi, Ezeritai do not appear in later Byz. sources, but the bishopric of Ezera, in the Peloponnesos, is attested in 1340 (MM 1:218.31).

LIT. BON, *Péloponnèse* 63, n.2. Vasmer, *Slaven* 167. R. Janin, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 292. —O.P.

**EZRA**. See ZORAVA.

## F

**FABLE** (μῦθος) was considered by rhetoricians as a type of PROGYMNASMA; it had, however, a broader function of communicating a moral message in the form of a short essay with a gnomic conclusion. Classical authors, such as Demosthenes or Aristotle, did not consider fable as a noble genre; it evidently acquired more popularity in the Roman Empire. While Hermogenes treated fable briefly, the rhetorician NICHOLAS OF MYRA (ed. Felten 6–11) devoted an extended paragraph to it. Nicholas defined fable as a fictitious story having no verisimilitude, but illustrating a truth; it dealt either with human beings or animals. Some people also included among fables myths about the gods, but Nicholas considered the latter as a separate genre, *mythika diegemata*. He stressed the fable’s simplicity of language and the inclusion of an *epimythion* or moral.

The earliest fable collection to survive, the so-called *Collectio Augustana*, cannot be precisely dated; the 4th–5th C. is a possible date. Later collections are known throughout the Byz. period (F. Rodríguez Adrados in *La fable* [Geneva 1984] 182). The Byz. imitated ancient fables, esp. those ascribed to AESOP and Babrios (ca. 2nd C.), sometimes paraphrasing and revising them. Some fables are included in the *progymnasmata* of Theon, Libanios, Aphthonios, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Nikephoros Basilakes, and Nikephoros Chrysoberges; some fables exist as chapters in *progymnasmata*, others appear as episodes in lengthier genres. Oriental fables are broadly used in *Barlaam and Ioasaph* and esp. *Stephanites and Ichnelates* of Symeon SEIH. In the Palaiologan period the ANIMAL EPIC was developed out of animal fables.

LIT. F. Rodríguez Adrados, *Historia de la fábula greco-latina*, 2 (Madrid 1985). M. Nøjgaard, *La fable antique*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1964–67). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:94–96. J. Vaio, “Babrius and the Byzantine Fable,” in *La fable* (Geneva 1984) 197–224. —A.K.

**FAÇADE** (πρόσοψις, lit. “appearance”), the front or any side of a building designed with the intention of being seen. Initially, the Byz. concept of

the façade was based on classical prototypes; hence its use was restricted to a relatively few public building types such as PALACES (e.g., the façade of the 5th-C. Palace of Theodoric in Ravenna as represented on a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA) and, even less commonly, churches (e.g., the 5th-C. façade of the Theodosian rebuilding of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople). As the classical tradition in Byz. waned, so did interest in monumental façades. They returned to importance in the 9th–10th C. The façades of such Constantinopolitan churches as the 10th-C. MYRELAION and the 11th-C. PANTEOPTES display a classicizing structural logic. The latter example also exhibits a tripling of recessed arches and pilaster strips, a mannerism characteristic of Komnenian architecture in the capital (e.g., PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Kilise Camii, and Gül Camii). At the same time, in various parts of Greece, a very different, unclassical attitude toward façade articulation emerges (e.g., Panagia Gorgoepekoos in Athens, Merbaka near Nauplion, and Hagia Theodora in Arta). Here we find flat walls decorated by continuous horizontal bands and surface textures, in complete disregard of the building’s interior structure. This attitude toward façade decoration becomes even more widespread in the 14th C., with isolated areas of resistance, as at MISTRA, to the general unclassical current.

LIT. K.M. Swoboda, “The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Palaces,” *JSAH* 20 (1961) 78–84. S. Čurčić, “Articulation of Church Façades during the First Half of the Fourteenth Century,” in *L’art byzantin au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Belgrade 1978) 17–27. —S.C.

**FACTIONS** (from Lat. *factio*; Gr. μέρος, δῆμος or δῆμοι, δημόται; sometimes used as technical term), associations that staged circus games; associations of partisans of any one of the four colors inherited from Rome that competed in CHARIOT RACES. Blues (*Venetoi*) and Greens (*Prasinoi*) were the chief rivals and seem to have cooperated with Whites (*Leukoi*) and Reds (*Rousioi*),

respectively. The theory that factions or *DEMOI* resembled political parties is now largely abandoned.

Numerous inscriptions and narrative sources show that the factions' importance grew as circus racing spread over the Roman East and factional identities were extended to the theater and its professionals in the late 5th C. Factions sat in special sections, raised monuments to their *CHARIOTEERS*, and became deeply involved in performing *ACCLAMATIONS*, as the *HIPPODROME* and its vast audiences attracted a developing imperial ceremonial. The circus's enhanced political significance—perhaps in tandem with undiagnosed social and economic pressures—aggravated the tendency of excited fans to explode in the insufficiently explained riots that wracked the cities of the late 5th to early 7th C. (e.g., *NIKA REVOLT*), which contemporaries connected with factional rivalry. Certain neighborhoods seem to have been particularly associated with one or another faction (Gascou, *infra*); the factions could be mobilized to man the walls of their city in crises and they certainly played a role in the civil war between Phokas and Herakleios. Faction members were a small minority of racing fans in 602, when Constantinople counted 900 Blues and 1,500 Greens. Partisans may have been young and come from comfortable backgrounds. By the 8th C. they were headed by *DEMARCHOI*. Some members' titles reveal specialized functions; those of *melistai* and *poietai* underscore the link with ceremonial acclamations that would typify the factions in the 9th and 10th C.

Factional circus strife vanished after the 7th C.; chariot-racing and factions now became restricted to Constantinople and its environs. *De ceremoniis* details their ceremonial and circus duties; it sometimes distinguishes *peratikoi* factions—headed by *demokratai* (the *DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON* for the Blues and *DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON* for the Greens)—from *politikoi* factions, headed by the traditional *demarchoi* (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.2, ed. Vogt, 1:29.6–31.17), a distinction which perhaps reflects the suburban or urban origin of their members. These organizations were integrated into the imperial administration: the *TAKTIKA* place their officers in the imperial hierarchy (see *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.55, ed. Reiske, 798.20–799.16, for the longest list of personnel) and, in the 10th C., the factions were subordinate to and salaried by the *praipositos*. The medieval factions kept their

special Hippodrome seats; they had their own *ORGANS*, stables and, for their performances, were assigned *phialai* in the Great Palace as well as stations on the routes of imperial *PROCESSIONS*. Blues were particularly associated with the Virgin of Diakonissa church. Each faction certainly counted more than 50 members (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.21, ed. Reiske, 617.10–13). They might wear wreaths or crowns (*stephania*) and hold handkerchiefs (*encheiria*) while performing (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.15, ed. Reiske, 577.10–12). Ceremonial poems by Theodore *PRODROMOS* suggest that factionlike groups (*demoi*) were still performing in imperial ceremonies of the 12th C.

LIT. Al. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976). G. Prinzing, "Zu den Wohnvierteln der Grünen und Blauen in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich 1973) 27–48. J. Gascou, "Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Egypte byzantine," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212. S. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981). McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 220–27. G. Vespignani, "Il Circo e le fazioni del Circo nella storiografia bizantinistica recente," *RSBS* 5 (1985) 61–101. —M.McC.

**FACTORIES, IMPERIAL** (*ἐργαστήρια βασιλικά*). Although production of goods was concentrated in small *ERGASTERIA*, significant numbers of laborers from certain fields of craftsmanship came under the supervision of state officials. Production of *WEAPONS*, for example, was largely under state control, as were major construction projects: according to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 440.19–23), Constantine V assembled 6,900 *technitai* (*ARTISANS*) from various provinces in order to repair the aqueduct in Constantinople and placed them under the supervision of *archontes ergodioktai* with a *patrikios* at their head. In addition to the production of weapons, imperial factories were involved in minting coins (see *MINTS*), weaving (*GYNAIKEIA*), dyeing silk, and making jewelry.

Seals list various *ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION*; in Laurent's *Corpus* (vol. 2) are listed 11 *archontes* of the *BLATTION*, one *archon* of the *chrysoklabon* (luxurious garment), and one of the jewelry factory. In other sources the state production of *SILK* is most frequently attested: Theophanes (Theoph. 469.3–4) mentions the fire in an imperial workshop (*ergodosion*) of *chrysoklaborioi*; the vita of Antony II Kauleas (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik grečeskich i latinskich pamjatnikov*, vol. 1 [St. Petersburg 1899] 18.25) refers to the head of the imperial silk factory; Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac.

146.24–147.2) mentions another head of the imperial *histourgia* under whom a *systema* of weavers labored. Next in frequency are imperial jewelry workshops—in the 10th C. a high-ranking official, the *sakellarios* Anastasios, was *archon* of the *chrysochoeion* (TheophCont 892.14–15). Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:10.10) speaks of an imperial "foundry" (*choneia*) where gold and silver were worked. Finally, Nicholas Mesarites describes the ragged crowd of workers at the mint who toiled day and night under the merciless gaze of their overseers.

We do not know how the work in these workshops was organized. It is plausible that some private craftsmen (e.g., *LOTOIOMOI*) were coerced into working in imperial factories; some contingents of imperial craftsmen consisted of people sent there as punishment for a crime: thus, Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1249D) writes about a man condemned for icon veneration who was forced to work with the weavers as an imperial slave. Eusebios of Caesarea also considered the workers in imperial *GYNAIKEIA* as state slaves. According to the *Book of the Eparch*, private artisans' slaves who broke rules could be made into state slaves.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 336–42. L.C. Ruggini, "Le associazioni professionali nel mondo Romano-Bizantino," *SettStu* 18 (1971) 147f. A.W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im Römischen Reich* (Lund 1923). Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 77–81. —A.K.

**FACUNDUS**, bishop of Hermiane in Byzacena; died after 571. He was an opponent of Justinian I's religious policies. A leading supporter of the *THREE CHAPTERS*, Facundus represents the disillusionment of the African hierarchy after Justinian's reconquest. He attended synods in Constantinople in 546 and 547–48; there he wrote a defense of the Three Chapters, maintaining that the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuesia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrthus meant the abandonment of the faith of *CHALCEDON*. In 550 he participated in a council in Africa that condemned Pope *VIGILIUS*. After the Council of Constantinople in 553 he continued to write and was, at least briefly, excommunicated.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. J.M. Clément, R. Vanden Plaetse (Turnhout 1974). PL 67:527–878.

LIT. R.A. Marcus, "Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period," *SChH* 3 (Leiden

1966) 140–50. A. Dobroklonskij, *Sočinenija Fakunda, episkopa Germianskogo, v zaščitu trech glav* (Moscow 1880).

—T.E.G.

**FAIR** (*πανήγυρις*), an occasional or periodic *MARKET*, that is, one that is not permanent either in terms of time or in terms of structures such as market stalls and, in this way, is distinguished from regular market days. The Greek term *panegyris* has different meanings, even within the same period and author. Its original meaning being a general gathering, it could refer to a religious *FEAST*, a public celebration, a commercial fair connected with a religious celebration, or a purely episodic market, as in the promise of Alexios I to the Crusaders to provide them with "abundant fairs." The local fair, attested in many parts of the empire, served the exchange needs of the local population. Libanios provides a classic description of the function of a fair in the 4th C., which was the exchange of products among the inhabitants of various villages of the same locality; the network of exchange thus being formed obviated the need of exchange with the city. In the late 10th and 11th C., there is mention of local fairs where the merchants came both from the vicinity and from other areas, and where therefore the exchange involved more than the locality itself. The periodicity seems to be institutionalized.

Large international fairs are also attested, one such being the fair of *CHONAI* during the feast of the Archangel Michael, and the fair of *THESSALONIKE*, connected with the feast of St. Demetrios, for which the *TIMARION* provides a description. The fairs of the Peloponnesos in the 14th C. seem to fall into an intermediate category.

A tax (*KOMMERKION*) was levied upon commercial activity at fairs and could be remitted by the emperor or given as a grant. The *kommerkion* of the fair of *ERNEZUS*, remitted in part by Constantine VI in 795, was 100 pounds of gold. In the late 10th C. and after, there is evidence that the powerful, or the communities, or the monasteries of a locality where a fair was constituted, received revenues from the fair. A novel of Basil II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:271f) suggests that the merchants who participated in a fair could act together and choose its locality, their interests taking precedence over those of the person who had rights over the place (cf. also *Peira* 57).



LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:270–83. S. Vryonis, Jr., "The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint," in *Byz. Saint* 196–227. C. Asdracha, "Les foires en Epire médiévale," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 437–46. —A.L.

**FALCONRY.** See **HAWKING**.

**FALIERI, MARINOS** (Μαρίνος Φαλιέρος), poet; born ca.1395, died 1474. One of the most prominent feudal landlords of Crete, Falieri played a major role in the island's affairs. As a young man (ca.1425–30), he (rather than his grandson of the same name, ca.1470–1527) wrote several short works in rhymed **POLITICAL VERSE**. Though the *Didactic Discourses* (advice to his son) and the *History and Dream* (a dream encounter in dialogue form between the author and his beloved) owe something to Byz. demotic literature (esp. the **SPANEAS** poem and the romances **BELTHANDROS** AND **CHRY SANTZA** AND **LIBISTROS** AND **RHODAMNE**), they are also influenced by western European literary currents, in particular those of contemporary Venice. This is even more the case with the *consolatio* (*Rhima Paregoretike*) addressed to his friend Benedetto da Molino. The *Lamentation on the Passion and the Crucifixion* is a dramatic depiction, perhaps based on an icon. The *Erotic Dream*, closely modeled on the *History and Dream* and normally attributed to Falieri, is possibly not by him at all. A man of practical experience rather than wide education (he was familiar with legal Latin and at home in vernacular Greek, while his first language was the Venetian dialect), he—like his predecessors **SACHLIKES** and **Leonardo DELLA PORTA**—is a witness to the cultural life of Venetian Crete in the early 15th C.

ED. W.F. Bakker, A.F. van Gemert, eds., "The *Rhima Paregoretike* of Marinos Phalieros," *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* (Leiden 1972) 74–195. *The Logoi Didaktikoi of Marinos Phalieros*, ed. idem (Leiden 1977). *Marinou Phalierou Erotika Oneira*, ed. A.F. van Gemert (Thessalonike 1980).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 197–99. A.F. van Gemert, "The Cretan Poet Marinos Falieros," *Thesaurismata* 14 (1977) 7–70. —E.M.J.

**FAMILY.** Although the family was the fundamental unit (**MICROSTRUCTURE**) of Byz. society, there was no specific word for it in Byz. Greek; the most common term *συγγένεια* (*syngeneia*) designated both the nuclear family and kinship in

general; relationship through marriage is defined or rather described as "connection and joining" (*Basil.* 28:4.1). The term *phamilial/phamelia* (from the Lat. *familia*) is found in some acts of the late 14th–15th C. (*Lavra* 3, nos. 140.15, 161.15; *Doch-eiar.*, no.53.16), where it denotes a family household in contrast to one run by a widow.

The Byz. family was primarily a nuclear family, although extended families of 20–30 members are occasionally mentioned in hagiographical and documentary sources. The frequency of occurrence of extended families varied over time and space. According to A. Laiou (*Peasant Society* 80), in the 14th-C. theme of Strymon families were on the average larger than those in Thessalonike. *Ecloga* 2.2, when prohibiting marriages between members of a *syngeneia*, lists the following categories of relatives: parents, children, brothers, sisters, and *exadelphoi*, that is, nephews and nieces; then follow relations by affinity—stepfather/stepmother, father/mother-in-law, brother/sister-in-law, etc. Relations between uncle and nephew were often very close (J. Bremmer, *ZPapEpig* 50 [1983] 173–86). A family could also include adoptive children (see **ADOPTION**) and such members of the household as **MISTHIOI**—as potential husbands of a master's daughter.

The nuclear family formed the household and was the main economic unit in both town and countryside. The husband and wife worked side by side in the fields or in the workshop, and children (see **CHILDHOOD**) were involved in household activities from an early age, esp. in the country where they herded their parents' swine or sheep; in cities, the boy might leave the family at an early age to become an apprentice. The Byz. family was a much more cohesive unit than the late Roman family: **MARRIAGE** was concluded by a solemn **MARRIAGE RITE** and not mere consensus (A. Laiou, *RJ* 4 [1985] 189–201); **CONCUBINAGE** was, at least in theory, abolished; **DIVORCE** was restricted; **BETROTHAL** was equated to marriage; the property of the husband and wife was administered as common effects with overlapping rights to both portions.

Although the nuclear family was the cornerstone of Byz. social organization, it was nevertheless limited by several factors. It was viewed as a concession to the frailty of human nature and as taking second place to eremitism (see **HERMIT**) and **CELIBACY**, which occupied a higher rung on

the ladder of values. In some instances the state controlled the family. Not only were princely marriages often concluded on the basis of political considerations—resulting sometimes in personal tragedies—but on occasion the state imposed marriages (some nuns were compelled to marry monks during the period of Iconoclasm, widows and maidens were sometimes forced to marry foreign mercenaries) or made a couple divorce if the union was considered socially improper. The state also exercised the right to **ABIOTIKION**, appropriation of a certain part of the inheritance left by the deceased head of the family (if he died intestate) to the detriment of his relatives. Although kinship and **LINEAGE** were underdeveloped in comparison with countries of western and northern Europe, they still played a certain role and influenced the functioning of the nuclear family. Some distant relatives were entitled to certain rights, such as **PROTIMESIS** in the sale of land. The rights of the individual within the family were emphasized: there was no right of primogeniture in Byz. law, and the family property had to be divided, at least in theory, among the children of the *pater familias* (often in equal parts between brothers and sisters) and in this way dispersed, unless the relatives agreed to retain the unity of their properties. For example, in 13th-C. Trebizond, five relatives (*syngonikarchioi*) possessed land collectively (*Vazelon*, nos. 43, 44).

As in the West, monks did not marry and produce new families, and monastic propaganda urged children to leave the family and sever their links with their parents. On the other hand, some monks and nuns maintained connections with their close relatives, entered the same (or a neighboring) community, or created artificial, familylike small units. Moreover, unlike the West, Byz. priests and deacons (but not bishops) were allowed to be married. In addition to monks and nuns, there were other groups of people who did not marry but maintained familial relationships: eunuchs who could not procreate children nonetheless preserved close ties with their nephews; teachers of ecclesiastical/state schools who frequently remained single (in expectation of an episcopal see) and favored their nephews; men who kept concubines. Slaves were not permitted to have a legitimate family (at least until the 11th C.), although they did have monogamous unions.

Along with strengthening of family links over

time, there was increasing prestige of the woman as wife and mother whose role in the household was decisive. The warmth of relations between parents and children is often stressed in Byz. literature—in evident disregard for the demands of some rigorists (e.g., the author of the vita of St. **ALEXIOS HOMO DEI**) who praised the dissolution of family ties. Some heretical dogmas, for example those of extreme Dualist sects, went so far as to advocate the total abolition of the family and rejected sexuality and procreation. As a pivotal institution of social life, the family served as a model for structuring other types of social relations. The emperor was proclaimed to be the father of his subjects, and family terminology was used to describe both his relations to neighboring rulers and some hierarchical ranks (e.g., **GAMBROS**, son-in-law); family terminology characterized the relationship of the teacher to his disciples (his "sons" or "nephews"), esp. within the sphere of spiritual influence; the concept that in the monastery the spiritual father replaced the biological parents was widespread in Byz.

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Frau, Ehe, Familie in Byzanz," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 9 (1985) 9–18. E. Patlagean, "Christianisation et parents rituelles; le domaine de Byzance," *Annales ESC* 33 (1978) 625–36. W.C. Thompson, *Legal Reforms of the Iconoclastic Era: The Changing Economic Structure of the Family* (Madison 1976). D. Simon, "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte," *FM* 1 (1976) 16–43. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 275–323. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 188–92. —A.K.

**FAMILY 2400.** See **DECORATIVE STYLE**.

**FAMINE** (λιμός). In a marginally subsistent agricultural economy such as that of Byz., famine followed any climatic irregularity that interfered with agricultural, esp. grain, production. Byz. chronicles and saints' lives regularly record the harsh winters, droughts, floods, and plagues of locusts that jeopardized the annual harvest. Because God provided for mankind, any disruption to that provision was interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure with a particular situation or event, as in the case of the famine that followed the deposition of Elias as patriarch of Jerusalem in 516 (**CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS**, *Vita Sabae*, ch.58, ed. Schwartz 159.7–14). Since **BREAD** was a staple dietary requirement for the Byz. population, a

failed harvest could lead to high mortality. Famines were usually localized, affecting first the countryside, then the nearby cities. Larger urban centers, esp. Constantinople, could sometimes delay the impact of famine by controlling the storage and distribution of grain, but shortages could still lead to riots as in the capital in 409 and 602.

Major famines occurred in 383–85 (Antioch), 443 (Constantinople), 499–502 (Edessa), 516–21 (Palestine), early 540s, early 580s, 600–03 (Syria), under Basil I (Skyl. 277f), 927/8 ("the great famine"), 1032 (Cappadocia and neighboring areas), and 1037 (Thrace and Macedonia). From the second half of the 11th C. and the 12th C. data on famines are rare (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 27, n. 11). Turkish invasions of the 14th–15th C. often resulted in famines, as did the "scorched earth" policy of Andronikos II when combatting the Catalan Grand Company in 1306 (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 91–113). The results of famine were esp. severe in spring when stored grain had been exhausted; women evidently had a higher mortality rate during famines than men. Famine and the miraculous help of a saint is a frequent theme of hagiographical literature.

LIT. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 74–92. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.IX (1966), 12f. —B.C.

**FAN, LITURGICAL.** See RHIPIDION.

**FANTINUS THE YOUNGER.** See PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER.

**FARMER'S LAW** (Νόμος Γεωργικός), a legal text preserved in dozens of MSS from the end of the 10th C. onward. It regulates relations within a village (theft, trespassing of boundaries, damage caused by or to livestock, etc.) or, rarely, between two villages; a tax (*extraordina*) is mentioned only once; two kinds of land lease are regulated, but not land purchase. There has been considerable discussion of the date, provenance, and character of this law code. It has been dated to the 7th C. (particularly to the reign of Justinian II) and to the 8th C. (as contemporaneous with the *ECLOGA*). Its origin has been placed in Italy and in Constantinople—the absence of any reference to olive groves and horses in the Farmer's Law suggests,

however, an origin in hilly, inland terrain. It has been variously viewed as a record of Slavic customary law (even though not a single Slavic term is to be found there); as a selection of Justinianic norms (the name of Justinian—I or II?—is included in some MSS); as pre-Justinianic rules; as biblical, eastern, or Hellenic precepts; as imperial legislation; and as a private collection.

Whatever its provenance, the Farmer's Law reflects conditions in the countryside (limited to certain territories), between the crisis of the mid-7th C. and the 9th-C. revival. Its context is a milieu in which the free peasantry dominates, slaves appear only as shepherds, and ownership of large landed estates is practically unknown. Of 85 articles of the Farmer's Law, 40 deal with cattle breeding, livestock damaging crops, etc., whereas only 16 are devoted to land cultivation and related questions, nine to vineyards and gardens, two to agrarian implements, and four to houses and barns. Like Western medieval *leges*, the Farmer's Law protected the animal from the neighbor (pars. 38, 50, 51, 53, 54, 85) rather than the neighbor's crop from an animal that caused damage (pars. 78–79). The peasants described in this law own their individual allotments, while some portion of the village land is in common ownership. The relations are similar to those described in the Western *leges barbarorum*, but it is unnecessary to seek for explanation in a direct borrowing (e.g., from the Italian Lombards)—a similar situation could create similar regulations. The Farmer's Law was revised by HARMENOPOULOS and translated into Rumanian and Slavic languages.

ED. and LIT. I. Medvedev, E. Piotrovskaja, E. Lipšic, *Vizantijskij zemledel'českij zakon* (Leningrad 1984). Eng. tr. W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *JHS* 32 (1912) 68–95. J. Karayannopoulos, "Entstehung und Bedeutung des Nomos Georgikos," *BZ* 51 (1958) 357–73. J. Malafosse, "Les lois agraires à l'époque byzantine," *Recueil de l'Académie de législation* 19 (1949) 1–75. N. Pantazopoulos, "Peculiar Institutions of Byzantine Law in the *Georgikos Nomos*," *RESEE* 9 (1971) 541–47. —A.K.

**FARM.** Usually designated as STASEIS in fiscal documents, farms varied with regard to their size and location. A regular farm consisted of a house and location. A regular farm consisted of a house with its enclosure and well; within the enclosure were also sheds for hay and straw, pits (*goubai*) for grain, *pitharia* (large, partially buried vessels for wine and other products), and sometimes wine

presses, animal-driven mills, and stalls. The most valuable parts of the farm were called AUTOURGIA. The farm encompassed arable land, GARDENS, olive groves, and VINEYARDS as well as the right to use common pastures (usually located in wooded hills), but products varied according to terrain and climate: some villages had practically no arable land, others did not cultivate olives or grapes; some farms were oriented toward FISHING or the breeding of LIVESTOCK.

The nucleus of the farm usually formed a part of the VILLAGE, whereas the land consisted of small scattered parcels (up to 25–33 pieces) planted in such a way that vineyards could border CHORAPHIA, etc. There were no "open fields" or systematic redistributions of allotments, but parcels formed stable units normally surrounded by fences and ditches. Besides the principal homestead, a *stasis* could include hamlets (*agridia*) located far from the nucleus. Large landowners had farms called PROASTEIA and (as monastic property) METOCHIA, which were sometimes separated from the center of the estate by significant distances.

LIT. M. Kaplan, "L'économie paysanne dans l'Empire byzantin du Vème au Xème siècle," *Klio* 68 (1986) 198–232. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 142–222. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 215–44. —J.W.N., A.K.

**FASTING** (νηστεία), freely chosen total or partial self-deprivation of, or abstinence from, certain kinds of food and drink, usually for a predetermined period, as a means of penance and asceticism. Fasting was practiced either in common, before major feasts of the church, or individually, under the discretion of a spiritual elder. In early Christianity, fasting meant total abstinence from food and drink at least until evening. Later the notion of fasting was extended to include reduction in the quantity of, or abstinence from only certain kinds of, victuals.

On the symbolic or liturgical level, Christian fasting was related to expectation of the PAROUSIA, and thus partook of the nature of a VIGIL; first seen in this way in Asia Minor in the 2nd C. in conjunction with the vigil on the eve of Easter, this fast was later extended to the two days, then to the entire week, preceding Easter (whence HOLY WEEK), finally to 40 days (whence *Tessarakoste*, or LENT), to which was prefixed later, in the 6th–

7th C., a pre-Lenten "Cheesefare Week." Other lents of the church year, and fasting on the vigils of Nativity and Epiphany, and on two feasts—the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 Sept.) and the Beheading of John the Baptist (29 Aug.)—were also added. The Byz. system of fasts was completely in place by the 11th C.

The daily eucharistic fast from midnight until COMMUNION, in general use from the 5th C. onward, is also to be understood as a vigil for the coming of the Lord. This symbolism is the basis for forbidding fasting on Saturdays and Sundays and during the 50-day season of PENTECOST, since these times signified the presence of the Risen Lord, the fulfillment of the Messianic age, symbolized in the Bible by banqueting.

From the 4th C. onward, tradition distinguishes various degrees of fasting, from the total Easter fast of one or more days, to giving up meat (*apokreas*) or cheese (*tyrine*). *Xerophagia* ("dry nourishment") was a fast that lasted until evening, followed by a meal of only bread, salt, and water. Even the Eucharist was thought to break this fast; hence Byz. fast days were "aliturghical," that is, on these days the Eucharist, being a morning service, was either not celebrated at all, or was replaced by the PRESANCTIFIED. In addition to lents, Monday (in monasteries), Wednesday, and Friday were traditional fast days except during the 50 days of Pentecost. Fasting included abstinence from marital relations. Monks practiced more severe and frequent fasting than the laity and never ate meat (E. Jeanselme, 2<sup>e</sup> *Congrès d'histoire de la médecine* [Evreux 1922] 1–10).

Church fathers preached on fasting, and it occupies a prominent place in monastic literature (H.-J. Sieben, *DictSpir* 8 [1974] 1175–79) and in hagiographical texts. Saints might refuse even bread for certain periods and feed instead on wild berries, acorns, or dried locusts; the infant NICHOLAS refused to nurse on fast days, a sure sign of future sanctity. Yet excessive fasting was criticized by some intellectuals as hypocrisy: if we leave our poor brother to fast and die of hunger, says Eustathios of Thessalonike (Escorial Y II 10, fol.39v), this is not *nesteia* but *lesteia*, robbery.

LIT. J. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis* (Münster 1933). H. Musurillo, "The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers," *Traditio* 12 (1956) 1–64. J. Herbut, *De ieiunio et abstinentia in ecclesia Byzantina ab initiis*

usque ad saec. XI (Rome 1968). P. de Meester, "Règlement des bienheureux et saints pères Sabas-le-Grand et Théodose-le-Cénobiarque pour la vie des moines cénobites et kelliotes," *Bulletin des Oblates Séculières de Sainte Françoise Romaine et de l'Union Spirituelle des Veuves de France* (Lille 1937) 6-13. —R.F.T., A.K.

**FATE.** See DETERMINISM; TYCHE.

**FĀṬIMIDS**, Shiite Muslim dynasty (909-1171). Its first four caliphs lived in North Africa until Fāṭimid armies captured Egypt in 973. The Fāṭimids first clashed with Byz. in 911 at Demona (Sicily). Between 914 and 918 the Byz. governor of Sicily agreed to pay an annual tribute of 22,000 gold pieces, which Romanos I succeeded in reducing to 11,000. Byz. diplomatic contacts with the Fāṭimids included embassies in 946, 953 (truce), and 957/8 (five-year truce), and treaties in 967 and 975. The Byz. unsuccessfully attempted to prevent Fāṭimid expansion in northern Syria, which was partitioned *de facto* in 969. Caliph al-Mu'izz failed to prevent the Byz. reconquest of Crete. Caliph al-'Aziz persuaded Byz. in 987/8 to lift the prohibition against commercial contacts and to allow prayers in his name to be recited in the mosque of Constantinople. He died preparing a major expedition against Byz. as protector of the HAMDANIDS. A Fāṭimid fleet defeated Byz. in 998, resulting in a ten-year truce in 1001. After Caliph al-Ḥākim destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, commercial relations were severed from 1015/16 until 1032. A ten-year treaty, which included permission for Byz. rebuilding of this church, was signed in 1038 and renewed in 1048. Relations cooled after Constantine IX died but briefly improved under Isaac I because of common fear of the Seljuks. Seljuk and Crusader invasions separated Byz. and Fāṭimid territories, but diplomatic and commercial contacts continued until the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

LIT. A. Hamdani, "Byzantine-Fatimid Relations Before the Battle of Mantzikert," *BS/EB* 1 (1974) 169-79. M. Canard, *ET* 2:855. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:221f, 225-28. —W.E.K.

**FAYYŪM** (from Coptic Phiom or Piom, the sea), area of Middle Egypt where agriculture was highly developed in Ptolemaic and early imperial times; its capital was Arsinoë (Crocodylopolis). By the early 4th C. the prosperity of the Fayyūm had

declined and several settlements were abandoned, but papyrus finds attest to the continuity of the chief city through the 7th C. Churches have been excavated at Tebtynis, Madīnat Mādī, and Hawāra. They are generally of basilican plan, with a tripartite sanctuary, but are provincial in character, the nave being often no wider than the aisles. Nearly all the columns are *spolia*. Medieval sources (al-Nāblūsī, *Description du Fayoum au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hégire* [Cairo 1899; rp. Beirut 1974]; see the excerpts of G. Salmon, *BIFAD* 1 [1901] 29-77) refer to numerous monasteries, of which only a few have left traces. Some sites still called "Dayr" (monastery) have early churches: Dayr al-Naqlūn (also Dayr al-Malak Ghabriyāl) has parts of a 7th-C. basilica; and Dayr al-Banāt, near Dayr al-Naqlūn, is a ruined monastic site with remains of a church and refectory. The region is particularly known for its FAYYŪM PORTRAITS.

LIT. E. Bresciani, "Medinet Madi nel Fayum: Le chiese," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 7 (1984) 1-15. S. Adli, "Several Churches in Upper Egypt," *MDAI K* 36 (1980) 1-14. —P.G.

**FAYYŪM PORTRAITS**, funerary portraits that survive in large numbers from the FAYYŪM. The practice of covering the faces of mummies with images painted on wooden panels began during the Roman occupation of Egypt, when the native population could no longer afford the traditional, elaborate SARCOPHAGI. At first naturalistic, such portraiture had become increasingly abstract by the time it went out of fashion in the 4th C. The importance of Fayyūm portraits for Byz. art is twofold: on the one hand, their realistic detail offers parallels for contemporary jewelry and clothing, and on the other, their shape, encaustic technique, and abstract, hieratic style contributed instrumentally to the development of 5th-7th-C. ICON painting.

LIT. G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974). A.F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* (London 1972). K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966). K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York 1978) 9. —G.V.

**FEAR** (φόβος) was divided by Nemesios (PG 40:688B-689A) and John of Damascus (*De fid. orth.* par.29, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:81) into six categories: *oknos*, hesitation or fear of future ac-

tions; *aidos*, awe or fear of blame; *aischyne*, shame or fear of having acted dishonestly; *kataplexis*, consternation at the sight of a great imaginary apparition; *ekplexis*, terror caused by an unusual apparition; and *agonia*, anguish or fear of failure. John of Damascus (*De fid. orth.* 64.10, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:162) considered cowardice and anguish to be physical EMOTIONS, expressed in ways such as sweating and "clots of blood" (Lk 22:44).

Church fathers interpreted fear mostly as a spiritual emotion. Basil the Great (PG 29:369C) distinguished between a good fear, which brings salvation, and a base fear caused by lack of faith. The good fear was fear of God (often in the formula "fear and trembling [*tromos*]"), which was contrasted with fear of punishment (and with the fear the Hebrews felt before God). In Symeon the Theologian *phobos tou Theou* is a complete and voluntary subjugation to God, self-abnegation and transformation of oneself into a slave of God.

A secular parallel to Symeon's fear is Kekaumenos's fear of the ever-present dangers that threaten man in every aspect of his life, such as perils of nature (poisonous mushrooms, falling rocks) or of human relationships (traps laid by friends or subordinates) or of the imperial court with its danger of disfavor. The Byz. felt themselves surrounded by dangerous NATURAL PHENOMENA (earthquakes, storms, drought, locusts, etc.), political turmoil (enemy invasions, rebellions), and social instability; it required enormous faith to overcome fears and maintain optimism. The usage of metaphors implying fear (shipwreck, fire, disease, death) was esp. typical of Niketas Choniates, distinguishing him from Psellos and Gregoras, who stressed the possibility of a happy end after severe trials. —A.K.

**FEAST** (ἑορτή, πανήγυρις). Byz. daily life was dominated by a succession of festivals, whether these were the recurring ones of the liturgical YEAR, or sporadic ones on the occasions of imperial WEDDINGS, TRIUMPHS, or other CEREMONIES. Manuel I's list of feasts (1166) counts 66 full *panegyreis* (without Sundays) and 27 half-feasts (R. Macrides, *FM* 6 [1984] 140-55).

The liturgical feasts, both "mobile" and "fixed," are recorded in church CALENDARS. Feasts can be "dominical" (*despotikai*, of Christ), "Marian" (*Theometorikai*, of the Virgin Mary), "sanctoral" (of the

saints), or "occasional" (commemorating the founding of a city, the consecration of a church, a council, a miracle, a transfer of relics, a natural calamity, etc.). They may even celebrate a dogma or its triumph, e.g., "Trinity Sunday" or the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. There is a cycle of fixed commemorations for every weekday, while SUNDAY always commemorates the Resurrection. Ceremonial for the various feasts is described in the liturgical TYPHON.

In the *Typikon of the Great Church*, more important feasts were preceded by a VIGIL (*paramone*), but NATIVITY, EPIPHANY, and Exaltation of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) were the only fixed feasts with a fore- and afterfeast (Mateos, *Typikon* 2:294, 311). Later, SABAITIC TYPIKA distinguished five different ranks of festive solemnity: two classes of GREAT FEAST (dominical and Marian), Middle Feasts, Lesser Feasts, and days of simple commemoration. Only Great Feasts and a few important Middle Feasts merited an all-night vigil, or *agrypnia*; they may be preceded by a period of FASTING. Apart from that, these categories affected chiefly the celebration of ORTHROS and VESPERS. Only on Great Feasts did the festal KANON replace at *orthros* the *kanon* of the movable cycle found in the OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, or PENTEKOSTARION. Middle Feasts had Great Vespers and the Great DOXOLOGY at *orthros*, but no vigil. Lesser Feasts had the Great Doxology at *orthros*, but only simple vespers. These categories were not rigid, however, and sometimes elements that (ideally) pertain to feasts of one class were assigned to a feast of a different rank.

Many feasts in Constantinople involved the participation of the emperor. On dominical feasts, he attended services in HAGIA SOPHIA, on the Marian feasts he proceeded to the CHALKOPRAITEIA or BLACHERNAI churches, while on the Thursday of HOLY WEEK he performed the ceremonial WASHING OF THE FEET mandated by Jesus in John 13:14. Numerous saints' days also included solemn processions around the city (see LITE). A certain number of guests were usually invited to dine at the palace after the feast and could be entertained by MIMES. The main sources for the emperor's activities on these days are the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, DE CEREMONIIS, and pseudo-KODINOS.

Food and wine were usually distributed to the population in the city squares, or to the poor



before monastery gates. Feasts were also accompanied by games in various forms, from horse races to semitheatrical performances. Christopher of Mytilene describes a masquerade, a procession of notaries in costume, one dressed as the emperor, on the feast of their patrons Sts. Markianos and Martyrios (25 Oct.). In the 14th C. the church assumed the staging of biblical stories on feast-days, esp. that of the THREE HEBREWS. (For the fairs that accompanied feastdays, see PANEGYRIS.)

LIT. A. Stoelen, "L'année liturgique byzantine," *Irenikon* 4.10 (1928) 1-32. M. Arranz, "Les 'fêtes théologiques' du calendrier byzantin," in *La liturgie, expression de la foi*, ed. A.M. Triacca, A. Pistoia (Rome 1979) 29-55. A. Kazhdan, *LMA* 4:405-07. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 131-259. A. Laiou, "The Festival of 'Agathe,'" in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:111-22. —R.F.T.

**FEAST OF ORTHODOXY.** See TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

**FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE.** Christ's miraculous multiplication of five loaves and two fishes to feed 5,000 people occurs in all four Gospels; a similar episode with 4,000 people (Mt 15:32-39, Mk 8:1-10) was amalgamated with it in both exegesis and art. Suggesting the bread of the EUCHARIST and its ability to sustain all who come, the scene occurs repeatedly in art of the 4th-6th C., often in conjunction with the miracle at CANA. Initially, it is shown schematically, with only baskets and fishes; 6th-C. versions use figures, but formally, with a frontal Christ blessing food presented by symmetrically placed disciples. The 6th-C. Sinope Gospels (A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'Évangéliste de Sinope* [Paris 1948], pl.III) show bread baskets and people picnicking beside this symmetrical group; this version recurs in 9th-C. monuments. The Feeding is infrequent in later art, appearing only in extensive cycles, but it does develop, becoming more narrative in form. Its eucharistic significance is acted out rather than symbolized, as the symmetrical composition is displaced by scenes of the breaking and distribution of the bread (Monreale-Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pl.87A-B). This development culminates in richly discursive Palaiologan representations, esp. that at the CHORA.

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:247-54. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:285-88. —A.W.C.

**FELIX III**, pope (13 Mar. 483-1 Mar. 492). Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Felix was elected with the support of ODOACER and tried, at the beginning, to maintain correct relations with Emp. Zeno despite Rome's opposition to the HENOTIKON. Pressure from the Chalcedonian Alexandrian clergy hardened Felix's anti-Monophysite position, although his legates—willingly or not—entered into communion with Patr. AKAKIOS; Felix demanded deposition of the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS and excommunicated the legates and Akakios, thus leading to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484). He found support among certain circles in Constantinople, esp. the AKOIMETOI. The three failed attempts to resolve the schism in Felix's lifetime fit into the broader context of Byz. policies toward Odoacer and THEODORIC THE GREAT. One of Felix's collaborators was the future pope GELASIUS. The two men contributed much to the increasing papal independence from Constantinople in the realm of dogma.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 59-62. P. Nautin, "La lettre de Félix III à André de Thessalonique et sa doctrine sur l'Église et l'Empire," *RHE* 77 (1982) 5-34. Idem, "La lettre 'Diabolicae Artis' de Félix III aux moines de Constantinople et de Bithynie," *REA* 30 (1984) 263-68. —A.K.

**FENARI ISA CAMIL.** See LIPS MONASTERY.

**FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA**, superior of the Kievan Caves monastery, or Kievo-pečerskij monastyr' (ca.1060-74); saint; born Vasil'ev, died Kiev 3 May 1074; feastday 3 May. Feodosij (Theodosios) is regarded as the founder of cenobitic monasticism in Rus' for having introduced into the Caves Monastery the Rule of STODIOS, which he obtained either from a Kievan monk residing in a Constantinopolitan monastery (according to Feodosij's vita by the monk NESTOR) or from Michael, a Stoudite monk who had accompanied Metr. George (ca.1065-76) to Kiev from Constantinople (according to the POVEST' VREMNYCH LET sub anno 1051). The monastery's PATERIK (13th C.) also credits Feodosij with hiring Byz. architects from Constantinople to build the monastery's stone Church of the Dormition (founded in 1073). Some 20 written works are attributed to him with varying degrees of certainty. His brief Lenten homilies, which have the best claim to authenticity,

chiefly concern monastic discipline and repeatedly stress the authority of THEODORE OF STODIOS. A virulent anti-Latin tract and a letter on fasting attributed to Feodosij are more likely the works of another Feodosij ("the Greek," fl. mid-12th C.), who also translated into Slavonic the letter of Pope LEO I to Patr. Flavian of Constantinople.

ED. I.P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosija Pečerskogo," *TODRL* 5 (1947) 159-84.

SOURCE. Nestor's vita—*Uspenskij sbornik*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1971) 71-135. *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, ed. G.P. Fedotov (New York 1952).

LIT. R. Casey, "Early Russian Monasticism," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 372-423. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 89-93, 177-84. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:110-36. —S.C.F., P.A.H.

**FEOFAN GREK.** See THEOPHANES "THE GREEK."

**FERRARA** (Φερ(ρ)αρία), city in Emilia, in northern Italy. The city was evidently founded in the early 7th C., at which time a fortress was built on the left bank of the Po; by the 12th C., however, the Po had changed its course, and by 1438, when Emp. John VIII Palaiologos came to Ferrara, the closest point of disembarkation seems to have been Francolino, about 10 km from Ferrara (Syrpoulos, *Mémoires* 226.23-24). The fortress belonged to the exarchate of Ravenna, was captured by the Lombards, and in 757 transferred to Pope Stephen II by the Lombard king Desiderius. Under the rule of its Countess Mathilda (1063-1115) the city supported the popes (esp. GREGORY VII) against Henry IV of Germany. For several centuries Ferrara struggled against the ecclesiastical supremacy of Ravenna and the political claims of Venice. At the initiative of Pope Eugenius IV, Ferrara housed the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE during its first phase in 1438 until an outbreak of plague forced the participants to move to Florence. The city seems to have had a small Greek colony concentrated around the Church of St. Julian, near which Dionysios, metropolitan of Sardis, was buried in Apr. 1438 (V. Laurent in Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 257, n.5). —A.K.

**FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.** The council opened at Ferrara (1438-39). It was, however, transferred to Florence on account of the plague. Viewed by Rome as ecumenical, the council aimed at the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Its

convocation was a concession to the Byz., since Rome had previously refused to accept their demands for a free and open council in which both parties would be treated as equals. All the same, East-West antagonism remained. The papacy looked with contempt on the ruined Byz. Empire and strove for the political subordination of the Greek church, while traditional Byz. distrust of and frustration and disillusion with the West were still very much alive. Besides, the atmosphere was politically conditioned from the beginning. The large Byz. delegation, which included the patriarch of Constantinople, JOSEPH II, and Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS, was also seeking military aid against the Turks.

Despite the council's prolonged deliberations on the controversial issues—papal PRIMACY, FILIOQUE, PURGATORY, AZYMES—genuine unity was not achieved. Indeed, the basic issues were not fully resolved. Both papal primacy and the *filioque* were defined in Latin terms. A crucial argument for union, moreover, lost its persuasiveness soon after the council, when the military crusade promised by Pope EUGENIUS IV was destroyed at the battle of VARNA (1444). Not surprisingly, the union decree (6 July 1439) of this council proved just as ephemeral as the union of LYONS (1274). The Byz. church officially repudiated it shortly after the collapse of the empire. Both the *Memoirs* of Sylvester SYROPOULOS and the acts of the council itself are unofficial compilations, reflecting their authors' individual views and perspectives.

SOURCES. *Quae Supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, ed. J. Gill (Rome 1953). G. Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum*, *OrChr* 16.3 (1929); 17.2 (1930); 22.1 (1931). Idem, *Documenta Concilii Florentini de unione orientalium*, 3 vols. (Rome 1935-36).

LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence (1438-39) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," *ChHist* 24 (1955) 324-46. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1959). —A.P.

**FESTUS**, Latin historian; died Ephesus 3 Jan. 380. The old identification with Rufius Festus Avienius or his son is not valid. Festus is plausibly, though unprovably, equated with Festus of Tridentum in Raetia, governor of Syria and then proconsul of Asia (372-78), a character condemned for his many vices by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, EUNAPIOS, and LIBANIOS. After several vicissitudes of fortune, he met the poetic fate of dropping dead on the steps of the temple of

Nemesis at Ephesus. Festus's *Breviarium* is a jejune précis of Roman history from the city's foundation to 369, basically a propaganda piece for the intended Persian campaign of VALENS, who may have requested the work as an *aide-mémoire*, or to whom it may have been addressed in hopes of imperial favor. Several MS headings have it addressed to Valentinian instead, perhaps an error, although some speculate that Festus sent the work to both emperors with different dedications. Highly derivative for the most part, his work has some value for the administrative and military history of the Roman east from the late 3rd–4th C.

ED. *The Breviarium of Festus*, ed. J.W. Eadie (London 1967).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Festus the Historian," *Historia* 27 (1978) 197–217. Den Boer, *Historians* 173–223. M. Peachin, "The Purpose of Festus' *Breviarium*," *Mnemosyne* 38 (1985) 158–61. —B.B.

**FETHIYE CAMIL.** See PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA.

**FEUDALISM**, a term often used in modern Byz. scholarship to characterize a variety of Byz. social, economic, and political institutions and relationships. As in other fields of history, scholars disagree on the term's definition and therefore on whether/when Byz. became a "feudal society," what parts of it were "feudal," and whether the term should be applied to Byz. at all. Some academics, esp. Marxists, maintain that Byz. society can be understood only in a feudal context. These scholars variously consider Byz. to have become "feudal" in the 3rd, 7th, or 10th C., depending on such issues as whether the late Roman COLONI were already serfs and whether the inhabitants of the 10th-C. VILLAGE COMMUNITY were free smallholding PEASANTS or dependents of the state (see DEMOSIARIOS). On the other hand, those who consider feudalism to be the devolution of public (state) power into private hands debate when and to what extent privileges—fiscal (see EXEMPTION), administrative, and judicial—were granted to large landowners and even to towns, while agreeing that the process of devolution reached its fullest extent in the 14th–15th C.

Others see feudalism as primarily a system of hierarchical relationships among members of the ruling class, and, while the Western feudal con-

cepts of fealty, homage, the benefice, and vassalage had little expression in Byz., these scholars debate whether the Byz. ARISTOCRACY ever became a hereditary, "feudal" nobility. Still others consider it misleading to apply the term *feudalism*, so laden with its autochthonous western European connotations, to Byz. Even these scholars, however, find it difficult to ignore the parallels between Western medieval and Byz. institutions (whether borrowed or indigenous to Byz.; see IMMUNITY, LIZIOS, APPANAGE, PRONOIA) and often find it useful to speak, if not of feudalism, then of "feudalizing tendencies" or the "feudalization" of Byz.

LIT. K. Watanabe, "Problèmes de la 'féodalité' byzantine," *Hitoatsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* 5 (1965) 32–40; 6 (1965) 8–24. Patlagean, *Structures*, pt.III (1975), 1371–96. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 6f, 118–21. H. Antoniadis-Bibikou, "Problemata tes pheoudarchias sto Byzantio," *Epistemonike skepse* 1 (1981) 31–41. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:190–93. —M.B.

**FIBULA** (περόνη), a fastener for a cloak, shawl, or overgarment, usually placed on the shoulder of the wearer. Made of bronze, gilt bronze, gold, or silver, it is essentially a securing device, as distinct from a brooch, which is primarily decorative and consists of a hinged pin fastened to a front plate. The *fibula* was made of a single length of wire coiled on itself to produce a spring, while the back was bowed to allow for the bulk of the fabric it held. Its back portion was generally diamond- or lozenge-shaped, or cruciform, but circular *fibulae* appear by the 6th C. Initially they were plain, then repoussé; later versions are of openwork with gilt, gold wire, pendant gems and pearls, and glass paste; eventually they were decorated with cloisonné ENAMEL. Gold *fibulae* with inscriptions were given by rulers as gifts on state occasions down to the late 4th C. Conversely, plain bronze wire *fibulae*, resembling large safety pins, have been found in simple burials. The Byz. version of this fastener is generally the 6th-C. type, with rounded back, varying amounts of gold and gems, and sometimes a pendant cross or Christian inscription. The jeweled *fibula* that Justinian I wears on the right shoulder in the mosaics of S. Vitale, RAVENNA, identifies his imperial status.

Plain *fibulae* of bronze have been found during archaeological excavations in various centers of Greece and Macedonia (e.g., Nea Anchialos, Edessa

[Vodena]). They are dated predominantly to the 6th–8th C. and were often discovered together with BELT FITTINGS. The provenance of these objects is under discussion: while some scholars (e.g., J. Werner, *BZ* 49 [1956] 141f) consider them Bulgarian, Avar, or Slavic and interpret their presence in the Balkans as evidence of barbarian invasions, others insist on their local production.

LIT. J. Heurgon, *RAC* 7:791–800. C. Parkhurst, "The Melvin Gutman Collection of Ancient and Medieval Gold," *AMAB* 18.2/3 (1961) 40–286. *Age of Spirit*, no.275. D. Pallas, "Données nouvelles sur quelques boucles et fibules considérées comme avars et slaves et sur Corinthe entre le VIe et le IXe s.," *BBulg* 7 (1981) 295–318. N.M. Beljaev, "Fibula v Vizantii," *SemKond* 3 (1929) 49–114. —S.D.C., A.K.

**FIDEICOMMISSUM** (φιδεικόμισσον, τὰ πισ-  
τει καταλιμπανόμενα). Originally the *fideicommissum* consisted of an informal request of the testator addressed to the HEIRS or other beneficiaries of the deceased's estate. Since no one could bring suit against it, the fulfillment of the *fideicommissum* was dependent upon the honesty of the person of whom the request was made. After the *fideicommissum* became actionable (at the beginning of the Roman imperial period), it was gradually equated with the LEGATON, a process that ended with the full equation of the two under Justinian I (*Cod. Just.* VI 43.2, a.531).

**Fideicommissum in the Post-Justinianic Period.** The practice, if not the term, is common in Byz. Thus, for example, Kale-Maria, widow of Sym-batios Pakourianos, bequeathed in 1098–1113 a part of her property to the monastery of Iveron while imposing on the monks certain pious obligations; a special clause (*FGHBulg* 7 [1967] 72.24–31) instructs the executors of her will to sue the monks if they fail to carry out her wishes. Another type of Byz. *fideicommissum* appears in the will of Theodore Kerameas of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75), who commissioned Emp. Michael VIII and his own brother to carry out the construction of the monastery of Christ Pantodinos in Thessalonike; instead of receiving a bequest of property, his brother was promised spiritual wealth, the "riches of God's compassion."

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:549–67 (§§297–300). —A.K.

**FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.** See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople II.

**FILELFO, FRANCESCO**, Italian humanist, teacher, and translator; born Tolentino, Italy 25 July 1398, died Florence 31 July 1481. Filelfo (Φιλέλφος) spent the years 1420–27 in Constantinople as secretary to a Venetian official. He took advantage of this sojourn to study Greek with George CHRYSOKOKKES and with a member of the Chrysoloras family, whose daughter he married. As a result of his studies, he became an ardent philhellene, brought back to Italy MSS of 40 Greek authors, and named one of his sons Xenophon. He taught both Greek and Latin literature in Bologna, Florence, and Milan.

After his return to Italy, Filelfo was active as a translator of ancient Greek authors such as Xenophon (the *Cyropaedia*) and Plutarch. He maintained close relations with both the Italian and Greek émigré scholars of his day, conducting correspondence in Greek and Latin. Of his Greek letters 110 survive, many on literary topics (requests for books, criticism of literary works, discussion of Aristotelian philosophy). His most frequent addressees were Theodore GAZES (18 letters), Bessarion (16), and John ARGYROPOULOS (10). His letters contain many allusions to classical Greek literature and mythology. He was appalled by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and recognized the consequent threat to Italy. Gazes addressed to Filelfo his treatise on the origins of the Turks. Filelfo also wrote three books of poems in Greek, of which only a few have been published.

ED. E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris 1892), with Fr. tr.

LIT. A. Calderini, "Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo," *StItaFCl* 20 (1913) 204–224. —A.M.T.

**FILIOQUE**, Latin word meaning "and from the Son," which in the West was added to the creed of Nicaea-Constantinople at a Spanish council in Toledo in 589. It was meant to affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeded not only "from the Father" but also "from the Son." When Frankish missionaries used the interpolated creed in 9th-C. Bulgaria, direct polemics on the issue began between Latins and Greeks. Patr. PHOTIOS, in an *Encyclical* addressed to the other patriarchs (866), attacked both the interpolation and the doctrine of the "double procession." Eventually, legates of Pope JOHN VIII accepted the decrees of the Photian council of 879–80 in Constantinople (see under



CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which stated that "the Creed cannot be subtracted from, added to, altered or distorted in any way . . ." (Mansi 17:516C). Photios composed a lengthy refutation of the "double procession" following his retirement in 886. It is generally believed that the interpolated creed was accepted in Rome in 1014. The interpolation was affirmed as legitimate by the councils of LYONS (1274) and FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438-39), but was rejected in the East.

LIT. M. Jugie, *De processione Spiritus Sancti ex fontibus revelationis et secundum orientales dissidentes* (Rome 1936). R. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont, Mass., 1975). B. Schultze, "Zum Ursprung des Filioque," *OrChrP* 48 (1982) 5-18. G.C. Berthold, "Maximus the Confessor and the Filioque," *StP* 18.1 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985) 113-17. -J.M.

**FIRE** (ἐμπρησμός, πῦρ). Fire was an ever-present hazard in the large, densely populated cities of the Byz. world; consequently a metropolis like Constantinople had a squadron of fire fighters (*collegiati*) under the jurisdiction of the eparch of the city in each of its regions. Nevertheless, great conflagrations, begun accidentally or deliberately, still engulfed whole sections of large cities as they spread rapidly along the porticoes and major thoroughfares. Like EARTHQUAKES, fires were interpreted by the Byz. as signs of divine anger; for example, the fire of 1 Sept. 465 was thereafter the object of an annual liturgical commemoration (*Synax.CP* 6.3-9). Major fires in Constantinople occurred in summer 388; 12 July 400; 20 June 404; 25 Oct. 406; 15 Apr. 428; 17 Aug. 433; 448; 1-2 Sept. 465; 475; 498; 509; 510; 6 Nov. 512; 15-17 Jan. 532 (during the Nika Revolt); July 548; 13 May 559; Dec. 560; 12 Oct. 561; Dec. 563; Apr. 583; 603; 10 Aug. 626; Dec. 790; 886/7; spring 912; summer 931; 6 Aug. 1040; after Sept. 1069; before 1194 destroying the northern region of Constantinople (Nik.Chon. 445.29); 25 July 1197; 17 July 1203 (set by the Crusaders); 19-21 Aug. 1203; 12 Apr. 1204; 25 July 1261 (the Greeks burned the Latin quarters); Nov. 1291; 1303; 1308; Aug. 1351; 29 Jan. 1434 (this list compiled after Schneider with slight corrections). Fires outside Constantinople are little known or studied, though the sources mention attacks by enemies who set fire to strongholds, threshing floors, and crops in fields.

The image of fire or flame occupied a signifi-

cant place in theological concepts and in literature: fire was the major means of punishment in hell, and a final conflagration was expected at the end of the world. Metaphorically, the Byz. would speak of the fire of wrath, passion, heresy, persecution, etc. The pagan concept of the divine nature of fire (e.g., the Persian worship of fire) was refuted and ridiculed, but the image of God as fire was retained, as well as the concept of miraculous fire related to angels and saints. The Byz. themselves stressed the ambiguous nature of fire, contrasting material and immaterial (spiritual) fire, divine fire and fire of sin, illuminating and burning fire.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," *BZ* 41 (1941) 382-89. Lampe, *Lexikon* 1208-11. -B.C.

**FIREARMS.** Portable firearms were unknown in Byz. Cannons were developed in western Europe during the 14th C. and were first used against the Byz., to little effect, by the Turks in their siege of Constantinople in 1422. G. Škrivanić (*Kosovska bitka* [Cetinje 1956] 28-30) asserts that Dubrovnik obtained cannons by the mid-14th C. and that during the battle at Kosovo Polje in 1389 both the Serbs and the Turks used firearms. But while the Turks continued to invest in improved siege guns, the Byz. had neither the materials nor the money to develop their own cannons. Doukas (Douk. 307.20-309.27) and other historians recounting the fall of the city in 1453 (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF) tell of the Hungarian gunsmith Urban who first offered his skills to the impecunious Constantine XI Palaiologos before entering the far more remunerative service of the Turks. The cannons he built for Mehmed II the Conqueror, esp. one huge gun capable of firing a stone weighing over 1,000 pounds, were instrumental in demolishing parts of the city walls and blocking the Golden Horn to the ships of Byz. allies, while the few small Byz. guns were badly outweighed and outranged.

LIT. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 124-28. Dj. Petrović, "Firearms in the Balkans on the Eve and After the Ottoman Conquest of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 164-94. -E.M.

**FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.** See NICAEA, COUNCILS OF: NICAEA I.

**FISCAL SYSTEM.** Continuing the Roman practice, the state maintained a BUDGET based mainly on agricultural revenues. Indirect taxation, esp. from CUSTOMS (the OCTAVA, then the KOMMERKION), always burdened the circulation and sale of merchandise. On the contrary, CITY TAXES disappeared after the 7th C.

Payment of taxes has always been seen as a main and inevitable obligation of the population, but devolution of fiscal revenue was also practiced to varying degrees: tax exemptions allowed landowners to keep for their own profit at least part of the fiscal revenues; and fiscal revenues could be the object of outright grants to individuals (*logisima*), often as a compensation for services provided to the state (esp. in the PRONOIA system). Such practices had important social consequences.

**First Period (4th to 7th C.).** The 3rd-C. crisis and Diocletian's reforms resulted in a fiscal system based mainly on contributions in kind, first of all on the ANNONA, the burden of which was distributed to taxpayers following the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. Fiscal revenue from land was stabilized for periods of time according to the INDICTIO and was eventually increased (or restored in case of abandoned lands) by the EPIBOLE. Following the establishment by Constantine I of a stable monetary system based on gold, the fiscal services, eager to collect precious metal, applied increasingly the principle of COMMUTATION, in spite of the injustices that this might entail, and ended by officially transforming the land tax into a contribution in gold (CHRYSO TELEIA). In 518, public finances were healthy, with attested reserves of 320,000 pounds of gold. Fiscal income was complemented by various SECONDARY TAXES and services.

Until the 7th C. at least, the empire's fiscal services were attached to the PRAETORIAN PREFECT (and, secondarily, to the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM) and functioned through provincial governors and various local authorities (or the latifundary landowners). SYNETHIAI were the main remuneration of TAX COLLECTORS.

**Second Period (8th to 12th C.).** The new fiscal system is essentially known from the 9th C. onward, thanks esp. to some treatises on TAXATION. It was based on the idea that each fiscal unit, be it an individual (*prosopon*, owning one or more PROASTEIA), or a village (CHORION, a community of small landowners with some communal prop-

erties), was expected to produce a stable fiscal revenue each year, following the principle of fiscal solidarity among its members. Until a TAX ALLEVIATION was granted, neighbors were responsible for the tax of abandoned lots; and if, after alleviation, they agreed to take over such a lot, they were required to pay deferred taxes (OPISTHOTELEIA) as if they had already been exploiting it. Solidarity in payment of taxes was brought beyond the limits of the fiscal unit by Basil II with the ALLELENGYON.

The main tax, the KANON, was paid on land (4.166 percent *ad valorem*; but this "fiscal" value could differ from the real one—Schilbach, *Quellen* 59f) and its amount was established according to the *epibole* for each fiscal unit described in the CADASTER; it was increased by the PARAKOLOUTHEMATA and had to be paid mostly in gold coins (CHARAGMA). To these were added the HEARTH TAX and many secondary taxes, CORVÉES, and services (in kind or in money). Some categories of land (those submitted to the STRATEIA or the DROMOS) were in principle exempt from secondary taxes, as were those of lay or ecclesiastic landowners that had received a privilege from the emperor (very seldom was the *kanon* included in such exemptions). Various TITHES were collected from state-owned lands.

Fiscal services were under the authority of the *logothetes* of the GENIKON, whose representatives operated in the provinces under the supervision of the STRATEGOI: ANAGRAPHEIS conducted the census, EPOPTAI revised the cadaster, EXISOTAI verified and redistributed the fiscal burden of the contributors, and DIOIKETAI collected the taxes. Military obligations related to the *strateia* were controlled by the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU, postal obligations by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. The PROTONOTARIOS of the theme was in charge of provincial finances and levying most of the secondary taxes and corvées. In the 10th-11th C. provincial judges also collected taxes.

**Third Period (12th to 15th C.).** The fiscal system, although retaining its main characteristics, changed considerably by adapting to new realities: the development of large landed property, social changes in the countryside (peasants were now increasingly PAROIKOI, often of the state), enhanced by the development of the *pronoia* system. The tax collector was now the PRAKTOR of a given province, most often a tax farmer. The census,



carried out by the APOGRAPHEUS (whose PRAKTIKA replaced the systematic cadaster), served as a basis for calculating the fiscal revenues that would be collected by the state (or by landowners who were granted tax exemptions) or would be distributed to *pronoia* holders. Land was taxed at a flat rate (50 modioi: 1 hyperpyron) and this TELOS was distinguished from the tax on the *paroikoi* (ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ), which was calculated according to principles that are not yet clear. The secondary taxes, smaller in number but not necessarily lighter, presented substantial regional variations (Lefort, "Fiscalité" 315–54).

Between 1404 and 1420, the Byz. administration, established in the Chalkidike after 20 years of Ottoman domination, perpetuated the pre-existing fiscal system with some Islamic taxes—the *harac* (land tax), the *usr* (tithe), the *kephalatikion* (capitation)—and with very few secondary taxes and services (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 45 [1986] 1–24). (See also TAXATION.)

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 411–69. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen. Dölger, Beiträge*. Svoronos, *Cadastre*. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 248–57. Litavrin, *VizObsčestvo* 196–236. *Lavra* 4:153–73. N. Oikonomides, "De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité. A propos du premier cadastre byzantin (7<sup>e</sup>–9<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 9–19. K. Chvostova, "Sud'by pariki i osobennosti nalogoobloženija parikov v Vizantii XIV v.," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 54–75. —N.O.

**FISH BOOK.** See OPSAROLOGOS.

**FISHING** (ἀλεία). Peasants living in villages along the seacoast, or near a river, marsh, or pond, engaged in fishing to secure an important source of protein in their DIET. The Great Lavra on Mt. Athos possessed, among its AUTOURGIA, two canals for fishing, a fishing boat (*karabion*), and 60 fishponds (VIVARIA), while in the list of its *paroikoi* 56 boats and 374 *vivaria* are mentioned (Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:163); the peasants paid a rent (*haleia*) for the right to fish. Another rent for fishing was called *halieutike tritomoiria* or *tetramoiria* (third or fourth part). In cities located on the coast there were teams of fishermen, each with a headman (*proteuon*), like the group of fishermen in Chalcedon whose catch was disappointing until Loukas the Stylite blessed their nets and made them promise to give him a tithe, that is, every tenth fish; the other fish were to be sold (Delehayé,

*Saints stylites* 212f). Smoked fish and caviar were brought to Constantinople from the Azov Sea. Commercial fishing from a small fleet of boats in a sea inhabited by a variety of species illustrates the homily of John of Damascus on the Nativity in the 11th-C. Menologion from Athos, Esphigmenou 14 (*Treasures* 2, fig.348).

The images of fish and angler had an honorific place in the Byz. system of metaphors. Fish was the symbol of Christ himself (ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ), and it was common to send fish to friends as a valuable present; "fishers of men" was an epithet of the apostles.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:331–43. C.C. Giurescu, *Istoria pescuitului și a pisciculturii în România*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1964) 53–86. E. Trapp, "Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen über die Errichtung einer Epoche," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 329–33. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische," in *Studies in the Mediterranean World Past and Present*, vol. 11 (Tokyo 1988) 155–76.

—J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

**FISHMONGER** (ἰχθυοπράτης). The term *ichthyoprates* (or *ichthyopoles*) existed in Roman Egypt (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:705) where the profession seems to have been distinct from that of fisherman or *halieus* (ibid. 1:56) and that of the vendor of salted and smoked fish or *taricheutes* (the feminine form *tarichopratisa* is attested in a 6th-C. papyrus; ibid. 2:578f). Fishermen in Constantinople could sell their catch themselves, like the man described in the vita of Andrew *en Krisei* (AASS, Oct. 8:141B) who operated in the Forum Tauri and was armed with an ax "that is used by the men of his profession." The *Book of the Eparch*, however, strictly distinguished between fishermen and *ichthyopratai*: the latter would buy the catch at the seashore and on the SKALAI and sell it in special *kamarai*, vaulted shops, in the fish market, under the control of *prostatai*—either the eparch's officials or the guild's elders. Fishmongers were prohibited from dealing in salted and smoked fish (the privilege of the *saldamarioi* or GROCERS); their profit was set at one miliaresion per nomisma (about 8 percent) or 2 folleis per nomisma—about 1.5 percent (*Bk. of Eparch* 17:1 and 3)—a contradiction that is hard to explain. John TZETZES (ep.81.16–82.2) relates that fishmongers were buying 12 fish for a copper coin on the seashore and selling 10 fish for the same coin on the market, thus making

16.6 percent profit. The annual income of the fisc from the trade in fish was calculated in the 14th C. at 10,000 hyperpers (Greg. 1:428.19–20).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 45–47. *Bk. of Eparch* 231–36. Litavrin, *VizObsčestvo* 144f. L. Balletto, "Il commercio del pesce nel Mar Nero sulla fine del Duecento," *Critica storica* 13 (1976) 390–407. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 99, n.178. —A.K.

**FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA**, Eustratios and his companions, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, and Orestes, legendary martyrs under Diocletian, executed in Sebasteia, Armenia; feastday 13 Dec. According to the legend, Eustratios Kyriskes, an officer (*skrinarios*) in the army of the *doux* Lysias, proclaimed himself a Christian and was condemned together with the priest Auxentios. Their courage inspired many others to accept martyrdom. Before death they were severely tortured: Eustratios had to wear shoes with sharp nails inside; Mardarios was hanged upside down; Eugenios's tongue and hands were cut off. When Auxentios was beheaded, a miracle occurred: his head disappeared, later to be found at the top of a tree. The collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES includes the *passio*, poor in information; it mentions many ancient mythological personages and authors such as Hesiod, Aeschylus, Plato, and Aristotle. According to the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, the martyrs' relics were transferred to Rome under Pope Hadrian I (772–95), but Arauraka in Armenia, where they were buried, remained a cult center until the 11th C. NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON and Michael of Stoudios wrote Greek eulogies of the martyrs. Armenian, Latin, and Spanish versions of the *passio* also exist.

**Representation in Art.** The Five Martyrs of Sebasteia, the "Holy Five," as they were often called, were an extremely popular group, included in many monumental church programs, on icons, and in MSS (e.g., the THEODORE PSALTER, fol.158r). Their portraits are well established by the 11th C.: Eustratios as a dark-bearded official wearing a special chlamys fastened at the front with several clasps and a white *loros* or scarf around his neck; Auxentios as an old man in court costume; Eugenios, a younger man also in court costume; Mardarios, wearing a red felt hat; and Orestes, a young beardless soldier wearing a cross around his neck. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II

(p.241) illustrates their diverse martyrdoms as do some MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes; one MS in Turin, which contains nothing but the metaphrastic vita of these saints, is illustrated with a considerable number of miniatures scattered through the text. A painted TEMPLON beam depicting 11 posthumous miracles of Eustratios has been preserved at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; no textual source for the miracles has been found (Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.113).

SOURCE. PG 116:468–505.

LIT. BHG 646–646c. K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste," *DOP* 33 (1979) 95–112. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 1:143–48. Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1982) 74–81. F. Halkin, "L'épilogue d'Eusèbe de Sebaste à la Passion de S. Eustrate et de ses compagnons," *AB* 88 (1970) 279–83. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:200f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**FLABELLUM.** See RHIPIDION.

**FLAG.** See BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG.

**FLAVIAN** (Φλαβιανός), bishop of Constantinople (July 446—between 8 and 11 Aug. 449); died Lydian Hypaepa Aug. 449 or Feb. 450. Elected as successor of PROKLOS, Flavian immediately entered into a conflict with the court: the eunuch Chrysaphios, favorite of Theodosios II, reprimanded Flavian for not sending presents of gold to the emperor on the occasion of his election, but the bishop refused to yield (Theoph. 98.11–19). Then, in 448, with Pope LEO I's support, Flavian dismissed Bassianos, the popular bishop of Ephesus, whose election had been approved by Theodosios II and Proklos. A crisis erupted when in 448 Flavian condemned and deposed the Monophysite archimandrite EUTYCHES, a protégé of Chrysaphios. Following an appeal by Eutyches, Theodosios II convoked the "Robber" Council of EPHEsus (449), which deposed Flavian. The mood in Ephesus was evidently hostile to Flavian; even its bishop Stephen voted for Flavian's condemnation. Flavian was banished and probably died en route to exile, even though shortly afterward the legend arose that he had been murdered by his enemies. Emp. Marcian ordered that Flavian's remains be brought to Constantinople and buried

in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Emp. Leo I and the Council of Chalcedon praised Flavian in 451 as a victim of the Monophysites.

ED. PL 54:724–28, 731–36.

SOURCE. S. Leonis Magni *tomus ad Flavianum episc. Constantinopolitanum*, ed. C. Silva-Tarouca (Rome 1932).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 94–110. H. Chadwick, "The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople," *JThSt* n.s. 6 (1955) 17–34. P. Batiffol, "L'affaire de Bassianos d'Éphèse (444–448)," *EO* 23 (1924) 385–94. J. Liébaert, *DGHE* 17 (1971) 390–96. —A.K.

**FLAVIANUS**, a Roman senatorial family closely related to and ideologically connected with that of SYMMACHUS. Two Flaviani played a signal role under Theodosios I. Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (ca.334–94) belonged to the intellectual elite of Rome and was known as a translator, a character in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, and a historian: his *Annales*, which extended to 366, served as the main source for AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. He owned estates in Apulia and Sicily. A dogged supporter of paganism, he favored the Donatists in 377, while serving as *vicarius* of Africa, and was dismissed by Gratian; Theodosios, however, restored him to favor, appointing him quaestor in 389 and then praetorian prefect for Illyricum and Italy. His son, Nicomachus Flavianus junior, obtained Theodosios's favor even earlier, and served in 382/3 as proconsul of Asia. Dismissed for flogging a *decurion*, he fled home, escaping the emperor's wrath. Both father and son joined the insurrection of EUGENIUS; after their defeat, the father committed suicide and the son found asylum in a church. He obtained Theodosios's pardon by accepting Christianity and promising to return the salary he and his father were paid during Eugenius's usurpation. He served in Italy and Africa (until 432) and was three times urban prefect. Their relation to other Flaviani is not specified in the sources.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 6 (1909) 2505–13. *PLRE* 1:343–49. J.-P. Callu, "Les préfectures de Nicomache Flavien," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 73–80. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 231–47. —A.K.

**FLIGHT INTO EGYPT**. The Holy Family's flight to escape Herod's massacre of the young children (Mt 2:13–15) belongs to the cycle of Christ's INFANCY. It appears often in 4th- through 6th-C. art, where, cast as an imperial ADVENTUS, it as-

sumes triumphal significance: Mary and Christ ride a donkey led by a youth or angel toward a city and the personification of Egypt; Joseph follows. Some versions depict palms, recalling Christ's similarly triumphal ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM (see also PALM SUNDAY) and a domed city, perhaps Heliopolis, where—according to pseudo-Matthew and *The Arabian Gospel of the Childhood of Christ*—the idols fell when Christ arrived. The *adventus* composition recurs in the 10th C. at GÖREME, with the youth labeled JAMES. Generally, however, the triumphal element dwindles, and later versions emphasize Christ's humanity. The personification appears only sporadically, Joseph takes the lead (see FRIEZE GOSPELS), and, in certain 12th-C. compositions, he carries Christ on his back (Cappella Palatina at PALERMO). Palaiologan painters relished this detail, but also depicted the triumphal scene of the falling idols (CHORA).

LIT. G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1 (London 1971–72) 117–20. —A.W.C.

**FLOOD, THE** (κατακλυσμός). According to the CHRONICON PASCHALE (42.12–16), the inundation of the world (Gen 6–8) completed the period of "barbarism" that encompassed the ten generations from ADAM to NOAH when men had no ruler and everyone lived in accordance with his own law. GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS states (15.24–27) that before the flood men occupied a small area between Paradise and the ocean, but thereafter they started settling all over the earth. Thus the flood was the starting point for the development of individual "nations."

The flood posed a serious problem for exegetes: how to reconcile the extermination of all mankind (except for Noah and his family) with the idea of divine mercy. As John Chrysostom put it (PG 55:448.14–15), the flood allows us to contemplate the balance between God's mercy and God's justice. The flood was caused by men's sins that needed to be punished, but, on the other hand, those who were destroyed have been given time to repent; the mercy of God was symbolized by the olive branch. Previously Origen had rejected other explanations of the flood, such as it being an element of the cosmic cycle or representing a change in the divine plan. The flood was also construed as the PREFIGURATION (*typos*) of baptism.

The vivid narrative of the Flood and NOAH'S ARK (Gen 7:17–8:14) was widely illustrated in the great repositories of GENESIS iconography, such as the Cotton Genesis and Vienna Genesis (Weitzmann, *Late Ant. Ill.*, pl.23) but was rare in monumental art.

LIT. H. Hohl, *LCI* 4:161–3. V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *DPAC* 1:957. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Archeologia e cultura*<sup>2</sup> (Rome 1979) 328–43. J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden 1968). —A.K., J.H.L.

**FLOOR MOSAIC** (ψηφοδέτημα, λιθόστρωτον), floor covering composed of tesserae, cube-shaped pieces of stone or glass, set into mortar in geometric and/or figural designs. The craft was widespread in the Roman Empire and continued uninterrupted into late antiquity; it flourished from the 4th to the 6th C. but was apparently not practiced in Byz. after the 7th. Late Antique floor mosaics are almost exclusively *opus tessellatum*, i.e., composed of uniform tesserae of variously colored stone—primarily marble and limestone—sometimes supplemented with terra-cotta and/or glass tesserae. Their substructures comprise three layers of progressively finer and thinner lime mortar with ground brick or *pozzuolana*: the *rudus* (a layer of coarse mortar poured over packed stones), the *nucleus*, and the setting bed.

Floor mosaic was used widely in public buildings and luxurious residences where it provided a decorative, durable, and waterproof surface; it was apparently less prestigious than OPUS SECTILE. Figures and ornament of floor mosaics generally follow the style of MONUMENTAL PAINTING. Scholars have identified criteria of composition and style unique to floor mosaics, but the inherently conservative nature of the craft and variations according to region and quality make dating by style uncertain. Not only ORNAMENT, but subject matter and style varied according to region; until the early 4th C., eastern Mediterranean mosaics displayed illusionistic mythological scenes in prominent frames placed in the center of the floor, in contrast to the polychrome depictions of hunts and other subjects from the amphitheater on North African mosaics (see NORTH AFRICA, MONUMENTS OF) or the black-and-white style typical of Rome and Ostia.

In some regions these practices continued during the early 4th C.; elsewhere style and/or subject

matter changed significantly. The eastern Mediterranean was particularly conservative. Illusionistic mythological scenes still dominated pavements at ANTIOCH and Shahba-Philippopolis. In the Balkans, some mosaics (e.g., at SIRMIMUM) show influence from western Europe, others from the East. Polychrome hunting and marine mosaics with two-dimensional figures distributed across the entire floor, as in Roman North Africa, then became popular in other regions, including Italy. The largest ensemble of early 4th-C. mosaics, at PIAZZA ARMERINA, included subjects—hunts, marine scenes, *putti* harvesting grapes—close to contemporary floors in CARTHAGE. At GAMZIGRAD in eastern Serbia, Emp. Galerius decorated his palace with hunting mosaics. Such subjects were rare in the 4th-C. eastern Mediterranean; those in the "Constantinian Villa" at Antioch are exceptional. After the edicts of toleration issued in ca.311–13 (see EDICT OF MILAN) monumental Christian buildings, as at AQUILEIA, provided new settings for floor mosaics. Christian subjects were combined with preexisting decorative and figural elements. SYNAGOGUES were also decorated with floor mosaic, sometimes figural, e.g., the zodiac at Hammath Tiberias.

By the end of the 4th C., most floor mosaics were ecclesiastical. At this time a vogue for strictly geometric floor mosaics—in churches and secular buildings alike—dominated the eastern Mediterranean, e.g., at Antioch (Kausiye Church), APAMEIA, Epidauros, SALONA. They extended as far west as northern Italy, while figural mosaics remained popular in North Africa and Italy.

Most 5th-C. floor mosaics in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Syria and Palestine, had figures executed in a two-dimensional style, contained in a geometric framework or regularly distributed across a white ground. The same themes dominated in secular and religious contexts. Depictions of animals alone or in rustic scenes and hunts, rare in the East earlier, now became extremely popular. Usually the subject matter remains secular, e.g., at Huarte (Basilica of Photios), Antioch (Martyrion of Seleukeia), Tabgha (Nilotic scenes in HEPTAPEGON). Sometimes biblical content was introduced: Adam appeared among the animals at Huarte (Michaëlion), NOAH'S ARK was depicted at Mopsuestia, the "Peaceable Kingdom" was a popular theme in CILICIA, e.g., Karlik. Biblical narrative scenes like

the Samson cycle at Mopsuestia are rare in floor mosaics, evidently deemed inappropriate for them. In an edict of 427, Theodosios II forbade placing the sign of Christ on pavements (*Cod. Just.* I. 8).

In the Balkans, geometric mosaics remained the norm well into the 5th C. When figures reappeared, they were less varied than in Syria. Figure carpets with birds and vessels and the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE flanked by deer or peacocks were popular. Geometric floors with donor inscriptions remained common into the 6th C. in Dalmatia and northern Italy. Christian mosaics of North Africa were restrained, tomb mosaics with symbolic motifs being typical.

In the 6th C. floor mosaics continued to flourish in Phoenicia and Palestine, but fewer were laid in Syria than in the 5th. Elements of the natural world, including personifications of SEASONS and MONTHS, remained the most common subjects. Frequently these subjects were incorporated into ORNAMENT. The medallion style, characterized by a decorative framework of repeated circles sometimes outlined by stylized vine RINCEAUX, was particularly prominent, as at Kabr Hiram. Mosaics of the period of Justinian I reflect the concept of the church building as MICROCOSM, with the terrestrial world depicted on the floor, e.g., GERASA, Church of St. John, MADABA MOSAIC MAP. At Mt. NEBO, compositions symbolic of paradise were placed in sanctuaries. Many synagogues received floor mosaics representing ceremonial utensils and images of the zodiac (Beth Alpha) or animals in vine scrolls (as at Nirim). Depictions of the natural world penetrated into the Balkans by the late 5th–6th C. Personifications of the months appear at Tegea and again at Argos. Elaborate representations of terrestrial creation are seen at Herakleia Lynkestis and the Dometius Basilica at NIKOPOLIS.

In the peristyle of the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople, illusionistic depictions of animals, circus scenes, and vignettes from nature were scattered across a white ground. Although this mosaic somewhat resembles the 5th-C. mosaics of northern Syria, available archaeological evidence suggests a 6th- or 7th-C. date. Seventh-century floor mosaics are rare in the provinces. Only a few crude examples, such as the scenes of everyday life from Deir el-Adas in Syria, can be dated so late. The craft declined together with the provincial cities, although it was briefly revived outside Byz., in Umayyad mosques and desert palaces in Syria and Palestine in the 8th C.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian," *La mosaïque gréco-romaine*, vol. 1 (Paris 1965) 341–51. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947). K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978). J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels 1977). Maguire, *Earth and Ocean*. J.-P. Caillet, "Les dédicaces privées de pavements de mosaïque à la fin de l'Antiquité," *AAPA* 2 (1987) 15–38. —R.E.K.

**FLOORS.** The Greek word *patos* (πάτος) designated both a story of a building ("second *patos*"—*Lavra* 3, no.154.5–6; "fourth *patos*"—*Kouiloum*, no.15.93) and "floor" in the usual sense (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.170). Ordinary houses had floors made of pounded earth (they were called "without floors," *apatotos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.165), wooden boards (*xylopatos*—MM 3:56.18, or *sani-dopatos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.168), or might even be paved with marble (*marmaropatos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.103, or *patos dia marmaron*—MM 3:55.28–29). Palaces, mansions, and churches often had OPUS SECTILE or mosaic floors (see FLOOR MOSAIC). Archaeological data testify to the preservation of ancient techniques of flooring (A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* [Southampton 1975] 198f); furthermore, ancient materials were frequently reused for floor renovation (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE* 11 [1982–83] 10f). Mosaic floors were laid on a layer of mortar, which in turn was set on a bed of sand or of crushed marble and small pebbles (A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 222).

A law of 427 (*Cod. Just.* I 8.1) and canon 73 of the Council in Trullo prohibited depicting signs of the CROSS on the floor lest they be stepped on; the law of 427 was included in the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 1.1.6). Balsamon, commenting on these decisions, distinguished between those who depicted the cross on the floor due to their simplicity and excessive piety and those who did it consciously to show their disrespect for the cross (Rhalles-Potles, *Syn-tagma* 2:475.28–33).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:278f, 299. T.K. Kirova, "Il problema della casa bizantina," *FelRav* 102 (1971) 299. —A.K.

**FLORENCE** (Φλωρεντία), city in Tuscany. In the late Roman period the city's territory decreased significantly, though the legend that Florence was destroyed by Totila and rebuilt by Charlemagne strongly exaggerates the events. S. Reparata (over

60 m long) is one of the larger churches built in Italian urban centers in late antiquity, and as such is good evidence for local patronage of ecclesiastical construction. The site of the Roman forum continued to be used in medieval times as a market. Local tradition links the establishment of Christianity in Florence with Eastern influence; A. Amore (in *Bibl. Sanct.* 9 [1967] 494) believes that in 6th-C. Florence a chapel of St. MENAS, housing his relics, spurred the development of the local cult of St. Miniatus.

In 1094 Pope Urban II visited Florence, Pisa, and Pistoia calling for participation in the First Crusade, but Florence remained aloof. Later some of the city's high-ranking clergymen participated in the Crusades: Guido of Florence, the cardinal-priest of San Chrysogono, was the pope's legate to the Second Crusade and contributed to the reconciliation between the Byz. and the Westerners; at the beginning of the 13th C. Walter of Florence was bishop of Acre. In the 14th C. the Florentines became more active in the East even though Florence's role was less sophisticated than that of Venice, Genoa, or Pisa: bankers from Florence established themselves at CHLEMOUTSI; the Florentine family of ACCIAJUOLI became major landowners in the Peloponnesos but retained ties with Florence (they were involved in constructing a monastery in Certosa near Florence); the 14th-C. Florentine merchant Francesco PEGOLOTTI demonstrated interest in and knowledge of trade with Constantinople; and the names of Florentines trading with "Turkey" are recorded in Genoese archives (e.g., M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, vol. 1 [Paris–The Hague 1973] no.257, a.1289). In the 15th C. Florentines tried to receive trade privileges in Constantinople; they were granted a chrysobull in 1439. The *despotes* of Mistra sent envoys to Florence in 1446 and 1450.

The Florentines participated in preparations for the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in the mid-15th C.; they sent a ship to Constantinople to bring some Greeks to Italy (Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 198.5) and were active in persuading the delegates to leave Ferrara, which was ravaged by plague, and to move to Pisa or another city in Florentine territory; finally the council was transferred to Florence at the beginning of 1439. In the 15th C. Florentine humanists had contacts with Byz. scholars such as PLETHON. After the fall of Constantinople Florence provided refuge for some Greek intellectuals: thus Demetrios Chalkokon-

dyles (a relative of Laonikos Chalkokondyles) became a professor of Greek language in Florence in 1475; a large collection of Greek manuscripts was assembled in the city.

LIT. R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, vols. 1–4 (Berlin 1896–1927). A. Panella, *Storia di Firenze* (Florence 1984). W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart 1879; rp. Hildesheim 1984) 298–302. G. Morozzi et al., *S. Reparata, l'antica cattedrale fiorentina* (Florence 1974). —A.K., R.B.H.

**FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.** See FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.

**FLORILEGIUM** (Lat., lit. "collection of flowers"), a Western medieval term conventionally applied to a Byz. genre of excerpts from earlier authors collected with an explicit purpose. The term is used esp. for theological anthologies, in contrast to predominantly secular collections of GNOMAI or *gnomologia*. A *florilegium* of quotations from commentators on the Bible, strung together and attached to a biblical text, is called a CATENA; one consisting of secular verse is termed an ANTHOLOGY; short *florilegia*, composed of groups of approximately 100 sentences on either religious or secular matters, are known as "centuries."

Richard (*infra*) distinguishes between dogmatic and spiritual *florilegia*. Up to the end of the 4th C., the former were rare, an exception being the PHILOKALIA compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos from Origen's writings. They became more common during the 5th-C. Christological disputes and during the Monothelete and Iconoclast controversies. A later example is the *Panoplia Dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS.

Spiritual *florilegia* with a moral and ascetic emphasis appear from the 8th C. onward. Richard divides them into three categories. The first includes those based on the SACRA PARALLELA (attributed to John of Damascus) and related texts. The second includes a group of sacro-profane *florilegia* beginning with the *Loci Communes* (or *Capita Theologica*), attributed to MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, but compiled in the 10th C. They flourished during the period of so-called ENCYCLOPEDIISM (end of 9th to 10th C.) and in the 11th C. (MELISSA). Based on the *Sacra Parallela* and, in their profane part, on STOBAIOS, they were directed toward an educated public of both clergy and laity. The third category includes monastic



*florilegia*, of which the first example is attributed to ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (the *Erotapokriseis*). They flourished in the 11th C. and later; their authors included NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN and JOHN IV OXEITES of Antioch. Although *florilegia* usually contained *sententiae* of various church fathers, collections from a single author (e.g., Basil the Great) are known (J.F. Kindstrand, *Eranos* 83 [1985] 113–24).

LIT. Richard, *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pts. 1–5. P. Odorico, "Il 'Corpus Parisinum' e la fase costitutiva dei florilegi sacro-profani," *SBNG* 417–29. J. Sonderkamp, "Zur Textgeschichte des 'Maximos-Florilegs,'" *JÖB* 26 (1977) 231–45. H. Chadwick, *RAC* 7 (1969) 1131–60. —E.M.J., A.K.

**FLORIS AND BLANCHEFLOR.** See PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA.

**FOEDERATI** (φοιδεράτοι, from Lat. *foedus*, "treaty"), in Roman law a term for the barbarian tribes who were allies of the empire. In the 4th C. the term was applied to those barbarian groups that—like the Visigoths in 332—were settled on the territory of the Roman Empire on the condition of providing military service (E. Chrysos, *Dacoromania* 1 [1973] 52–64). The term was transferred to elite (mainly mounted) troops recruited primarily from various barbarian tribes. There has been some confusion over the date of this change. C. Benjamin (*infra*), referring to Malal. 364.12–13, spoke of a certain Areobindus, *comes* of *foederati* in the reign of Theodosios I, although he questioned the veracity of this evidence and himself placed the beginning of the institution of the "new *foederati*" in the reign of Honorius; Malalas, however, made Areobindus a contemporary of Theodosios II, not Theodosios I.

The 5th-C. historian Olympiodoros of Thebes (fr.7—*FHG* 4:9.6–10) states that the terms *BOUKELLARIOI* and *foederati* appeared under Honorius, but his evidence may be anachronistic. They are better known from the sources of the 6th C. Prokopios (*Wars* 3:11.3) stresses the further change in the status of the *foederati*: while previously only barbarians were enlisted as *foederati*, in his day anyone could join their ranks.

LIT. G. Wirth, "Zur Frage der foederierten Staaten in der späteren Römischen Kaiserzeit," *Historia* 16 (1967) 231–51. M. Cesa, "Überlegungen zur Föderatenfrage," *Mitteil-*

*ungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 92 (1984) 307–16. J. Maspero, "Phoïderatoi et Stratiotai dans l'armée byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *BZ* 21 (1912) 97–109. C. Benjamin, *De Iustiniani imperatoris aetate quaestiones militares* (Berlin 1892) 4–18. J.L. Teall, "The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies," *Speculum* 40 (1965) 294–322. —A.K.

**FOLIO** (from Lat. *folium*, Gr. φύλλον, "leaf"), leaf of a QUIRE, consisting of one half of a folded sheet (*bifolium* or *unio*) of parchment or paper. In Byz. MSS only the front of the leaf (i.e., the right-hand page, or recto, as opposed to the reverse side, or verso) is numbered, if there is any numeration at all (most numeration of folios has been added later by owners or librarians). Thus, in modern citations of MSS, folio numbers are qualified by the addition of "recto" or "verso" (abbreviated r and v), e.g., fol.31r or 31v. Normally eight folios (*folia*), or four sheets, constitute a quire.

—A.M.T., R.B.

**FOLLIS** (φόλλις), a Latin word originally meaning a purse and applied to bags of COINS of any metal of determined value. This remained its meaning until the end of the 4th C. The bishop-metrologist EPIPHANIOS of Salamis defines it as a bag of 125 silver pieces. The description of the largest bronze coin of the Tetrarchy as a follis is an anachronism. (It was called a NUMMUS.) With the reintroduction of heavy copper denominations at the end of the 5th C. the term was applied to the heaviest of these, the 40-nummus piece bearing the mark of value M (=40). This remained the normal meaning of the word until the end of the 11th C., the notional value of folles being 1/24th of a MILIARESION and 1/288th of a SOLIDUS, though it is not likely that these ratios can have been sustained in the 7th–8th C., when the follis's weight fell from the approximately 16 g of the early 6th C. to not much over 4 g. The follis was sometimes called an obol, mainly in literary sources but also in, for example, the *Book of the Eparch*. After Alexios I's coinage reform of 1092, the follis was replaced as a coin by the smaller TETARTERON and as a unit of account displaced by the KERATION, so the word gradually disappeared from use. Its Italian equivalent *follaro* (from *follis aeris* "copper follis"), used at Dubrovnik and elsewhere for locally minted copper coins, was applied by BADOER and other foreign merchants to the smallest copper coin of 15th-C. Con-

stantinople, but the Greek name for these is unknown.

LIT. *DOC* 2:9, 22–32, 3:14f, 68–72.

—Ph.G.

**FONDACO.** See PHOUNDAX.

**FONT, BAPTISMAL** (κολυμβήθρα, βαπτιστήριον, φωτιστήριον), a built or stone-carved basin in a special annex of the narthex or atrium of a church or an autonomous BAPTISTERY. Until about the 7th C., a large font, set deep into the baptistery floor, was mainly intended for the BAPTISM of adults; this could be square, rectangular, circular, hexagonal, octagonal, cross-shaped, four-lobed, or multi-lobed in plan. Later, however, smaller fonts, carved in marble or cast in bronze and usually chalice-shaped, were used for the baptism of children only. At Hosios Loukas the font is decorated with lion masks (R.W. Schultz, S.H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke* [London 1901] 32). Other important examples are the roughly octagonal font at the monastery of Hosios Meletios (*ABME* 5 [1939–40] 103, fig.51) and a round one from the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Athenian Agora (A. Xyngopoulos in *Eureterion ton mesaionikon mnemeion tes Hellados*, vol. 1.1, no.2 [Athens 1929], fig.74).

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:460–96. A. Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris 1982) 43, 69–82. S. Čurčić, "The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and its Iconographic Setting," *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* (Belgrade) 9–10 (1979) 313–23. —L.Ph.B.

**FOOD.** See DIET.

**FOOLS, HOLY** (σαλοί), a group of SAINTS gifted with extreme foresight who, in their humility, pretended to be half-witted ("fools for Christ's sake"). The series of holy fools begins with SYMEON OF EMESA who embodied—in an extreme form—protest against the traditional values of urban civilization; the Life of ANDREW THE FOOL is less extreme. The author of the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER says that this saint claimed to be "foolish" (although he remained wise and learned) in order to escape the traps of the Devil (ed. Veselovskij, 1.50.33–4). The unpredictable and enigmatic actions and words of these saints manifest their freedom from earthly bondage and

their attachment to the heavenly world. A secularized version of the holy fool is found in the Life of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, whose extraordinary generosity was viewed as "foolish" by his family and who was rewarded on earth with worldly well-being. Byzantine *saloi* found continuators and imitators in the Russian *jurodivye*.

LIT. A. Syrkin, "On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake,'" *History of Religions* 22 (1982) 150–71. L. Rydén, "The Holy Fool," in *Byz. Saint* 106–13. —A.K.

**FOOTSTOOL** (ὑποπόδιον, σουππédiον), a normal concomitant of the THRONE and a symbol of relative superiority within sacred or social hierarchies. Following Isaiah 66:1 and Psalm 109:1, Christ is sometimes represented seated in heaven with his feet on a footstool connoting the world. At ceremonies, the EMPEROR stood or sat with his feet on a podium, a purple cushion, or porphyry disc (*rota*); in his portraits a more or less elaborate footstool is customary. When the figure of the emperor was centrally placed, even between an archangel and a church father (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.72), the emperor's footstool implies that he outranked them. When a ruler or other mortal flanks a sacred figure, he is rarely elevated in this fashion. Ecclesiastics are almost never shown raised on a footstool. Some wooden footstools included a heating device (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:80f).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 58f.

—A.C., L.Ph.B.

**FOOTWEAR** (ὑποδήματα). In antiquity there were three kinds of footgear: open sandals fastened with leather straps, shoes covering the foot, and high boots. All three types were used in Byz., but boots seem to have become most common: the term TZANGION shifted from the sandal to the boot; Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 332.26–27) considered white boots, *krepides*, reaching up to the knees, as the typical footgear of a laborer; in artistic representations, the emperor and members of his family are always depicted wearing the same type of high red boots, adorned with little rows of pearls, esp. at the tips and ankles. The Virgin Mary is shown wearing this kind of footgear, although without pearls; their bright color contrasts with her dark robes. Angels too wear such boots when clad in the imperial LOROS.

Courtiers are depicted as shod in black, though

little can be seen of the form of their shoes under the long tunics. Active figures in shorter tunics are shown wearing high boots to the mid-calf, composed either of what looks like soft white leather above a hard black sole or of strap-work like a high sandal; in many of these cases it is hard to determine what is legging and what is shoe. Shepherds, such as those in scenes of the Nativity, occasionally wear fleece leggings above bare feet; bare feet are otherwise rare, reserved for peripheral figures such as demoniacs. John Chrysostom considered it shameful to appear in the agora without *hypodemata*, but going barefoot was a common form of penance and mortification of the flesh.

In art, monks and the clergy are depicted as wearing low black slippers, surely the *kaligia* mentioned in *typika*; for example, at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople a monk was issued two pairs of *kaligia* annually (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.609–10), at the Kosmosoteira at Bera one pair (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 49.17). In the late Roman period one form of sandals was called *kampagia*. JOHN LYDOS (*De mag.* 30.22–32.5) described them as black footgear protecting the sole and toes and bound with leather straps to the ankle. They formed a part of the patrician costume. There were also military *kampagia* (Lat. *campagi militares*), mentioned in Diocletian's Price Edict; according to Malalas (Malal. 322.10–11), soldiers wore *kampagia* and *chlamydes* at festivities. In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and *De ceremoniis*, *kampagia* are the footgear of officials.

Footgear was produced by SHOEMAKERS from leather and cloth, esp. silk. Shoes were usually black or white, though bright colors (purple, green, blue) had social significance and were worn by the emperor and officials of highest ranks. Information on the price of shoes is scarce: in Diocletian's Price Edict it ranges between 50 and 120 denarii, in a Vazelon document of 1272 *kaligia* cost two asproi.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:395–418. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:445–48. —A.K., N.P.S.

**FOREIGNERS** (ξένοι, also *ethnikoi*) were equated in the late Roman Empire with BARBARIANS since it was assumed that the empire encompassed the entire civilized world, the OIKOUMENE. Foreigners were either direct enemies or MERCENARIES and

FOEDERATI. In the late 4th and 5th C. they dominated the Roman army, providing such high-ranking generals as GAINAS, STILICHO, and ASPAR; this provoked a xenophobic reaction sometimes expressed in demands for the restoration of a native army (SYNESIOS), sometimes in massacres of Germanic garrisons (whose soldiers were also unpopular as Arian heretics), and sometimes in attempts to replace foreigners by local tribes such as the Isaurians. After the 7th C. the mass recruitment of foreigners as mercenaries ceased, even though some foreign contingents (e.g., the "Persian tagma" of THEOPHOBOS) served in Byz. armies. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 177.29–30) lists as *ethnikoi* the Khazars, Hagarenes, Franks, and the enigmatic Pharganoi. The recruitment of foreigners (Rus', Franks-Normans, Englishmen, etc.) increased after the end of the 10th C. They formed a special corps of *ethnikoi* (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.33.82) under the command of an *ethnarches* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 271.24) or *primikerios* of the *ethnikoi* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.732).

In the 12th C. the role of Turkish mercenaries became probably more important than that of Westerners. At the same time the character of Western infiltration began to change: from the 12th C. onward, Western residents tended to be diplomats and advisers rather than military commanders; an esp. significant group among them were MERCHANTS, primarily Italians (Venetians, Genoese, etc.), who settled in special colonies in both Constantinople and the provinces.

The government tried to make foreigners adjust to Byz. conditions: they were given lands and sometimes tax privileges, and marriage with Greeks was encouraged: the vita of Athanasia of Aegina refers to an edict that required all single women and widows to marry *ethnikoi* (F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* [Brussels 1987] 181.7–9). The attitude toward foreigners outside the empire was also shifting: the system of *foederati* gradually disappeared, and the concept of equilateral alliances with western, northern, and eastern powers (Frankish and later German empire, Caliphate, Khazar Khaganate, etc.) was introduced; the relations with allies were regulated by political and commercial TREATIES. Nevertheless the perception of foreigners as barbarians, heterodox, and schismatics prevailed; Kekaumenos argued against raising foreigners to high rank, Constantine VII

Porphyrogennetos discouraged imperial marriages with foreigners, and the number of such matches remained limited in the 10th and 11th C. In the 12th C. this attitude began to change, and the number of marriages with foreign princes increased dramatically. Niketas Choniates emphasized that there were bad and good foreigners and dared to create an idealized portrait of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Commercial competition and the increasing political dominance of Italians in Byz. cities as well as the narrow-minded policy of the Catholic church and the Frankish princes on territories occupied by the Crusaders contributed to growing animosity against Westerners, while economic collaboration, mixed marriages, and the need for joint resistance to the Turks created a basis for better mutual understanding. This ambivalent situation is reflected in the unsuccessful attempt at UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

LIT. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 167–96. M. Bibikov, "Das 'Ausland' in der byzantinischen Literatur des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BBA* 52 (1985) 61–72. —A.K.

**FORGERY, LITERARY**, a work whose actual author differs from the author whose name appears in the title. One should distinguish between medieval and modern forgeries. The latter were the creation of scholars (primarily from the 16th to early 19th C.) and were either ascribed to famous church fathers (e.g., A. Harnack, *Die Pfaffschen Irenäus-fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen* [Leipzig 1900]) or were anonymous like the fragments of TOPARCHA GOTHICUS. Medieval forgeries include both legal (laws and documents) and literary texts. Byz. forgeries were prompted primarily by religious zeal, the need to refute heretical views and corroborate those of the author by apostolic or patristic authority, or to promote the veneration of a local saint or martyr whose biography remained obscure. Political interests of the state, of an institution (like the papacy), or noble family could play an important role, and economic claims were involved in issuing bogus monastic charters.

The forms of forgery varied: modest alterations and interpolations, fake translations (W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 11–12 [1968–69] 26–41), fake quotations in FLORILEGIA, false *prooimia* to genuine works, APOCRYPHA, Lives of saints of Apostolic times purportedly written by their disciples (e.g., PANKRA-

TIOS OF TAORMINA), pseudonyma, and false minutes of authoritative assemblies. The author of a fictitious text might even imitate archaic handwriting (L. Rydén, *DOP* 32 [1978] 132–34). Among the most notorious ancient and medieval forgeries are the HISTORIA AUGUSTA, pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, and the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. Many works were ascribed to famous writers (some to several different ones); others appear under unknown names, but the events described are chronologically misplaced.

LIT. W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich 1971). G. Bardy, "Faux et fraudes littéraires dans l'antiquité chrétienne," *RHE* 32 (1936) 5–23, 275–302. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 384–402. E. Vranoussi, "Note sur quelques actes suspects ou faux de l'époque byzantine," in *PGEB* 505–10. A. Tuilier, "Remarques sur les fraudes des Apollinaristes et des Monophysites," in *Texte und Textkritik* (Berlin 1987) 581–90. P. Gray, "Forgery as an Instrument of Progress: Reconstructing the Theological Tradition in the Sixth Century," *BZ* 81 (1988) 284–89. —A.K.

**FORMOSUS**, pope (from 6 Oct. 891); born Rome? ca.815/16, died 4 Apr. 896. Bishop of Porto from 864, Formosus served as legate of Popes NICHOLAS I and HADRIAN II. In 866/7 he led a mission to Bulgaria to bring the country under Roman jurisdiction (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:183–92). He also played an important role at the Council in Rome (July 869) that anathematized Photios. A candidate for the papacy in 872, Formosus was defeated by JOHN VIII and soon thereafter deposed from his bishopric and banished. He was restored to his see, however, in 883 by Pope Marinus I and was elected pope after the death of Stephen V, despite already being bishop of another see. After he ascended the papal throne Formosus sought the support of Arnulf, king of the eastern Franks, who entered Rome and was crowned by Formosus. In his relations with Constantinople Formosus maintained neutrality between the parties of Photios and Ignatios.

LIT. A. Lapôtre, *Études sur la papauté au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, vol. 1 (Turin 1978) 1–120. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 251–62. G. Arnaldi, "Papa Formoso e gli imperatori della casa di Spoleto," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* 1 (1951) 85–104. —A.K.

**FORMULARIES**, model books for drafting documents; used by major CHANCERIES and, more

often, by less educated and less pretentious NOTARIES. They reflect the reality that prevailed at a certain moment and in one particular part of the empire (the hypothesis of regional formularies has been suggested on the basis of the preserved notarial acts). Such collections of formulas, mostly from the 13th C. onward, are preserved in literary and legal MSS. The chancery formulas were classified either by possible addressee in order to guarantee the respect of etiquette (as shown in the EKTHESIS NEA), or by subject in order to provide the proper rhetorico-philosophical prefaces for solemn documents (e.g., PROOIMIA).

ED. Sathas, *MB* 6:607–40. S. Lampros, *NE* 14 (1917) 20–23; 15 (1921) 152f, 164f, 337f. G. Ferrari, "Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina," *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 33 (1913) 41–126. A. Dain, "Formules de 'Commission' pour un 'nomikos' et un 'eparchos,'" *REB* 16 (1958) 166–68; 22 (1964) 238–40. D. Simon, "Ein spätbyzantinisches Kaufformular," in *Flores Legum: Festschrift J. Schellema* (Groningen 1971) 155–81. J. Darrouzès, "Deux formules d'actes patriarchaux," *TM* 8 (1981) 105–11.

—N.O.

**FORTIFICATIONS.** Fortification was a necessity that has left traces throughout the Byz. Empire, providing the most abundant and massive class of remains. Principles and techniques were inherited from the Romans; Byz. added little but consistently maintained a tradition of massive stone fortification. In the Roman defensive system, the main fortification was along the frontier (LIMES) where the bulk of the army was stationed, forming a network of fortresses strengthened by a deep militarized defensive zone. Within the empire, fortification was rare.

The invasions of the 3rd C. brought significant changes: thereafter, CITIES were regularly surrounded by walls, a response to the constant danger of attack. Major Byz. settlements were fortified and typically situated on a defensible hilltop. The fortress (KASTRON), which contained the garrison and civil and ecclesiastical officials, often became the core of a settlement that extended outside the walls (EMPORION). Characteristic Byz. fortifications consisted of fortified commercial cities (e.g., CONSTANTINOPLE, THESSALONIKE, ATTALEIA); thematic capitals (NICAEA, ANKYRA) that were important military bases; subordinate military outposts (KOTYAION); and forts that commanded routes by land (MALAGINA) and sea (HIERON). For the rural population, refuge sites were

extremely important, usually consisting of large and remote hilltops where the population of a district could flee at the time of attack. Monks also felt the need for defense, so monasteries in the countryside were commonly fortified (N.C. Moutsopoulos in *Pyrgoi kai Kastrá* [Thessalonike 1980] 8–43).

Byz. fortified sites were defended by man and by nature. Byz. defenses typically consisted of a curtain wall with projecting towers of varying shape and heavily fortified gates. They were massively built, with a core of mortared rubble and a facing whose nature varied with time and place. Elaborate fortifications had a lower outer wall (*proteichisma*). A moat (*taphros*) was common at sites on flat terrain. Defense was from platforms on the towers, where catapults and ballistas were employed, and from the parapets of the walls, manned by archers. Often a city had, besides the outer line of fortification, an inner citadel (*koula* in Kekaumenos). Larger fortifications had additional defensive levels in chambers within walls and in towers. Fortifications were generally designed to take advantage of a natural situation, usually a steep hilltop, a river, or other obstacle. Many were located for strategic reasons at road junctions, mountain passes, river crossings, or narrow straits.

While large structures like the walls of Constantinople, Nicaea, or Attaleia and barrier walls such as the HEXAMILION were imperial foundations, most Byz. fortifications are anonymous, and building inscriptions are very rare. It is likely that the majority were built and maintained by the government through imposition of the KASTROKTISIA, though the numerous refuge sites were probably the results of individual initiative. In the 11th C. and later, concessions allowed individuals to build fortifications on their estates, lay and monastic alike. The walls of Constantinople were manned by troops of low ranks, *noumera*, and *teichistai*, supplemented by the citizen militia; provincial fortifications were defended by the thematic troops, and minor fortifications by local landowners and citizens.

Byz. fortifications show a distinct historical development, with constant change until the end of the empire. The greatest Byz. fortification, which served as the model for many others, though never equalled, was the "land wall" of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS

OF), which had a triple rampart of moat, outer wall, and inner wall, and was carefully faced with ashlar masonry. At some distance from the "land wall" was the LONG WALL of Thrace. Justinian I built a great range of fortifications, with much variation according to circumstances (G. Ravennani, *Castelli e città fortificate nel VI secolo* [Ravenna 1983]). In Africa, fortifications were usually small, of rectangular plan with corner towers, to protect a reduced population from revolt or attack, while in the Balkans networks of small forts centered on walled towns, or long fixed barriers such as the Hexamilion, ensured control of territory or blocked the passage of an enemy. These featured attached forts where the garrison could make a stand if the main line were overwhelmed. On the eastern frontier, subject to the assault of a sophisticated enemy skilled in the use of siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY), ramparts were raised, towers, outer walls, and moats were added, and citadels which could be held independently of the rest were frequently created (e.g., DARA).

The insecurity of the 7th C. produced an outburst of fortification in Asia Minor, where massive walls were constructed for cities which often withdrew to an ancient acropolis, and for the bases of the new theme system. Many of these are faced with a careful arrangement of reused architectural fragments and reflect a variety of defensive techniques: closely set pentagonal towers and elaborate gateways at ANKYRA, indented traces with few towers at SARDIS and EPHEBUS. This period saw considerable construction of refuge forts, usually simply built of plain mortared rubble. Advances against the Arabs in the 9th C. involved a major program of fortification, manifesting stronger defensive techniques and a masonry of broken spoils and bands of brick: at Ankyra, the circuit received a massive outer wall and citadel while the inner wall was raised and a continuous covered gallery with loopholes was added to increase firepower; at Nicaea the number of towers was virtually doubled, and Kotyaion was built with a complete double circuit.

The Turkish invasions provoked the next significant period of fortification. Alexios I built simple coastal forts to provide bases for advance, while John II defended river crossings and roads by fortresses with towers of varied shape and a masonry of rubble and decorative brickwork. Un-

der Manuel I there was a defensive system, the NEOKASTRA, which included the massive walls of PERGAMON and several smaller forts set back in the hills. By his time, the idea of regular or decorative facing was in decline, and the strong concrete core was simply faced with rubble, covered by plaster for protection against the elements or the hooks of an enemy; walls were normally reinforced with an internal network of wooden beams which also attached the facing to the core. Adaptation to technological change is visible at Constantinople and Kotyaion, where Manuel I built towers suitable for the installation of the new heavier catapult, the trebuchet, and for use of the crossbow. The Laskarids were also great fortification builders, with notable results at Nicaea. Under the Palaiologoi, Western techniques, such as tall keeps and machicolation, played an increasing role. The last advance appears in the walls of John VIII at Constantinople, with round ports for firearms, which were fundamentally to transform fortification.

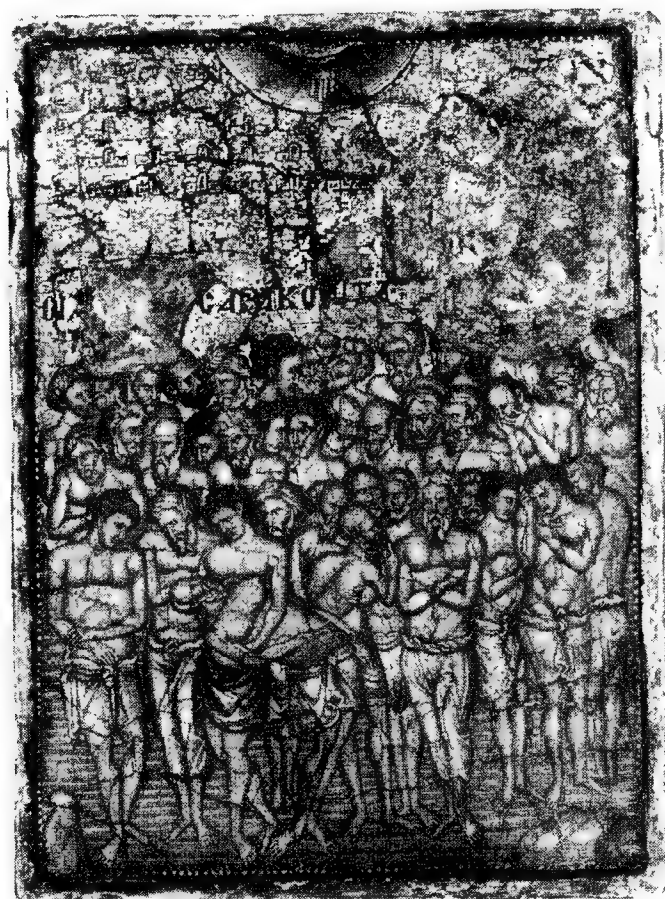
Until the 12th C., the art of fortification was far more developed in Byz. than the West. The great stone fortifications of the 7th C. have no counterpart in Europe. The CRUSADER CASTLES built in Syria, the Peloponnesos, and elsewhere, however, had innovative designs; and after the Crusades the West surpassed Byz., which has nothing to compare with the sophistication of French and English fortifications of the 13th C. Nevertheless, the walls of Byz. cities, which were usually far longer than those in Europe, proved adequate until the advent of cannon.

LIT. C. Foss, D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications, an Introduction* (Pretoria 1986). A.W. Lawrence, "A Skeletal History of Byzantine Fortification," *BSA* 78 (1983) 171–227. T. Gregory, "The Fortified Cities of Byzantine Greece," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 14–21. D. Ovčarov, *Vizantijski i bŭlgarski kreposti V–X vek* (Sofia 1982).

—C.F.

**FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA**, saints; feastday 9 March. According to the homily of BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:508–40), they were soldiers condemned for their Christian beliefs; forced to stand naked all night in an icy lake, they froze to death. Their corpses were burned and the ashes thrown into the water. GREGORY OF NYSSA and esp. EPHREM THE SYRIAN developed the theme. Ephrem (or his Greek editor) provided a date and location for the martyrdom, near Pontic Sebasteia,





FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA. Icon of the Forty Martyrs; mosaic, ca.1300. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

during the reign of Licinius (P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *infra* 160). The author of an anonymous *passio*, SYMEON METAPHRASTES, and several other writers praised the martyrs; the story influenced both the legend of the FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA (AB 17 [1898] 468f) and that of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION. In the *Testament of the Forty Martyrs* (preserved separately from the *passio*) the martyrs (all carefully listed) request that their relics be deposited "in the place called Sarein near [or under the jurisdiction of] the polis of Zela." Bonwetsch (*infra*), emphasizing the authenticity of the *Testament*, tried to discover in it traces of the original document. The cult of the martyrs spread broadly in the West and East; a Coptic MS of the 10th–11th C. presents a version very close to that of Basil (D.P. Buckle, *BullJ RylandsLib* 6 [1921–22] 355–57).

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of the Forty Martyrs as busts adorn monuments from Cappadocia to Rome, and the iconography of their mar-

tyrdom was almost as widespread and established as any biblical feast scene: forty half-naked men of varying ages standing huddled together in shallow water, some intrepidly supporting the faint, others praying or cowering with apprehension while Christ above witnesses their plight. Forty crowns sometimes hover in the sky over their heads. This composition, an almost "academic" study in male physique, was reused for the representation of a group of the damned in the Last Judgment frescoes in the *parekklesion* at CHORA. The basic composition, which appears first on 10th-C. ivories, was occasionally expanded to include an image of the bathhouse and the guard who substituted at the last moment for the single member of the group who lost heart and fled to the warmth of the bathhouse (e.g., at ASINOÜ). Other episodes of the legend were also illustrated: the attempted stoning of the saints, the beheading of the survivors of the frozen lake, and the burning, dispersal, and gathering of the relics (in the marginal PSALTERS, Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II 92f, and in the prothesis of the Church of St. Sophia in OHRID). These scenes may reflect a lost cycle in Constantinople or in the martyr's church in Caesarea.

SOURCES. O. von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta: Ausgewählte Märtyreracten* (Berlin 1902) 166–81. D. Bonwetsch, "Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer," *StGThK* 1.1 (Leipzig 1897) 75–80. D. Hagedorn, "PUG I 41 und die Namen der vierzig Märtyrer von Sebaste," *ZPapEpig* 55 (1984) 146–53.

LIT. BHG 1201–1208n. P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, "I santi quaranta martiri di Sebasteia," *ST* 49 (1928) 155–84. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:550–53. O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 96–109. Z. Gavrilović, "The Forty in Art," in *Byz. Saint* 190–94. Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 36–42. A. Chatz Nikolaou, *RBK* 2:1059–61. —A.K., N.P.S.

**FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION**, legendary saints executed in 845 by the Arabs in Samarra; feastday 6 Mar. The monk Euodios wrote the martyrs' legend, probably soon after the event described. In a verbose preamble, he theorized that the adoption of heretical opinions by emperors caused all Byz. defeats; the capture of AMORION in 838 was the last link in the chain. Evidently confusing the caliph al-Mu'tasim (833–42) with his son al-Wathiq (842–47), during whose reign the martyrs were executed, Euodios credits "Abesak," the *protosymboulos* of the Ishmaelites,

with seizing Amorion after a 13-day siege, slaughtering all the inhabitants and soldiers, and leading the commanders of seven themes into captivity. Theological discussions between the martyrs and various people dispatched to the jail by the *protosymboulos* (gymnosophists, officials, Greek traitors) make up the core of the legend. The martyrs remained steadfast during their seven-year ordeal, rejecting Islam and defending Christian values. Ethiopian executioners murdered them on the bank of the Euphrates. Apparently the last example of the genre of collective martyrdom (which did not survive the 9th C.), Euodios's legend was important to later literature: V. Vasil'evskij (*infra*, 101f) suggested that THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS was aware of Euodios; several versions of the legend appeared, including one ascribed to MICHAEL SYNKELLOS.

**Representation in Art.** Unlike their counterparts, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, these martyrs were rarely represented; they appear merely as a group of courtiers in chlamyses and tunics in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes in Messina (Univ. Bibl., San Salvatore 27, fol.172v).

ED. *Skazaniya o 42 amorijskich mučenikach*, ed. V. Vasil'evskij, P. Nikitin (St. Petersburg 1905).

LIT. BHG 1209–1214c. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 150–60. —A.K., N.P.S.

**FORUM.** See AGORA. For forums of Constantinople, see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF.

**FOUCHER OF CHARTRES.** See FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

**FOUNDER.** See KTETOR.

**FOUNTAIN OF LIFE.** The fountain of life (Gen 2:10) and its water were pervasive images of Christian salvation. Baptistry decoration throughout early Christendom showed the drinking harts of Psalm 42:1 (see DEER) or birds flanking vases. A 5th-C. floor mosaic at Iunca in Tunisia shows the four rivers of PARADISE flowing from a circular fountain that recalls the Holy Sepulchre in JERUSALEM; from the 7th C. onward the Holy Sepulchre itself was called "the fountain of our resurrection." Hymns call Christ a fountain of life and the source of the life-giving water that

flows through the Gospels to nourish the Church and link the water that flowed from his side at the Crucifixion with baptism. Art reflects this literary image only in the frontispiece to a 12th-C. Gospel book (E. Akurgal et al., *Treasures of Turkey* [Geneva 1966] 119); there, to illustrate a verse calling the Evangelists rivers of the Word, the Evangelists are depicted with John pointing to Christ as their source. A fountain came to signify the harmony of the Gospels—fourfold but issuing from one source—and the ornamental vases with birds or beasts found in illuminated MSS may refer to this. The Virgin Mary was known as the Zoodochos PEGE, or "life-giving fountain."

LIT. P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *DOP* 5 (1950) 41–138. T. Velmans, "Quelques versions rares du thème de la Fontaine de Vie dans l'art paléochrétien," *CahArch* 19 (1969) 29–43. R.S. Nelson, "Text and Image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul (Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 3)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978) 187–97. —A.W.C.

**FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.** See CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF.

**FOWL, DOMESTIC.** The GEOPONIKA (bk.14) preserves excerpts from ancient agronomists on domestic fowl, describing pigeons and hens as well as peacocks, pheasants, geese, and ducks; the POULOGOS has almost exactly the same assortment of fowl—hens, pigeons, geese, pheasants, and peacocks. Chickens provided the Byz. with the best meat: the hen (*ornitha*) in the *Poulogolos* (vv. 260–65) boasts that her chicks (*poulia*) have been eaten by bishops, exarchs, priests, Vardariotes, ambassadors, emperors, and senators, while a 12th-C. author (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 311.42–54) describes a fat, white *ornis* marinated in wine and stuffed with dumplings. Chickens formed a part of the KANISKION (e.g., *Ivir*. 1, no.29.97), and hens' eggs were common even in the houses of the poor (S. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* [Odessa 1905] 165, n.107). John III Vatatzes encouraged the development of the poultry "industry" in western Asia Minor and presented his wife with a beautiful crown acquired with money earned from the sale of eggs. Domestic BIRDS other than chickens were rare; the martyr Tryphon is said to have fed geese in his boyhood (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 281, n.96). PEACOCKS were popular on the estates of great

landlords such as Digenes Akritas, primarily to adorn the gardens. The *Geoponika* also recommends pigeon manure as fertilizer.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:66–75.

—A.K., J.W.N.

**FRACTION** (ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου; μελισμός, from μελίζω, "to dissect"), ritual breaking of the consecrated bread before COMMUNION. First mentioned in the New Testament, the ritual soon became a synonym for EUCHARIST (Acts 2:42). By the end of the 4th C. it was divided into a "symbolic" fraction and the "communion" or actual breaking up of the bread for communion. Fraction first symbolized the participation of all in the one loaf as a sign of unity in one communion. By the 6th C. emphasis shifted to PASSION symbolism, with the bread seen as Christ's "broken" body (Eutychios of Constantinople—PG 86.2:2396A; cf. Apophthegmata Patrum, PG 65:156C–160A); from the 12th C. "Lamb of God" (AMNOS) formulas accompany the "symbolic" fraction; and from the 13th C. the term *melismos* prevails, first appearing as a caption for images (e.g., the apse of SOROCANI) that show, with the stark eucharistic realism of medieval East and West, the Christ Child lying on the paten awaiting dismemberment (M. Gariadis, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 495–502).

LIT. R. Taft, "Melismos and Communion: The Fraction and its Symbolism in the Byzantine Tradition," in *Traditio et progressio: Studi liturgici in onore del Prof. Adrien Nocent*, OSB, ed. G. Farnedi (Rome 1988) 531–52.

—R.F.T.

**FRANCE** (Φραγγία, also Γερμανία—Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 124) emerged as a successor to the western Frankish empire after the consolidation of the territory around Paris during the 10th–12th C. Southern France (Provence, esp. MONTPELLIER) was involved in trade with the Levant, and the penetration of the CATHARS in this area shows the existence of cultural and religious ties with Byz. In 988 Hugh Capet planned to ask for a Byz. princess for his son Robert, but his letter probably was not sent (A. Vasiliev, *DOP* 6 [1951] 229–34). Manuel I, in his conflict with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, sought an alliance with Provence and France and married his son Alexios II to AGNES OF FRANCE. The French played a major role in the Crusades—first in the troops of independent nobles (GODFREY OF BOUILLON, Hugh of

Vernandois, RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, etc.), then in the army of LOUIS VII. The French contingents of the Fourth Crusade were significant; Thibaut of Champagne was its first leader, replaced, after his sudden death, by BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. After the sack of Constantinople in 1204 BALDWIN OF FLANDERS became the first Latin emperor, Boniface received the kingdom of Thessalonike, and many French knights won various fiefs. From 1261 until 1453, Byz. emperors made frequent appeals to France for assistance against the Turks. The emperor MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS went so far as to travel to Paris (1400–01) to plead his case to Charles VI (1380–1422), but apart from a small contingent of troops received very little help.

LIT. V.K. Ronin, "Vizantija v sisteme vnesnepoliticheskikh predstavlenij rannekarolingskikh pisatelej," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 85–94. M. Dąbrowska, *Bizancjum, Francja i Stolika apostolska w drugiej połowie XIII wieku* (Łódź 1986). Eadem, "L'attitude pro-byzantine de St. Louis," *BS* 50 (1989) 11–23. R.A. Jackson, "De l'influence du cérémonial byzantin sur le sacre des rois de France," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 201–10.

—A.K., R.B.H.

**FRANCISCANS**, the Order of Friars Minor or Minorites (called φρέριοι by the Byz.). Founded by Francis of Assisi in 1209, the order expanded rapidly, numbering approximately 3,000 friars by 1221. It soon planned missionary expeditions to the East to convert the Muslims. Francis himself made a trip to the Holy Land in 1219 and then preached at the court of the sultan in Egypt. Other Franciscans soon became involved in missionary activities in the East, including Constantinople and Kaffa. By 1220 the Franciscans were influential at the court of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In the 13th C. the Franciscan province of Romania expanded to roughly 20 convents. A number of Franciscan theologians, many of whom spoke Greek, served as papal legates to the Byz. court in Nicaea to discuss controversial points of theology, thus preparing the way for the Union of Lyons in 1274. The earliest of these was the English Franciscan, Haymo of Faversham, a master of theology at the University of Paris, whom Pope GREGORY IX sent to Emp. John III Vatatzes in 1234 to discuss the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. The practice continued until the decisive missions of the Greek-born Franciscan, John Parastron, who accepted Mi-

chael VIII's profession of faith prior to the Council of LYONS and also acted as interpreter there.

The most visible mark of the order's presence in the capital during the Latin occupation of 1204–61 is a cycle of frescoes devoted to the life of St. Francis in KALENDERHANE CAMII. When the Byz. recaptured Constantinople in 1261, the last Latin patriarch of the city left a member of the order there as his vicar, although the Franciscan convent was evidently abandoned. In ca. 1296, however, the Franciscans returned and kept a convent in Constantinople until they were again expelled in 1307. Thereafter they maintained their house in PERA, continuing to serve as imperial emissaries to the pope as well as papal envoys to the imperial court throughout the 14th C. Some Franciscan churches built in the Greek provinces still survive, esp. on Crete.

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944) 213–37. M. Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs et l'Eglise grecque orthodoxe au XIIIe siècle (1231–1274)* (Cairo 1954). B. Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZKirch* 53 (1934) 436–93. B.K. Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago 1979) 93f, 102–11.

—F.K., A.C.

**FRANKOI** (Φράγγοι, Φράγκοι), ethnic term derived from the Latin term *Franci*. Prokopios, Agathias, Theophanes, and even Constantine VII equated the Frankoi with the GERMANOI in general, and at the same time used the term specifically to describe the FRANKS; thus Theophanes (Theoph. 455.20) spoke of CHARLEMAGNE as a "king of the Frankoi." In the 10th C. the term was transferred to the Germans, and OTTO I THE GREAT was addressed as the king or even *basileus* of the Frankoi. In the 11th C., the term lost any precise significance: *Frankoi* or *Phrangopouloi* primarily designated Normans from Italy, but Niketas Choniates contrasted "the tribe of the Frankoi" (Nik.Chon. 66.12), meaning the French, with the Alamanoi (ALEMANNI) or Germans. Frankoi are listed in some chrysobulls of Alexios I, sometimes between the Inglinoi or English, and Nemitsoi or Germans (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.28, a.1086), but it is hard to decide whether Normans or French were meant.

The term was ultimately expanded to include the whole Catholic population of Europe; for example, Sphrantzes (Sphr. 58.21–23) defined

Frankoi as "Western Christians." The word came to have a pejorative and negative connotation, and in 1274 a mob in Constantinople taunted and accused George Metochites—envoy of Michael VIII, who had agreed to ecclesiastical union at Lyons—of becoming a Frank.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1979) 227–54. I. Moles, "Nationalism and Byzantine Greece," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 95–108.

—R.B.H., A.K.

**FRANKOPOULOS**. See PHRANGOPOULOS.

**FRANKS**, a Germanic people, probably formed during the 3rd C. from a regrouping of several different tribes that inhabited the eastern bank of the lower Rhine. Subdued by Constantius Chlorus and Constantine I, the Franks were heavily recruited into the Roman army and a segment known as the Salians was settled in what is now the Netherlands. In the early 6th C., the Franks were united politically by Clovis (Chlodovechus, 481/2–511), who extended Frankish rule over the whole of Roman Gaul with the exception of Septimania and Provence. Clovis also converted to Orthodox Christianity, the first barbarian king to do so. This conversion and his victory over the VISIGOTHS (508) contributed to a Byz. perception of the Franks as potential allies against the Arian Gothic kingdoms and later the Lombards in Italy. Merovingian kings from Clovis onward were frequently honored by Constantinople with the titles *consul* and *patrikios*.

Relations between the Franks and Byz. were often strained over conflicting interests in Italy, a situation exploited by the papacy in its struggle to extricate itself from Byz. control. The papal coronation of CHARLEMAGNE in 800 brought the Franks into political, religious, and ideological competition with Byz., while Charlemagne's victory over the AVARS was a threat to Byz. influence on the Lower Danube. The decline of the Frankish empire in the 9th C. and its division into three parts by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 decreased the rivalry; Arab attacks on Italy even contributed to an alliance between LOUIS II and Basil I. In the 10th C. the role of the Western Empire was assumed by GERMANY, and creation of the kingdom of FRANCE began.

LIT. L. Musset, *The Barbarian Invasions* (London 1975) 68–80. P.J. Geary, *Before France and Germany* (Oxford 1988).



E. James, *The Origins of France* (Hong Kong 1982). A. Gasquet, *L'Empire byzantin et la monarchie franque* (Paris 1888; rp. New York 1972). P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* 2.1 (Paris 1956). —R.B.H.

**FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA** (It., lit. "Red-Beard"), king of Germany (1152–90) and Western emperor (crowned Rome 18 June 1155); born ca. 1125, died near SELEUKIA in Isauria 10 June 1190. When he succeeded CONRAD III, Frederick (Φρεδερίχος) considered marrying a Byz. princess. He deemed the invasion of southern Italy (1155–57) by MANUEL I a threat to his own claims there. When Manuel allied himself with William I of Sicily (1158), Frederick became his major Western opponent. Against Byz. pressure Frederick sought to maintain German ascendancy over Hungary; with the installation of BÉLA III, Manuel triumphed there. From 1165 Manuel subsidized the League of Lombard towns in northern Italy, which in 1176 defeated Frederick (P. Classen, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Sigmaringen 1983] 155–70). Pope ALEXANDER III also opposed Frederick and ca. 1166–67 considered recognizing Manuel as sole emperor (ibid., 176–83; R.-J. Lilie, *ByzF* 9 [1985] 237–43). When in 1189 Frederick led the German portion of the Third Crusade through Byz. territory, ISAAC II (to fulfill his agreement with Saladin) attempted to trap him in Thrace. German devastation compelled Isaac to yield (Treaty of Adrianople, 14 Feb. 1190). Frederick passed through Byz. Anatolia with little friction. Niketas CHONIATES admired Frederick's devotion to the Crusade's goal.

LIT. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 411–91. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa und die sozial-politischen Verhältnisse auf dem Balkan zur Zeit des III. Kreuzzuges," *Palaeobulgarica* 6.2 (1982) 69–74. E. Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* [JstMitt, supp. 17] (Tübingen 1977). K. Zeillinger, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa, Manuel I. Komnenos und Süditalien in den Jahren 1155/56," *RömHistMitt* 27 (1985) 53–83. —C.M.B.

**FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN**, king of Sicily (1198–1250), German emperor (1212–50); born Jesi 26 Dec. 1194, died Fiorentino 13 Dec. 1250. In his long struggle with the papacy, Frederick found it useful to build up contacts in Byz., esp. with JOHN III VATATZES (E. Merendino, *Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [1974] 371–83). By the late 1230s rumors were circulating in the West that Vatatzes had promised to do homage to Frederick if he helped

him recover Constantinople. The Nicaean emperor contributed troops to Frederick's forces at the siege of Brescia in 1238. In return, Frederick barred passage through southern Italy to forces going to the rescue of Latin Constantinople. If never technically a vassal, the Nicaean emperor allowed himself to be bound very closely to Frederick by marrying Frederick's illegitimate daughter, Constance Lancia ("Anna"), ca. 1244 (*Reg* 3, no. 1779). Vatatzes gained little from this alliance.

When papal forces defeated Frederick at Parma in 1248, Vatatzes decided that more might be gained from the papacy. In 1249 the Nicaean emperor reached an understanding with papal envoys over the question of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. The Hohenstaufen connection seems to have polarized the Nicaean court between those who wanted rapprochement with the papacy and those, like THEODORE II LASKARIS, who favored a continuing understanding with the Hohenstaufen. Theodore was much impressed by this upholder of the ideal of imperial authority in the face of the challenge from the papacy.

Frederick's chancery was able to conduct its diplomacy with Byz. in Greek. Frederick's patronage of Greek men of letters contributed to the last flowering of Greek literature in southern Italy, centered on the monastery of S. Nicola di Casole (M. Gigante, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto del secolo XIII*<sup>2</sup> [Galatina 1986]).

LIT. D. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of the Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *DOP* 40 (1986) 83–101. E.H. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, Eng. tr. (New York 1957). P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Zapad," *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 110–14. —M.J.A.

**FREEDOM** (ἐλευθερία), a concept developed in antiquity as the opposite of SLAVERY and potential enslavement by the barbaric world. Freedom was conceived of as the possibility of free actions limited by virtue and responsibility, that is, by inner and social factors. STOICISM introduced the concept of DETERMINISM (as opposed to FREE WILL) and saw freedom as the acceptance of fate. Christianity made the problem even more complex by replacing blind fate with God's providence (PRONOIA) and by emphasizing the ethical and soteriological aspect of freedom. The problem became evident in discussion incited by Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM) and in Christian refutations of Manichaean DUALISM. John of Damascus, using NE-

MESIOS and some other predecessors, formulated that man is *autexousios*, possessing free will, and responsible for evil-doing since God cannot be the cause of bad behavior; neither necessity (*ananke* or *heimarmene*, for eternal phenomena), nor nature (for plants and animals), nor TYCHE (for chance events), nor *automaton* (sheer coincidence) determines events (*Exp. fidei* 39.23–39, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:97). Man is free to choose his actions, even though sometimes providence prevents his plans from achieving fulfillment (*Exp. fidei* 40.17–18, p.98). Freedom can be the source of wrongdoing: the ideal of behavior is the renunciation of desires and full subordination to God, whereas demons and evildoers are free.

Parallel to this transformation of ancient freedom into Byz. subordination was a shift in the perception of slavery: the saint became the slave (*doulos*) of God, the courtier the slave of the emperor. Political *eleutheria* acquired a new meaning not connected to the idea of a free and civilized society: *eleutheria* began to designate tax exemption, and ELEUTHEROI were those people free from state taxes.

LIT. D. Nestle, *Eleutheria: Studien zum Wesen der Freiheit bei den Griechen und im Neuen Testament*, 1. Die Griechen (Tübingen 1967). S. Lyonnet, *Liberté chrétienne et loi de l'Esprit selon Saint Paul* (Paris 1954). H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). —A.K.

**FREE WILL** (θέλημα γνωμικόν, "will of choice"), a concept that stands at the center of the controversy over MONOTHELETISM. Patr. SERGIOS I argued in his letter to Pope Honorius that two contradictory wills in Christ, the divine and human, cannot be accepted because such an idea would establish in him two "subjects" or "persons," thereby falling into the heresy of NESTORIANISM. It is the hypostasis of the Logos who is freely obedient to God, experiencing no conflict and moving the human reality of Christ.

For MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR the doctrine of "one hypostatic will of the Logos" leads to the negation of a free human will in Christ, and consequently to the abrogation of the nature of the soul. On the other hand, he agrees with the Monothelites that any opposition to the will of God, even in Gethsemane, must be excluded in Christ, and that a unity that consists only in a common goal possessed by two wills is not suffi-

cient to protect against this. Further, he agrees that such a view ultimately implies Nestorianism. The human will of Christ, so he argues, must be understood as a capacity of self-determination belonging to human nature, but not as a will of choice. Such a gnostic will is found only in a "person" or hypostasis "enabled" to make decisions, or better, condemned, because this freedom of choice is merely a deficient mode of freedom, rooted not in man's true nature, but in his existential condition after the sin of Adam. For Maximus, Adam possessed no gnostic will before his sin, and yet he sinned.

John of Damascus took up the doctrine that Christ possessed no human gnostic will on account of the hypostatic union; yet one can speak of one gnostic will of Christ precisely because of the hypostatic union and the unity of the willed objective (meaning that "in both his natures he wills and acts for our salvation"). "For the natural human will" in Christ willed the same as God (*Exp. fidei* 36.104, 120–23, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:91f). PHOTIOS, who quotes this text in his *Amphilochia* (80.60–86, ed. L.G. Westerink, 5:113f), concludes that neither God nor Christ has a gnostic will (80.184–225, p.117f).

LIT. Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 262–69. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Klronomia* 14 (1982) 285–293. —K.-H.U.

**FRESCO TECHNIQUE**. A modified *buon fresco*, involving the application of lime-binding pigments directly to a layer of fine wet plaster added over an initial plaster coat, was used throughout Byz. times as an alternative to MOSAIC for wall decoration. No Byz. term corresponds exclusively to this technique. Because of its relative cheapness or its inherent modeling potential, fresco became increasingly popular in the 13th–14th C.

Examination of frescoes as well as literary allusions to painting indicate that pigments were applied in layers, even though the mixing of pigments in the modeling of flesh is found occasionally. Final flesh pigments, black or dark ochre outlines, and white highlights as well as inscriptions were normally added only after the initial layers of the painting had dried, a practice that has contributed to their loss. The range of COLOR was limited to natural pigments that remained stable in conjunction with the lime of the plaster, for example,



lime white and lime putty, ochres varying from bright red and yellow to dark brown, earth green, and carbon black. A black wash was commonly used under blue (azurite) or green to produce a dark ground. The appearance of more expensive pigments such as ultramarine blue (from lapis lazuli) and gold and silver foil distinguish lavish works. Vermilion is also not unusual, although it tends to turn black. The rich coloristic impression given by many surviving fresco programs is a testament to the ingenuity with which masters manipulated their limited palette.

LIT. D.V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York 1956). Winfield, "Painting Methods," *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna, tr.* P. Hetherington (London 1974) 4–16. —A.J.W.

**FRIENDSHIP** (φιλία) was an important category of ancient ETHICS, praised in both myth and philosophy. The church fathers, although not rejecting *philia*, contrasted it with true spiritual LOVE or *agape*. According to BASIL THE GREAT (ep. 133, ed. Y. Courtonne, 2:47.1–2), "corporeal" friendship is a condition fostered by long association. Byz. epistolography preserved a stereotypical attitude toward friendship, with pertinent complaints about the friend's silence. In the 11th C. the question of friendship was much discussed; Symeon the Theologian and Kekaumenos denied that friendship was a virtue, the latter opposing to it the nuclear family and the former the individual path of salvation. In contrast, Michael Psellos highly approved of friendship in theory and acted energetically on behalf of his friends in practice. In Niketas Choniates, the notion of *philia* acquires a broad range of meanings: alliance between states, semifederal allegiance, political support, respect, although "pure friendship" appears infrequently. While antiquity emphasized primarily male friendship, the church fathers introduced the concept of heterosexual friendship between two celibate persons; equal "in Christ," the partners in this relationship appear often as the male instructor and female apprentice.

LIT. L. Vischer, "Das Problem der Freundschaft bei den Kirchenvätern," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 9 (1953) 173–200. K. Treu, "Philia und agape," *Studii classici* 3 (1961) 421–27. F. Tinnefeld, "Freundschaft in den Briefen des Michael Psellos," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 151–68. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 28f. —A.K.

ἡ εὐφροσύνη τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς καρδίας  
καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς ἀφροσύνης  
καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀφροσύνης



Ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
καὶ ἡ Παναγία ἡ μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ  
καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀνδρῶν

FRIEZE GOSPELS. Miniature from a frieze Gospel page (Paris gr. 74, fol.4v); 11th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The miniature depicts the Flight into Egypt.

**FRIEZE GOSPELS**, conventional term for illustrated MSS in which successive scenes, in the narrative order of each Gospel, are arranged in strips across the page and within the body of the text block. Illustrations of these MSS also include headpiece miniatures (S. Tsuji, *DOP* 29 [1975] 165–203) and Evangelist portraits. Only two such books (Florence, Laur. 6.26 and Paris, B.N. gr. 74), of the 11th or early 12th C., survive.

LIT. T. Velmans, *La Tétravangile de la Laurentienne* (Paris 1971). H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris n.d.). —A.C.

**FRONTALITY**, the arrangement of figures in a work of art so that the beholder engages them face to face. Like the related principle of SYMMETRY, it is fundamental in Byz. composition. Following the decline of three-dimensional SCULPTURE, which allowed a virtually infinite variety of axes and poses, frontality became pronounced on alic reliefs such as the base of the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS in the Hippodrome and generally in PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Almost invariably the most important figure in an image is shown in this manner, although in compositions such as the ANASTASIS the effect may be mitigated by the protagonist's attitude toward other participants. Established in icon painting by the 6th C., frontality became a dominant formal characteristic, allowing immediate recognition of a holy figure, his or her accessibility and, above all, the intensity

of private communication. That the Byz. were conscious of this unmediated experience even in monumental decoration is demonstrated by the ekphrasis of the Pantokrator in the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES (Constantinople) written by Nicholas MESARITES (ed. Downey, 870, 901).

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 7f, 27–29. M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures* (The Hague–Paris 1973) 38–49, 59–63. K.M. Swoboda, "Die Frontallfigur zwischen Spätantike und Frühgotik," in *Arte in Europa. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, vol. 1 (Milan 1966) 271–77. —A.C.

**FRONTIER** (ὄριον). In antiquity the frontier was considered as a demarcation line between the civilized OIKOUMENE and the "savage" world of the BARBARIAN; its significance was more cultural than political and therefore fluctuated. Regular relations with the Persian Empire, and later with the Arab caliphate, contributed to a clarification of the legal concept of a frontier, while necessities of defense produced a concrete, physical notion of a border. Prokopios, who paid serious attention to the problem of frontiers, recognized them as following natural barriers—RIVERS, mountains, deserts, seas; the LIMES was a manmade fortified frontier. The idea of frontier, however, was not consistently applied: for a long period Cyprus was shared between the Arabs and the Byz., while certain independent regions and cities were considered (theoretically) as parts of Byz. territory under the command of Byz. officials (or local rulers adorned with Byz. titles). Intermediary zones populated by bilingual settlers, subject to regular raids from both sides and owing uncertain allegiance, commonly existed along Byz. frontiers (such was the milieu of DIGENES AKRITAS). This legal disequilibrium resulted in the application to state frontiers of terms such as *horrothesion* or *synorion*, which were normally used for rural boundary marks. The existence of foreign enclaves made the system of frontiers even more confused.

Border areas, despite their dangerous military situation, contributed much to cultural and ethnic exchange (by means of mixed marriages) and often served as cradles for new development: thus the new nobility of the 11th–12th C. came primarily from the borderlands of eastern Asia Minor and Macedonia, and innovative military tac-

tics were developed in frontier KLEISOURAI (Z. Udal'cova, A. Kazhdan, Hr. Bartikjan, 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Bucharest 1974] 231–36).

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 62–102. *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, 2 vols. (Oxford 1986). W. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?" 17 *CEB Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 279–303. Ahrweiler, *Byzance: Les pays*, pt. III (1974), 209–30. Ja. Ferluga, "I confini dell'impero Romano d'Oriente," in *Popoli e spazio Romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986) 365–400. J. Duncanson, J. Arrignon, "Ponjatie 'granica' u Prokopija Kesarjskogo i Konstantina Bagrijanorodnogo," *Viz-Vrem* 43 (1982) 64–73. J. Haldon, H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth c.," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 79–106. —A.K.

**FRUIT** (καρποί) was an important component of the Byz. DIET. The GEOPONIKA (bk. 10.74) preserves an ancient categorization of fruit into *opora* (soft) and *akrodrya* (hard-shelled); to the latter group, besides the walnut, chestnut, and pistachio, belonged the pomegranate. The PORIKOLOGOS gives a long list of fruit: quince, citron, pear, apple, cherry, plum, fig, etc., whereas the walnut, almond, and chestnut form a separate category characterized as "Varangians." The peach ("Persian apple") was also known. Fruit trees were planted in GARDENS, while nuts and chestnuts usually grew in groves. A poor peasant might possess only a single tree, as did an *agroikos* in the vita of Michael Maleinos (L. Petit, *ROC* 7 [1902] 563, 12–19) whose only asset was a pear tree. The *praktika* of the 14th C. mention pear, fig, walnut, cherry, almond, and mulberry trees; according to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 29f), the peasants of the Iveron estates in the village of Gonatou owned, on the average, 20 trees each in 1320. Calculations by N. Kondov (*infra*) show that in the northern Balkans the pear tree was more common than the apple and the cherry tree more common than the plum. Wild berries were also gathered: some saints are described as picking wild strawberries (*hoamara*).

Some fruits were grown for market, but the Byz. preferred produce from their own gardens: the fruit imported by Bulgaria, stated Gregory Antiochos (J. Darrouzès, *BS* 23 [1962] 279, 39–48), was spoiled—the apples wrinkled, the pears bruised, the figs dried up, having lost their sweetness during their lengthy transport.

As in the Roman tradition, artists continued to use fruit and foliage as symbols of abundance,

attached to WREATHS and other forms of ornament.

LIT. N. Kondov, *Ovoščarstvo v bulgarskite zemi prez sred-novekovieto* (Sofia 1969). Dölger, *Schatz*. 188.  
—A.K., J.W.N., A.C.

**FRUIT BOOK.** See PORIKOLOGOS.

**FULCHER OF CHARTRES**, priest; participant in and chronicler of the First Crusade; chaplain of Baldwin I; born ca.1058, died 1127/8. At Jerusalem in late 1101 Fulcher began a *Jerusalem History* (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), whose lost first version apparently narrated events to 1105 and was known, for example, to GUIBERT OF NOGENT. Fulcher later pursued his account down to 1124; ca.1127 he revised and continued the whole to constitute its present form. WILLIAM OF TYRE exploited his work, and in the 13th C. it was shortened and translated into French. Fulcher's first sections (pp. 171–214) record the Crusaders' travels across the Balkans, his wonderment at the wealth, beauty, merchants, and "20,000 eunuchs" of Constantinople, relations with Emp. Alexios I, and the siege of Nicaea. He documents the return of some of the Crusaders to Europe via Constantinople (pp. 318–21), Bohemund's war with Byz. in 1107–08 (pp. 518–25), and deplores Venetian raids on the Byz. Aegean in 1125 (pp. 758–61).

ED. *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913). *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, tr. F.R. Ryan, ed. H.S. Fink (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969).

LIT. J. Richard, *DHGE* 17 (1971) 1257. *RepFontHist* 4:601.  
—M.McC.

**FUNERAL** (κηδεία). This rite had a double purpose: to say farewell to the deceased and to assist the soul in its ascent to heaven. The ritual had three major stages: preparation of the body and soul at the home of the deceased, the funerary procession, and the graveside service and BURIAL. Preparations began immediately after a person's death with the washing and clothing of his body. Normally, relatives washed the body with warm water mixed with wine and spices, anointed it with perfume, wrapped it in appropriate garments, and closed the eyes and mouth. All these stages are subsumed in representations of Christ's Passion (K. Weitzmann in *De artibus opuscula XL*, ed. M. Meiss [New York 1961] 476–90).

Typical burial garb consisted of a swaddling linen cloth and the shroud. White linen garments were customary among the majority; for example, Constantine I the Great was buried in his white linen baptismal robe. Monks and clergy, however, were clad in clerical vestments according to their rank. Luxurious garments often distinguished imperial or wealthy personages. Exceptions were made to meet the last wishes of individuals: thus, the vita of the 9th-C. saint EUDOKIMOS reports that he asked his colleagues to place him in a coffin dressed in military garb with an attached sword and to give him honors of a *strategos*, the position he occupied in his lifetime (ed. Loparev, pp. 209:8.30–35; 210:8.5). Those devoted to him even covered his coffin with the blanket under which he died (*ibid.*, 211:9.20). On the other hand, MELANIA THE YOUNGER was buried in garments associated with saints (*vita*, ed. Gorce 268.13–270.3).

After burial preparations, the corpse of a lay person was displayed on a small couch in a room or vestibule of a house for mourning and lamentation by family and friends. The body was oriented so that it faced east, with hands crossed on the chest and holding an icon; candles and incense burned alongside the corpse. Sometimes holy bread was put into the corpse's hands, but the church prohibited offering communion to the dead. The singing of psalms over the body served to protect the soul against demons. The coffin of a monk or cleric was placed in the narthex of a church. When LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS died, his body was brought into the church, laid on the floor, and his leather chiton and fetters removed; then, probably after washing him, the monks replaced his chiton, laid him on a couch in the narthex, and prepared a coffin of cypresswood (AASS Nov. 3:587E–588A).

Following the visitation period, the funeral procession set off for the burial with lamps and burning incense, the cortèges of saints or emperors attracting large crowds. If the corpse had to be transported some distance to its final resting place (e.g., Alexios, the older son of John II), it was embalmed or simply placed in a closed coffin.

Mourners typically engaged in lamentations and tragic GESTURES (tears, beating the chest, pulling out the hair). Chrysostom, however, urged the replacement of wailing with the singing of psalms. Some rigorously ascetic saints also protested against

exaggerated expression of EMOTIONS: BASIL THE YOUNGER (*vita*, ed. Vilinskij 1:333.13–23) forbade laments and beating the chest at his funeral, since he considered it a time of rejoicing and entrance into "the spiritual marriage chamber."

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:148–85. D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 125–34. G. Spyridakis, "Ta kata ten teleuten ethima ton Byzantinon," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 75–171. V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino* (Jerusalem 1972). I.-H. Dalmais, *Les liturgies d'Orient* (Paris 1980) 123f.  
—Ap.K., A.K., N.T., A.C.

**FURNITURE.** The main pieces in a Byz. household were BEDS; TABLES; various seats (benches, chairs, *thronoi*), sometimes with FOOTSTOOLS; chests with LOCKS; and "small towers" (*pyrgiskoi*) for precious objects. In a broader sense, furnishings included CARPETS, curtains (KATAPETASMATA), and lighting devices (LAMPS). Hagiographers and authors of sermons often mention precious pieces of furniture, covered with ivory plaques, silver, or gold. On the other hand, wills and inventories of the 11th–15th C. list icons; books; and gold, silver, bronze, or glass VESSELS, but are strangely silent about beds, tables, and chairs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:67–96. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantijska: byt i nruvy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 125f.  
—A.K.

**FURRIER** (γουνάριος). The word *gounarios* is unknown before the 6th C. Fikhman (*Egipet* 30) suggests that *kaunakoplokos* and related terms used in some papyri designated furriers, but their context is unclear; S. Calderini (*Aegyptus* 26 [1946] 17) translates it as "weaver of wool." Constantinopolitan furriers had their shops in the Forum (of Constantine?), where as early as 532 stood the basilica of the *gounarioi*; the structure was damaged at least twice by fire (Janin, *CP byz.* 98). In

14th-C. Constantinople there was a flourishing business of processing furs imported from the north: a contract of apprenticeship to a furrier survives from this period (G. Ferrari dalle Spade, *SBN* 4 [1935] 264), and a Latin document of 1313 mentions a furriers' house in the quarter of *Peliparii* or "furriers" (Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 425, no.4). Many furriers were Jews, esp. Jews from Venice (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96f).

—A.K.

**FUSTĀṬ, AL-**, medieval Egyptian town at the southern end of the Nile delta. In late Roman times the site was occupied by the fortress of Babylon, and it was the camp (*fossaton*) of the besieging forces of 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 640/1 that evolved into the Arab town. From a garrison for Arab forces advancing across North Africa, al-Fustāt soon became the capital of EGYPT. Its position gave it control over Nile commerce, particularly the vital grain trade, and a leading role in traffic moving along the southern Mediterranean coast. Byz. ships often called at al-Fustāt, Byz. goods (esp. TEXTILES) were extensively traded, and by the time of the FĀṬIMIDS many Byz. merchants and craftsmen had settled there.

Al-Fustāt also figured in the conflict with Byz. More securely situated than the often-raided coastal towns, it served as a naval base and a market for the spoils of piracy and war. In 1168 the town was burned by the Fāṭimid vizier Shāwar to prevent its capture by AMALRIC I of Jerusalem. Already affected by repeated plagues and famines, unrest, and increasing competition from neighboring Cairo (founded 969), it did recover somewhat, but by the 13th C. was no longer of much importance.

LIT. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 5 vols. (Los Angeles-Berkeley 1967–86). W. Kubiak, *Al-Fustāt* (Warsaw 1982). G.T. Scanlon, *The Fustāt Expedition: Final Report* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1986).  
—L.I.C.

**GABALAS** (Γαβαλάς, fem. Γαβαλίνα), a family that served primarily with the fleet. Both the origin of the name and the early history of the family are unclear. S. Kourouses rejected the suggestion that the name originated from Gabala-Byblus and hypothesized a connection with the Old Testament Gabaelos. The family's link with the Arab Jabala, the father of the Ghassānid king ARETHAS, or the late Roman *patrikios* Gabalas (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.129) cannot be established. Kourouses claims that the Gabalas family was known at least from the 9th C., but the seal of John Gabalas, dated by K. Regling to 850–1050 (*BZ* 24 [1924] 99f) is insufficient for such a dating, and other seals of various individuals named Gabalas provide only meager information. Documents cite late 12th-C. members of the Gabalas family; two were high-ranking officials of the fleet: the *protobelissimohypertatos* Stephen (Seibt, *supra*, no.158) and John (*Lavra* 1, no.67.34). After 1204 the Gabalas family took control of Rhodes; the caesar Leo Gabalas signed a treaty with the Venetians against John III Vatatzes in 1234; Leo's brother John succeeded him in 1240. John III captured the island in 1249. One of his navy commanders, also a Gabalas (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 169, calls him John), was *megas droungarios* until 1266/7 (*PLP*, no.3293). John Gabalas was *megas droungarios* in 1341 (*Kantak.* 2:118.21–23); he probably supported John VI Kantakouzenos but then betrayed him and became *megas logothetes* by 1344. Guillard (*Institutions* 1:542) believes he was *droungarios tes viglas*, but, in view of the family traditions, presumably he commanded the fleet.

In the 13th C. members of the Gabalas family possessed lands in the Smyrna region. Some of them were church officials and some were intellectuals, including Manuel Gabalas (see GABALAS, MANUEL). None is known as a member of the administration after the mid-14th C., except for Michael Gabalas, *oikeios* of Manuel II ca.1400 (*PLP*, no.3310). The settlement of some family members in Crete can be explained by the traditional

interest of the Gabalas family in maritime business.

LIT. S. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas eita Matthaïos metropolitēs Ephesou* (Athens 1972) 297–302. *PLP*, nos. 3290–313. —A.K.

**GABALAS, MANUEL**, also known as Matthew of Ephesus; metropolitan of Ephesus (1329–51); born Philadelphia ca.1271/2, died before 1359/60. Gabalas began his career in Philadelphia as *anagnostes*, deacon, and then as *protonotarios* (1309–12) of Metr. THEOLEPTOS. He lost his position because of his opposition to Theoleptos's continuing anti-ARSENITE stance. He was widowed in 1312. In 1321 he became a priest and, after reconciliation with Theoleptos, *chartophylax* of Philadelphia; in 1322/3 he took the monastic habit. He spent much time in Constantinople, where he became acquainted with literati such as Nikephoros GREGORAS and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. He continued to live in the capital even after his appointment to EPHEBUS because his see was under Turkish occupation. He spent the years 1332–37 in Thracian Brysis, where he was named metropolitan *kat'epidosin* (i.e., to obtain additional income besides that from his own see). When he was finally able to enter Ephesus in 1339, local Muslims made his life miserable by barring him from the cathedral (which was converted into a mosque) and throwing stones at his house (ep.55). Because of his opposition to PALAMISM, he was eventually deprived of his see.

Gabalas was also a writer; his 63 surviving letters treat literary and philosophical topics and make frequent allusions to Homer and Plato. He also wrote three treatises on the *Odyssey*. His other works include an oration to Andronikos II and three monodies. Reinsch (*infra* 45–57) recently identified Gabalas as the author of 200 CHAPTERS on moral themes (cf. A. Angelou in *Maistor* 259–67). Gabalas also worked as a scribe, copying, for example, Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 174, an autograph MS of his own works.



ED. *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos*, ed. D. Reinsch (Berlin 1974), with Germ. tr. L. Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso," *BZ* 41 (1941) 4-39. *Matteo di Efeso. L'ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua*, ed. A. Pignani (Naples 1981), with Ital. tr. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 261.

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas eita Matthaïos metropolitēs Ephesou* (1271/2-1355/60), *A' Ta Biographika* (Athens 1972). *PLP*, no.3309. Vryonis, *Decline* 328, 343-48.

-A.M.T.

**GABRAS** (Γαβρᾶς, fem. Γάβραινα), a noble Byz. family known from the second half of the 10th C. The Gabrades were predominantly military commanders in the East who participated in several rebellions: Constantine (died 979) supported Bardas SKLEROS, Michael was arrested in 1040. Theodore Gabras became semi-independent governor of Trebizond; his portrait and that of his wife, Irene, appear on leaves in Leningrad Publ. Lib. gr. 291, taken from the gospel book Sinai gr. 172, which was commissioned by Theodore and written in May 1067. The inscription on folio 2v describes him as *patrikios* and *topoteretes*, while the colophon calls him *hypatos* (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.82). Constantine Gabras, *strategos* of Philadelphia and later *doux* of Trebizond, controlled the latter city from 1126 to 1140 as an independent ruler. His exploits may have inspired the plot of the forged Byz. romance, the so-called Gabras-song, written down ca.1900. Several Gabrades served the Seljuks in the 12th-13th C. Although some Gabrades held administrative positions in the first half of the 14th C. (e.g., Gabras Komnenos, *krites tou phossatou*, ca.1300), they are better known as intellectuals, esp. Michael Gabras and his brother John, also a writer (see GABRAS, MICHAEL).

LIT. A. Bryer, "A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970) 164-87, with add. A. Bryer, S. Fassoulakis, D.M. Nicol, *BS* 36 (1975) 38-45. *PLP*, nos. 3319-73. H. Bartikian, "O vizantijskoj aristokratičeskoj sem'e Gavras," *IFŽ*, no.3 (1987) 190-200, no.4, 181-93; no.1 (1988) 163-78. A. Avraméa, "Manuel Ducas Comnène Gavras de Troade: A propos de CIG IV 2, no.8763," *Geographica byzantina* (Paris 1981) 37-41.

-A.K., A.C.

**GABRAS, MICHAEL**, writer and official of the imperial chancery; born ca.1290, died after 1350. Almost nothing is known of Gabras except for the internal evidence of his voluminous correspondence. A resident of Constantinople, he eked

out a meager living as a bureaucrat, and seems to have had continual (or pretended) financial difficulties: many letters to his friends are requests for necessities such as bread, salt, fish, wheat, and barley.

Gabras was the author of a number of rhetorical works, including eulogies of his mother and father, four orations to Andronikos II, and a monody on the deceased Michael IX. He also wrote "criticism of books" and a book on dreams. None of his oeuvre has survived, except for a large group of 462 letters dating between 1308 and 1327. These are addressed to 111 different individuals, including luminaries such as Andronikos II, John (VI) Kantakouzenos, Nikephoros Choumnos, and Theodore Metochites. Despite the emphasis upon style over content common to Byz. EPISTOLOGRAPHY, Gabras's letters are not without interest. Some are requests for favors, complaints about his health, and lamentations over the death of his brother, John; many others deal with literary matters as Gabras exchanges MSS with his friends and seeks their opinion of his own work.

ED. *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras* (ca.1290-nach 1350), ed. G. Fatouros, 2 vols. (Vienna 1973).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:232f. *PLP*, no.3372. -A.M.T.

**GABRIEL** (Γαβριήλ, in Hebrew meaning "man of God"), angel; feastday 26 March. Gabriel appears in the Old Testament in the vision of DANIEL (Dan 8:15-16, 9:21-22) and in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 1:11-13, 19, 26-38) as the messenger announcing the forthcoming births of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. He was popular in Jewish legend and apocrypha as a guardian of the world and as a destroyer of enemies and sinners; for Muslims he is the one who revealed the QUR'AN to Muhammad. In Christian tradition Gabriel was promoted to the rank of ARCHANGEL (not conferred upon him in the Bible) and revered either together with the Archangel MICHAEL or in connection with the ANNUNCIATION.

Gabriel's function as a messenger was expressed by his carrying a walking staff, but he could also be depicted frontally as a guardian, clad in the imperial garb of an archangel holding globe and scepter, accompanying, along with Michael, the figure of Christ or the Virgin (e.g., the bema mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, NEA

MONE on Chios). Gabriel is shown crowning the emperor Basil I in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY (fol. Cv). His role in the Annunciation, one of the Great Feasts, assured his presence in nearly every church program and on innumerable icons as well as in cycles of the AKATHISTOS HYMN; Gabriel appears also in images of the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION and in extended cycles of the DORMITION as the angel who brings the news to the Virgin of her impending death. Although he occasionally joined Michael in performing a miracle, Gabriel had no miracle cycle of his own.

There were at least five churches or chapels in Constantinople dedicated to Gabriel (Janin, *Églises CP* 66); a church of Gabriel in Miletos is also known (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.220bis).

LIT. *BHG* 1290y-94c, 2158-59. C. Carletti, *DPAC* 2:1413f. F. Spadafora, M.L. Casanova, *Bibl.sanct.* 5:1326-29. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:47f. H. Maguire, "The Self-Conscious Angel: Character Study in Byzantine Paintings of the Annunciation," in *Okeanos* 377-86.

-A.K., N.P.S.

**GABRIEL HIEROMONACHOS**, composer who lived and worked at the monastery of Xanthopouloi; fl. Constantinople first half 15th C. He may be the author of *Discourse on the Signs of Chant*, known from 16th-C. MSS. This treatise discusses the meaning of the NEUMATA in allegorical and etymological terms.

LIT. Tardo, *Melurgia* 183-205. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 327-34. *PLP*, no.3428. -D.E.C.

**GABRIELOPOULOS** (Γαβριηλόπουλος, fem. Γαβριηλοπούλινα), a family known in the 14th C. Stephen Gabrielopoulos established his rule over Thessaly sometime between 1318 and 1325 with a formal recognition from Constantinople of his dependency; he bore the title of *sebastokrator*. Until his death in 1332/3 he possessed Stagoi, Trikkala, Phanarion, and several other castles. After a period of struggle for Thessaly, Michael Gabrielopoulos gained control there; in June 1342 he issued a charter in favor of the *archontes* of Phanarion, guaranteeing privileges such as freedom of disposition of their property, exemption from taxes and billeting, strict conditions of military service, freedom from responsibility for treasonous relatives, and the tribunal of peers (C.P. Kyris, *Hellenika* 18 [1964] 73-78). As the lord (*authentes*) of the area, Michael swore an oath that

confirmed these privileges. His further fate is unknown. Other Gabrielopouloi are known at the same time in the Strymon region: a Gabrielopoulina made a donation to Esphigmenou before 1318 (*Esphig.*, no.14.198), a certain Gabrielopoulos possessed one third of the village of Krousovo before 1347 (no.23.16). The family's relationship to George Kydones Gabrielopoulos (fl.1348-83), physician and writer (see GEORGE THE PHILOSOPHER), is unclear. A certain Gabrielopoulos was exiled in 1370 for possessing books on magic.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 3430-35. B. Ferjančić, *Teslija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade 1974) 168-89.

-A.K.

**GAETA** (Γαῖτῆ), port on the Italian Tyrrhenian coast, of importance to Byz. in the 8th C.; during the Lombard conquest of central Italy, it assured communication between Rome, Naples, Sicily, and Constantinople. After the fall of the exarchate of Ravenna (751), Gaeta, which was part of the duchy of NAPLES, remained officially Byz. Between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th C., however, the dynasty of the local *hypatoi*—called *duces* after 915—gradually became independent. Constantine VII considered Gaeta a part of Longobardia (*De adm. imp.* 27.46-52). The economic interests of Gaeta were predominantly related to those of the neighboring papal states; accordingly the city participated in the silver circulation of northwestern Europe, in contrast to the rest of southern Italy, where Byz. and Arab gold coinage prevailed. Nevertheless merchants from Gaeta are attested in Constantinople during the 10th-11th C. In 1032 Gaeta was conquered by Pandolf IV, the Lombard prince of Capua, and in 1064 by the Normans.

LIT. M. Merore, *Gaeta im frühen Mittelalter* (Gotha 1911). V. von Falkenhausen, "Il ducato di Gaeta," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 347-54.

-V.V.F.

**GAGIK I** (Κακίκιος), last major BAGRATID king of Armenia (989-ca.1017-20). Gagik was able to maintain a senior position vis-à-vis the other Bagratid kings of his time ruling in KARS and Lori, esp. after the death of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, whom he supported against the Kurdish emirs of Azerbaijan. The divided kingdom of VASPURAKAN offered no challenge to Gagik, who also acquired considerable territory in the east at the expense of Siwnik', to which, however, he returned certain

ecclesiastical privileges. Gagik's dominant position allowed him to withstand pressure even from Byz.: when Basil II reached the Armenian border in 1000 to claim the bequest of David of Tayk'/I'ao and the other Armenian and Georgian rulers were hastening to submit to Basil, Gagik remained defiantly inside the walls of his capital, ANI. For the rest of his reign, which marked the peak of Bagratid power in Armenia, his authority remained unchallenged; Ani, whose cathedral was completed by his queen, became a major administrative and cultural center.

LIT. K.N. Juzbašjan, "K chronologii pravlenija Gagika I Bagratuni," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 195-97. Grousset, *Arménie* 518-20, 532-41. -N.G.G.

**GAGIK II**, last BAGRATID king of Armenia (1042-45); son of the anti-king Ašot IV; died Kzistra? ca. 1079/80. At the death of his predecessor JOHN SMBAT, Byz. demanded the surrender of ANI with the support of the pro-Byz. party in the capital. The imperial troops, however, failed to take the city and the opposition party crowned Gagik king in 1042. In 1045, the young king was persuaded by Byz. to journey to Constantinople, where he was detained and induced to abdicate in exchange for the title of *magistros* and domains in Cappadocia (possibly CHARSIANON and LYKANDOS, though Byz. and Armenian sources disagree on the location). Meanwhile, the *katholikos* surrendered Ani to the Byz. After Gagik abdicated, he composed a defense of Armenian doctrine (preserved by MATTHEW OF EDESSA), which Gagik is said to have delivered at Constantinople in 1065. Gagik was apparently murdered by the Byz. to avenge his slaying of the metropolitan of Caesarea. A Byz. seal bearing the name of Maria, "the daughter of 'Kakikes Aniotes,'" is preserved (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 602).

LIT. J. Shepard, "Skylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catacalon Cecaumenos," *REArm* n.s. 11 (1975-76) 283-97. Juzbašjan, "Skilica." J. Gouillard, "Gagik II défenseur de la foi arménienne," *TM* 7 (1979) 399-418. -N.G.G.

**GAINAS** (Γαῖνᾱς), general of Gothic origin; born north of the Danube, died in the northern Balkans before Jan. 401. Having begun his career as a common soldier, he was one of the commanders who led Theodosius I's barbarian troops against the usurper EUGENIUS in 394; the next year, in

collaboration with STILICHO and EUTROPIOS, he accomplished the fall of RUFINUS and became *comes rei militaris* (395-99). Appointed *magister utriusque militiae* in 399, he was ordered to march against the Gothic commander TRIBIGILD, but instead joined forces with him and engineered the fall of Eutropios. Power was seized, however, by the anti-Germanic group of aristocrats headed by Aurelianos. Gainas secured the latter's exile, and, acting in alliance with Kaisarios, the former praetorian prefect, he entered Constantinople with Gothic contingents. The Goths, Arian in belief, were opposed by the populace, whose anti-Germanic sentiments were expressed by John Chrysostom and soon thereafter by Synesios. Gainas tried to obtain a church for the Arians, to seize money belonging to the bankers, and to occupy the imperial palace, but failed. On 12 July 400, Gainas's troops were massacred. Gainas escaped to Thrace, where he met with resistance from the local population. The administration in Constantinople sent some other Goths under the command of Fravitta against him. In the meantime Gainas was killed by the Hunnic chieftain Uldin. At the beginning of 401 Aurelianos returned to the capital amid a triumphant welcome. Kaisarios withdrew from politics, Fravitta was executed, and the "Gothic party" was defeated. In the early 5th C. the exploits of Gainas and his fall from power were the subject of two epic poems (Sokr. *HE* 6.6.36), since lost, and were probably the theme of the Column of Arkadios in the Forum of Arkadios.

LIT. G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (Paderborn 1985), rev. F. Winkelmann, *Klio* 68 (1986) 635-37. Demougeot, *Unité* 235-66. A.D. Kozlov, "Osnovnye čerty političeskoj oppozicii pravitel'stvu Vizantii v 399-400 gg.," *ADSV* 16 (1979) 23-31. -T.E.G.

**GAISERIC** (Γαῖσεριχος), king of the Vandals (from 428); born 389, died 25 Jan. 477. Gaiseric led the Vandals from Spain to Africa in 429 and undertook its conquest. Peace with the Romans in 435 divided Africa between the two peoples. After a Roman expedition failed in 441, Gaiseric negotiated a treaty in 442 with Valentinian III whereby the Vandals received further territory (Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, eastern Numidia). In the 450s Gaiseric became involved in European affairs, urging ATTILA to attack the Visigoths, capturing and sacking Rome in 455, taking Valentin-

ian III's widow Eudoxia and her daughters back to Africa, and raiding the coast of Greece. In 460-61 the Western emperor MAJORIAN built large fleets to attack the Vandal king, but the latter captured them before they set sail. Gaiseric made regular attacks on Italy, in part to further the imperial claims of Olybrius. The elevation of ANTHEMIOS in 467 meant greater Eastern involvement and led to the ill-fated expedition against Gaiseric under BASILISKOS in 468. Probably in 476 Gaiseric made peace with Emp. Zeno.

Gaiseric was an Arian and systematically persecuted the Orthodox; he discriminated between Romans and Vandals in his kingdom and promoted the latter. Under Gaiseric Vandal naval power shook Roman control of the Mediterranean and spread terror as far as Alexandria.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955; rp. Aalen 1964) 260-62, 394f. *PLRE* 2:496-99. F.M. Clover, "Gaiseric and Attila," *Historia* 22 (1973) 104-17. -T.E.G.

**GALAKRENAI** (Γαλακρηναί, "fountains of milk"), site of several Byz. monasteries on Asiatic shore of Bosphoros, near Chalcedon. Scholars have been unable to identify the precise location of Galakrenai, evidently a place where springs of water were made milky in color by a solution of carbonate of lime. Three different monasteries are attested in this group.

1. *The monastery of Galakrenai*, first mentioned in 535. It may have been here that a lavishly illuminated copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Vat. gr. 463) was written in 1072 by Symeon, a pupil of a Theodore who was superior of "the monastery of Galakrenai" (J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 178-83).

2. *The monastery of Nicholas I Mystikos*, founded by the patriarch ca. 900. He retired to Galakrenai for five years after his deposition from the patriarchate in 907 and was buried there after his death in 925.

3. *The monastery of John the Rhaiktor*, founded by this official in the early 10th C. He was tonsured there in 926, after being accused of complicity in a plot to assassinate the emperor ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS. This monastery had a *metochion* in Constantinople. During the Latin occupation of the capital, John the Rhaiktor's monastery was given to the prior of the Pisan Church of St. Peter, located in Constantinople. After the Byz. recovery

of 1261, the monastery, reduced to six monks, became a *metochion* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi.

It is unclear which of these monasteries was given to the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople as a *metochion* in the 12th C.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 208. Janin, *CP* byz. 497f. Janin, *Églises* centres 40-42. -A.M.T., A.C.

**GALATA** (τὰ Γαλάτουν, Γαλατᾱς, etym. unclear), settlement occupying a promontory on the north side of the Golden Horn facing Constantinople. Originally called Sykai, by ca. 425 it had become an integral part of the city, of which it formed the 13th Region. It possessed a theater, baths, dockyard, and other facilities (*Notitiae urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Seeck, p. 240.1-23). Defensive walls were probably built in the course of the 5th C. In 528 Sykai was granted the status of a city and renamed Ioustinianoupolis. It may have been abandoned in the 7th C. since later sources do not mention a city. Instead we find a fort (*kastellion*), *ton Galatou*, situated on the seashore, which served as a point of attachment of the chain barring the mouth of the Golden Horn (first attested in 717).

Churches and monasteries of Galata include St. Irene (on the site of present-day Arap Camii), dedicated in 551. Many more were just outside Galata, including the cruciform *martyrion* of the Maccabees (4th C.), St. Thekla, St. Konon, and the leper-house of St. Zotikos. The area to the east of Galata, known as Argyropolis (Turk. Top-hane) is mentioned in the legend of St. ANDREW as the site where the apostle ordained Stachys as first bishop of Byzantion.

Probably in the 11th C. Galata became a Jewish quarter that attained a population of about 2,500 (Jacoby, *Société*, pt. II [1967], 175-89). The Crusaders captured the fort in 1203 and destroyed the Jewish quarter. Attacked by Michael VIII in 1260 and occupied the next year, Galata was granted by him to the Genoese (1267), the precise limits of the colony being defined in a document in 1303. Despite stipulations to the contrary, the Genoese built walls around their settlement, which they gradually enlarged. A city of Western aspect, Galata became extremely prosperous thanks to international trade. It capitulated to the Turks in 1453, retaining many of its privileges, but quickly



declined as a commercial center. The name *Pera*, as used in the 13th–15th C., is synonymous with Galata.

No Byz. remains survive at Galata. The Genoese walls, of various dates and now to a large extent dismantled, include the Galata Tower (mid-14th C., much rebuilt).

LIT. A.M. Schneider, M.I. Nomidis, *Galata* (Istanbul 1944). S. Eyice, *Galata ve kulesi* (Istanbul 1969). G.I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire* (Paris 1929). J. Sauvaget, "Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra," *Syria* 15 (1934) 252–75. P.B. Palazzo, *L'Arap-djami* (Istanbul 1946). —C.M.

**GALATIA** (Γαλατία), the northern hilly region of the central Anatolian plateau, stretching from the mountains of Paphlagonia to the Salt Lake and from the Sangarios River eastward past the Halys. The region was sparsely inhabited, with few cities but a large rural population in its fertile areas; it produced wheat, sheep, and goats. Galatia gained strategic importance from its location on the highways from Constantinople to the eastern frontier.

The province of Galatia was created under Diocletian with its capital at ANKYRA. Galatia was divided into Galatia I (metropolis Ankyra) and Galatia II, or Salutaris (metropolis PESSINUS), ca.398. In 535, Justinian I gave the governor of Galatia I the title of *comes*, with both civil and military powers to deal with endemic brigandage; the reform was revoked in 548. GELIMER was granted estates in Galatia after his defeat. The civil province lasted into the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 136, 3189), by which time Galatia had become part of the OPSIKION theme, then the BOUKELLARION. The ecclesiastical province, embracing all Galatia from the time of Constantine I, was also divided ca.398; its parts persisted through the Byz. period. Late mentions of Galatia in narrative sources have geographic, not administrative meaning.

LIT. *TIB* 4:54–58.

—C.F.

**GALEA** (γαλέα, from γαλέος, "swordfish" or "small shark"), a term first used in the 10th C. to denote light, rapid DROMONES powered by one bank of rowers (*Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain [Paris 1943] 21). They were commonly used as messenger ships or for reconnaissance in enemy waters. Pirates are usually said to have *galeai*, which seem

to be oar-powered ships, lighter and more nimble than an ordinary *dromon*.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 414.

—E.M.

**GALEN**, Roman physician and philosopher; born Pergamon 129, died Rome? ca.210. The mark of this single Roman medical writer on Byz. medicine was extraordinary; his adaptations of the Hippocratic four humors as well as his use of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics in creating an all-encompassing medical theory ensured his use as a source by learned Byz. physicians from ORIBASIOS to JOHN AKTOUARIOS. Oribasios was the first to make a synopsis of Galenic medicine; the extant sections of his *Medical Collection* show the first stages of a Byz. adeptness in fusing parts of Galen's works with contemporary medical practice; this streamlining tendency continued through the medical encyclopedias of AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA. Yet the best Byz. medical authors did not simply borrow the quotations of "lost" authorities as they might be found in Galen, but generally went back to the original texts when they were available and set them in an assured context with those of the great Pergamene. Oribasios, for example, apparently consulted directly the *Materia Medica* of DIOSKORIDES, and probably formulated the first Greek alphabetical listing of drugs in Dioskorides' work, the ancestor of so many alphabetical "Dioskorides" texts in Greek, Latin, and Arabic. Oribasios's technique in using Dioskorides side-by-side with Galen was followed by almost all later Byz. medical encyclopedists. Not only professionals but also educated Byz. (e.g., Michael CHONIATES) read Galen, who was popular enough to become a comic figure in the TIMARION. By the 13th–14th C., Galen had become the authority on medicine in Greek, Latin, and Arabic (see also INSANITY). His quasi-monotheism, best seen in *Use of the Parts of the Body*, made his medicine and medical philosophy easily adaptable into Christian and Islamic canons.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. C.G. Kuhn, 20 vols. in 22 pts. (Leipzig 1821–33; rp. Hildesheim 1964–65). See also lists in H. Leitner, *Bibliography to the Ancient Medical Authors* (Bern 1973) 18–40, and J. Scarborough, ed., *Society for Ancient Medicine Newsletter*, nos. 3–13 (Lexington, Ky., 1978–85).

LIT. O. Temkin, *Galenism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973) 51–94. J. Scarborough, "The Galenic Question," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 65 (1981) 1–31. —J.S.

**GALERIUS**, more fully Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus, caesar under DIOCLETIAN (293–305) and augustus (from 1 May 305); born Romulianum in Illyricum ca.260, died Nikomedeia May 311. Galerius presumably rose through the army and may have been praetorian prefect under Diocletian. As caesar he was responsible for much of the Balkans; his primary residence was at THESALONIKE, where remains of his palace can still be seen. He carried out wars against the Carpi on the Danube (295) and against the Persians (297–98), the latter commemorated on an arch in Thessalonike (see ARCH OF GALERIUS). After Diocletian's abdication Galerius became senior emperor in the TETRARCHY, with MAXIMINUS DAIA as his caesar. In 307 he opposed the proclamation of MAXENTIUS as emperor. The next year he convoked the Conference of Carnuntum, the result of which was the appointment of LICINIUS as caesar and the redvision of the empire. Lactantius pictures Galerius as an outspoken pagan, persecuting Christians in his own territories and responsible for Diocletian's edicts against the church. He continued the persecution until he fell gravely ill; in 311, shortly before his death, he anticipated the EDICT OF MILAN by granting toleration to the church. Galerius is remembered in the Byz. tradition as the archetypal persecutor, properly punished for his crimes by a painful death.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 40–79. P. Keresztes, "From the Great Persecution to the Peace of Galerius," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 379–99. —T.E.G.

**GALERIUS, ARCH OF.** See ARCH OF GALERIUS.

**GALESIOS, MOUNT** (Turk. Alamandağ), monastic center north of Ephesus, on right bank of the Kaystros River (Küçük Menderes). Monks were first attracted to this HOLY MOUNTAIN in the 11th C. by the stylite St. LAZAROS. Three monasteries, under one *hegoumenos*, were built near the successive sites of his pillar: (1) the Savior, reserved for 12 eunuchs; (2) the Theotokos, for 12 monks; and (3) the Anastasis, for 40 monks. A *diatyposis* for the three institutions is incorporated in the *Vita S. Lazari* (AASS Nov. 3:585). A fourth monastery, the Theotokos of Bessai, was imperial and had its own *hegoumenos*; it housed 300 monks in the 11th C. but rapidly declined. Near the mountain was the convent of Eupraxia, which served

as a residence for female relatives of Galesiot monks.

Galesios entered a period of obscurity after the death of Lazaros, but in the 13th C., with the establishment of the empire of Nicaea, a "monastery of Galesios" again attained prominence. Two early Palaiologan patriarchs, JOSEPH I and ATHANASIOS I, were former Galesiot monks, and a third, GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, wrote a new version of the *Vita Lazari*. The monastery was reputed to have a rich library and had an active scriptorium (F. Halkin, *Scriptorium* 15 [1961] 221–27). Its history came to an end in the 14th C. when it was captured by the Turks (AASS Nov. 3:503).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 241–50.

—A.M.T.

**GALESIOTES, GEORGE**, patriarchal official and writer; born Atramyttion or Constantinople? between 1278 and 1280, died after 1346?. Galesiotes (Γαλησιώτης) was apparently a family name and does not indicate that he was a monk at Mt. GALESIOS (F. Halkin, *Scriptorium* 15 [1961] 225–27). Galesiotes studied with GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and then with Manuel HOLOBOLOS, to whom he later addressed a funeral monody. As a secular cleric, he began his career as *archon* of Hagia Sophia (ca.1303); he succeeded George Pachymeres as *protekdikos* ca.1310. He held this post until 1334, when he took charge of the *sakellion*. Galesiotes' works include a monody for Theodore Xanthopoulos and, according to S.I. Kourouses, a lament on the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia in 1346 (*EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 247–50). He was probably also the author of an oration of thanksgiving for the Christian naval victory over the Turks off Atramyttion in 1334 (V. Laurent in *Eis mnemen K. Amantou* [Athens 1960] 25–41). In collaboration with George OINAIOTES, he prepared a paraphrase, in simpler language, of the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES.

H. Hunger and O. Kresten have recently proposed that the George Galesiotes who copied patriarchal documents from ca.1325 to 1357 is to be distinguished from the author Galesiotes, and suggest that he was a younger contemporary, perhaps his nephew (Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 33f.).

ED. Monody for Xanthopoulos—ed. A. Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibl.* VI/2 419–22. *Imperial Statue*—Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 19–117, 149–206.



LIT. S.I. Kourousses, "He prote helikia kai he proimos stadiodromia tou protekdikou kai eita sakelliou tes megales ekklesias Georgiou Galesiotou (1278/80-1357?)." *Athena* 75 (1974/5) 335-74. *PLP*, no.3528. —A.M.T.

**GALIČ.** See **GALITZA**.

**GALILEE, STORM ON THE SEA OF.** Matthew 8:23-27, Mark 4:35-41, and Luke 8:22-25 tell of Christ sleeping in a storm-tossed boat on the Lake of Galilee. Awakened and upbraided by his disciples, he calmed the storm, chiding them for their lack of faith and eliciting their awe. The scene is illustrated only in extensive cycles: in **FRIEZE GOSPELS**, in marginal **PSALTERS** at Psalm 89:9, in several **DECORATIVE STYLE MSS**, and at **CHORA**. The richest depiction, that in the Florence frieze Gospel (fol.120v), shows the boat three times: with Christ and the disciples seated, with Christ asleep and then rebuking a personification of the wind, and with Christ chiding the disciples.

LIT. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:274-77. —A.W.C.

**GALITZA**, or Galič (Γάλιτζα, also "Galatikon" in Theodore **PRODOMOS**—A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 356), town on the Dniester and center of one of the principalities of Rus'. Vladimirk of Galič (1141-53) was an ally (or vassal; *hypospondos* in Kinn. 115.19) of Manuel I against Géza II of Hungary. Vladimirk's son Jaroslav harbored the future emperor Andronikos I in 1165, but Manuel's diplomacy secured Andronikos's return. **ANTONY OF NOVGOROD** mentions a Galician embassy to Constantinople in 1200, possibly negotiating for the campaign of Roman of Galitza against the **CUMANS** in 1201 (Nik.Chon. 522.26-523.35). The bishopric of Galitza, under the metropolitan of **KIEV**, was founded between 1147 and 1153. In the 14th C. it was sporadically raised to the rank of metropolis (*Notitiae CP*, nos. 17.157, 18.150). Casimir of Poland, requesting a metropolitan from Patr. **PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS** in 1370, after his annexation of Galitza (MM 1:577.29-32), mentions four previous incumbents, and when Metr. Antony was appointed in 1371 bishoprics of Cholm, Turov, Peremyšl', and Volodimer were put under his jurisdiction (MM 1:579.23-24). In the mid-13th C. Galitza played a conspicuous role in the transmission of Byz. literary culture in Slavonic

translation: the best texts of the translations of **MALALAS**, **JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS**, and the **ALEXANDER ROMANCE** all derive from Galician compilations.

LIT. G. Stökl in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands*, ed. M. Hellman, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981) 484-533. E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XIIe siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *BS* 20 (1959) 50-62. O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 333-57. —S.C.F.

**GALLA PLACIDIA** (Γάλλα Πλακιδία), more fully Aelia Galla Placidia, augusta of the Western Roman Empire (421-50); born 388 (S.I. Oost, *ClPhil* 60 [1965] 1-4) or 393 (S. Rebenich, *Historia* 34 [1985] 372-85) in Constantinople or Thessalonike, died Rome 27 Nov. 450. Daughter of Theodosios I, she spent most of her life in the West. When Rome was sacked by Alaric in 410 the Visigoths carried Galla Placidia off to Gaul, and in Jan. 414 she married the new king Athaulf. After his death she was returned to the Romans. On 1 Jan. 417 Galla married the patrician Flavius Constantius to whom she bore the future emperor Valentinian III and a daughter, Justa Grata Honoria. In Feb. 421 Honorius proclaimed Constantius augustus (as Constantius III), but Theodosios II refused to recognize his accession. There are some vague indications that Constantius made warlike preparations against the East, but he died on 2 Sept. 421. Galla Placidia was accused of treason and conspiracy against her brother Honorius. She sought sanctuary at the court of Theodosios II in 423. After the death of Honorius the Eastern court used Galla Placidia and her son to assert indirect control over the West. Valentinian was brought to Italy and created augustus, with Galla Placidia exercising regency over him, a power she shared increasingly with the *magister militum* **AETIUS**. She was an ardent supporter of Orthodoxy and a generous donor of churches, esp. in **RAVENNA**, but she also knew how to maintain a *modus vivendi* with Arians. Her only known portrait is on solidi struck under Valentinian III.

LIT. S.I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta* (Chicago 1968). V.A. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente* (Louvain 1961). —T.E.G.

**GALLERY** (ὑπερώον, κατηχούμενον, κατηχούμενιον), a corridor above the aisles and narthex of a church, opening fully onto the space of the



GALLERY. North gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, looking west.

nave through arcades or colonnades. Galleries occur in major churches throughout the empire from the 4th to 13th C. Reserved elsewhere for women or (in early centuries) for **CATECHUMENS**, galleries in palace chapels or churches became the preserve of the emperor or local ruler and his court, in part because they provided easy access to the church from upper levels of adjacent palaces (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; St. Sophia, Kiev); portions of the gallery in the Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, served as the **PARAKYPTIKON** and **METATORION** and were the setting of church **COUNCILS**. Canon 97 of the Council in **TRULLO** (680/1) forbade priests and laymen to live in galleries with their wives (a ban renewed by nov. 73 of Leo VI). Galleries were introduced into all types of churches: longitudinal **BASILICAS**, whether truss-roofed ("extra muros" basilica at **PHILIPPI**; St. **DEMETRIOS**, Thessalonike) or domed (St. John, **EPHESUS**; S. Marco, **VENICE**), and centralized churches, whether circular (Konjuh, Macedonia), polygonal (S. Vitale, Ravenna), tetraconch (S. Lorenzo, **MILAN**; **ZUART'NOC'**), or otherwise. They do not appear in the naves of basilicas where major fresco or

mosaic cycles were planned in continuous sequence of images. While galleries become less common after the 7th C., they reappear with some frequency in the 13th-15th C., most notably in **MISTRA** and other provincial capitals. Galleries enhance the majesty of ecclesiastical spaces; may add substantially to the cost of the structure; identify imperial, royal, or princely presence; and exhibit society divided between the people below and the aristocracy above.

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 2:129-44. Mathews, *Early Churches* 19-23, 31-33, 47-51, 128-33, 163-65, 179. —W.L., K.M.K.

**GALLIPOLI.** See **KALLIPOLIS**.

**GALLUNIANU TREASURE**, dated to the 6th C. and found in 1963 near Poggibonsi in Tuscany, Italy, 2.5 km from Galognano. Now in the Pinacoteca of Siena, the treasure contains six silver objects (four chalices, one paten, one spoon). Two objects bear inscribed dedications made by, respectively, Sivegerna and Himnigilda (names of

Germanic, perhaps Gothic, origin), with one mentioning the "church of Gallunianu," a place identified with the modern village of Galognano. All six objects resemble comparable types found in Asia Minor and Syria and have been ascribed to local Byz. manufacture in the mid-6th C., on the eve of the Lombard invasion. In size and composition (type of objects and dedications) the Gallunianu Treasure is similar to contemporaneous silver TREASURES from other Byz. villages.

LIT. O. von Hessen, W. Kurze, C.A. Mastrelli, *Il tesoro di Galognano* (Florence 1977). Mango, *Silver*, nos. 77–82. –M.M.M.

**GALLUS** (Γάλλος), more fully Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus, caesar of the eastern part of the empire (from 15 Mar. 351); born on the estate of Massa Veternensis, Etruria, 325/6, died near Pola end of 354. Nephew of Constantine I and half-brother of Julian, he survived the massacre of his family in 337 and lived out of public view until Constantius II made him caesar. Constantius then gave his sister Constantia to Gallus in marriage and stationed him in Antioch so that he could deal with the Persian threat while Constantius suppressed the usurpation of MAGNENTIUS. Gallus succeeded in keeping the Persians at bay. He was a fervent Christian of Arian persuasion; he reportedly placed the relics of St. Babylas in the temple of Apollo at Antioch to silence the demon's prophecies. Ammianus Marcellinus condemns the cruelty of Gallus, his bloody suppression of a Jewish revolt in Palestine, and the murder of some subordinates, but R. Blockley (*infra*) considers these charges unfair. In 354 he was recalled and executed by orders of Constantius.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:141f. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 1094–99. *PLRE* 1:224f. R. Blockley, "Constantius Gallus and Julian as Caesars of Constantius II," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 433–68. J. Arce, "La rebelion de los Judios durante el gobierno de Constancio Galo Cesar: 353 d.C.," *Athenaeum* 67 (1987) 109–25. P. Schäfer, "Der Aufstand gegen Gallus Caesar," in *Essays in Honour of J.C.H. Lebram* (Leiden 1986) 184–201. –T.E.G.

**GAMBLING.** See GAMES, BOARD.

**GAMBROS** (γαμβρός), properly "son-in-law," term that in the 12th C. became a semiofficial title encompassing a broad group of nobles linked to the emperor by affinity—husbands of the em-

peror's daughters, sisters, aunts, and esp. nieces and cousins. The latter were called "sebastoi" and "gambroi" and formed an upper layer within the category of the SEBASTOI. Pseudo-Kodinos considers *gambroi* as members of the group of the DESPOTAI and ascribes to them a special kind of coronet (pseudo-Kod. 147.4–8). The term could also be employed as a separate title, for example, in the *prostagma* of 1330 (*Esphig.*, no.18.13). *Gambros* was also a term of Byz. DIPLOMACY conferred upon certain rulers within the so-called hierarchy of nations (see STATES, HIERARCHY OF).

LIT. L. Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB* 23 (1965) 232–43. S. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue," *BZ* 38 (1938) 388–94. –A.K.

**GAMES, BOARD**, were inherited from antiquity and common among all layers of society. There were several kinds of board game: in addition to CHESS Koukoules (*infra*) distinguishes among dice (*kyboi*), backgammon (*tablia*) or checkers (*petteia*), and knucklebones (*astragalismos*), but the exact difference between them is hard to define. It is reported (Malal. 345.16–17) that Theodosios I transformed the temple of Artemis in Constantinople into a *tabloparochion* or gaming room for dice players. Gambling by clergy, however, was prohibited by canon law (PG 137:125C–128B). The major reason for the prohibition was the Byz. tendency to abstain from playing with TYCHE or fortune. Anna Komnene, who approved of chess, was very critical of other board games. They became ubiquitous during the late period: in 1437 Pero TAFUR saw gaming boards in the imperial library of Constantinople (N. Wilson, *GRBS* 8 [1967] 54). John Choumnos (end of the 13th C.), in a letter to a "philosopher" (Boissonade, *AnecNova* 215f), describes gambling along with feasting and dancing as main elements of an ENTERTAINMENT during the CALENDs: "the spotted bones," he says, "promptly changed the mood of men, making some happy and others sad." SACHLIKES complains (or rather boasts) of his losses at gambling.

Excavations have uncovered many dice and other gaming pieces of uncertain date. Game boards have been found, scratched crudely on paving slabs of roadways and buildings. These are mainly of two types: circles divided into wedge-shaped sections and rectangles divided into square sections.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1:185–219. H. Lamer, *RE* 13 (1927) 1900–2029. –Ap.K.

**GAMMATA** (γάμματα), ornaments in the shape of the Greek letter *gamma*, signifying the number three; as a symbol of the Trinity this letter became popular at the time of the Trinitarian discussion. JOHN LYDOS (*De mag.* 88.16) describes festive cloaks with *aurigammoi*, small golden *gammata*. Very similar in form was the Latin uncial L interpreted as the foundation stone (Eph 2:20), that is, Christ himself. The shape persisted in later periods, used to surround the crosses on a POLYSTAURION (Balsamon, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:551.19–20) and on metal book covers.

LIT. A. Quacquarelli, "La gammadia pietra angolare: L," *VelChr* 21 (1984) 5–25. –A.K.

**GAMZIGRAD**, modern name of a fortified site in the province of Dacia Ripensis, north of Niš in Yugoslavia. Thanks to an early 4th-C. inscription reading "Felix Romuliana" (D. Srejić, *Starinar* 36 [1985] 51–60 and fig.1), it can be identified as the Romyliana mentioned by Prokopios (*Buildings* 4:4). Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, in his epitome, relates that GALERIUS was buried in a place called Romulianum in honor of the emperor's mother, Romula.

Monumental walls with 20 octagonal towers and elaborate gates to the west and east surround the site. Inside this fortification excavations have revealed two temples, one of which may be the mausoleum of Galerius, and palatial structures; mosaic pavements include Dionysiac and hunting scenes. Fragments of marble cult statues and of porphyry figure(s) of an emperor survive; architectural sculpture depicts royal themes. This imperial complex was erected at the beginning of the 4th C.; construction occurred in two phases, apparent in both fortifications and interior architecture. It deteriorated soon after the death of Galerius but was reconstructed at the end of the 4th or early 5th C. and survived through the 6th C. The nature of the site changed, however: two Christian churches, simple dwellings, and workshops were built. According to Prokopios, Justinian I restored Romyliana. A basilica dating to the late 6th C. was the latest monumental construction. Afterwards the area acquired a rural character.

LIT. D. Srejić, A. Lalavić, Dj. Janković, *Gamzigrad* (Belgrade 1983). M. Čanak Medić, *Gamzigrad kasnoantička palata* (Belgrade 1978). D. Srejić, "Two Memorial Monuments of Roman Palatial Architecture: Diocletianus' Palace at Split and Galerius' Palace at Gamzigrad," *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 22–23 (1982–83) 41–49. Idem, "Felix Romuliana: Carska palata ili . . . ?" *Starinar* 37 (1986) 87–102. –R.E.K., A.K.

**GANGRA** (Γάγγρα, sometimes Γάγγραι, now Çankırı), city on a tributary of the Halys, commanding the main routes from Galatia to the Black Sea, became capital of PAPHLAGONIA ca.297. Tradition associated Gangra with the martyr Kallinikos and the bishop St. HYPATIOS; it was the site of a council (see GANGRA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF) in ca.341. In the 5th and 6th C., Gangra appears primarily as the place of exile for several leading churchmen, such as TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS and PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG. Patr. Makedonios fled to Gangra in 515 and later was buried in the Church of St. Kallinikos. Although off the main invasion routes, Gangra was attacked by the Arabs in 712, 724, and 742. St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, whose life illustrates local conditions in the 8th C., was a major landowner in a village under the jurisdiction of Gangra. It was taken in 1075 by the Danişmendids, who held it against the Crusaders in 1101. John II Komnenos captured it ca.1134 during his Paphlagonian campaigns, but it soon fell permanently to the Turks. Gangra was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Paphlagonia; it had five suffragans in 451, four ca.850, and three at the end of the 11th C. The hill above the city preserves the dilapidated remains of an undated Byz. fortress.

LIT. R. Janin, D. Stiernon, *DHGE* 19 (1981) 1091–1103. –C.F.

**GANGRA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF.** This council was convened ca.341 (date disputed) to condemn the radical asceticism associated with the Eustathians (see EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH). Its only surviving document is a synodal letter consisting of 20 canons and a concluding epilogue (sometimes viewed as an additional canon) addressed to the episcopate of neighboring Armenia. The ascetics under judgment were primarily accused of rejecting family life and marriage (including married clergy), promoting social revolution by encouraging slaves to disobey their masters, in-



sisting that the rich could not enter the Kingdom of God, inspiring women to dress like men, and maintaining their own private liturgical assemblies while rejecting those of the church. Although evidence is lacking, the theological and socioeconomic implications of these ascetic novelties were no doubt discussed at length. Their explicit condemnation by the council is nevertheless balanced by a forceful affirmation (in the letter's epilogue) of traditional asceticism and continence. The canons constitute our earliest and, hence, crucial evidence for the origins of MONASTICISM in Asia Minor. Despite their provincial origin, they were included in all the major canonical collections of the church; BALSAMON and ZONARAS commented on them (PG 137:1233–73).

SOURCE. Mansi 2:1095–1122.

LIT. G. Gribomont, "Le Monachisme au IV<sup>e</sup> s. en Asie Mineure: De Gangres au Messalianisme," *SIP* 2 (Berlin 1957) 400–15. J. de Churruca, "L'anathème du Concile de Gangres contre ceux qui sous prétexte de christianisme incitent les esclaves à quitter leurs maîtres," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 60 (1982) 261–78. —A.P.

**GANOS, MOUNT**, holy mountain in Thrace, on the western shore of the Sea of Marmara, about 15 km southwest of Rhaidestos. Located near the small town of Ganos (Γάν(υ)ος, mod. Gaziköy), by the 10th or 11th C. the mountain was the site of a federation of monastic communities, headed by a PROTOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1228–32). One of its most famous *protoi* was John PHOURNES, who assisted Euthymios ZIGABENOS in the compilation of his *Panoplia*. Its monasteries suffered destruction during the attacks of the Bulgarians in 1199, the Crusaders in 1203, and the Catalan Company in the early 14th C. In the late 13th C. the future patriarch ATHANASIOS I founded a double monastery there and clashed with the pro-Unionist bishop of Ganos who had been installed by Patr. John XI Bekkos. MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES spent the early part of his career on Ganos.

LIT. R. Janin, L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 19 (1981) 1105–10. M. Gedeon, "Mnemeia latreias christianikes en Ganocho-rois," *Ekkl* 32 (1912) 304f, 311–13, 325–27, 352–55, 389–92. Zacos, *Seals*, vol. 2, no.688. —A.M.T.

**GARDEN** (κῆπος, also called *peribolion*). Essential to Byz. HORTICULTURE, gardens formed a valuable part of a domestic establishment, providing its members with FRUIT and vegetables. Even a poor

monastery had a garden (e.g., vita of Meletios the Younger, ed. V. Vasil'evskij, *PPSb* 17 [1886] 21.17–19), and most peasants, according to Athonite *praktika*, had vineyards and small garden plots (Laïou, *Peasant Society* 32f). Big FARMS, like that of the Argyropouloi in 15th-C. Thessalonike, which raised vegetables for market, are also known. There was no clear distinction between VINEYARDS, gardens, and kitchen gardens: vines often grew together with (and upon) fruit trees, and vegetables were raised under trees; accordingly "mixed" terms such as *ampelokepion* (vineyard-garden) were used. Gardens were usually established where there was access to water; in instances where IRRIGATION was used, the plot was sometimes qualified with the adjective *hypopotion* (drinking). Probably the term *chersoperibolon* designated allotments where no irrigation system had been installed. Vineyards and gardens were usually surrounded by a fence and a ditch (already mentioned in the FARMER'S LAW), and later even by a brick wall, and special guards were commonly used to prevent trespassing.

Pleasure gardens occupy an important place in Byz. ROMANCE as a place for romantic encounters, and the garden of EDEN played a significant part in Byz. cosmology.

LIT. O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna 1942). A.R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: The Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *BAGS* 5 (1979) 95–114. —J.W.N., A.K.

**GARIGLIANO**, or Liris, a river in southern Italy (in the area of Gacta). In the second half of the 9th C. there existed on the right bank of the Garigliano an Arab colony dangerous both to Rome and to Byz. possessions in southern Italy. In the next century Pope JOHN X forced the Arabs to retreat to the Garigliano from Narni and Ciculi. In 914 the coalition that arose against the Arabs of the Garigliano region included the newly elected pope, Constantinople, and Berengar of Friuli as well as Spoleto and several other southern Italian princedoms. In June 915 the Byz. fleet blocked the estuary of the Garigliano, and a united army (including the troops of Nicholas Picingli, *strategos* of Longobardia) forced the Muslims to flee to the mountain peaks. In Aug. 915, pressed by famine, they tried to escape but were killed or captured. A legend asserts that the apostles Peter and Paul appeared and encouraged the Christian army.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:236–38. O. Vehse, "Das Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 19 (1927) 181–204. —A.K.

**GARIZIM**. See NEAPOLIS.

**GARLAND**, rope woven of leaves, usually laurel, sometimes with fruit or flowers and, like the WREATH, suggestive of ceremonial splendor. Common in Late Antique art, garlands were sometimes carried by *putti* and combined with masks in the classical tradition. They frequently festooned official and funerary monuments, for example, the Mausoleum of Diocletian at SPLIT, consular DIPTYCHS, and sarcophagi.

Garlands decorated vaults and arch soffits in monumental painting and mosaics throughout Byz. art, e.g., Church of the ACHEIROPOIETOS, Thessalonike, apse mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA (Constantinople), and the CHORA MONASTERY. Framing elements consisting of garlands appeared in FLOOR MOSAICS, TEXTILES, and BOOK ILLUMINATION, for example, the PARIS PSALTER. They were most common from the 4th to 6th C. and again in the 9th to 10th C.

LIT. E. Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotiven im Innenraum* (Berlin 1967) 79–110. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 67f. —R.E.K.

**GASMOULOS** (γασμούλος, also βασμούλος, etym. unknown), a descendant of a Byz. and a Latin (most often a Byz. female and a Latin, esp. Venetian, male). The word first appears in sources of the second half of the 13th C. Following the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261, *gasmouloi* were recruited in large numbers as mercenaries to form the core of the light-armed contingent serving aboard Michael's refurbished fleet, this *Gasmoulikon* appears in several naval campaigns during the 1260s and 1270s. Despite Andronikos II's reduction of the fleet in 1285, some *gasmouloi* remained in the service of the emperor, others served aboard Latin ships or acted as pirates in the Aegean. Later they seem to have played a significant military role in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. By the mid-14th C. service in the fleet as a *gasmoulos* (*gasmoulike douleia*) had lost its ethnic character. *Gasmouloi* served the Ottomans in the second half of the 14th C.,

and *gasmouloi* with a hereditary military obligation (*servitio et tenimento vasmulia*) served the Latin rulers in the Aegean in the 15th–16th C. A number of *gasmouloi* were Venetian nationals. Their nationality was a source of friction between the empire and Venice from 1277 until the 1320s.

LIT. D. Jacoby, "Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'empire byzantin," *TM* 8 (1981) 221–24. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 339, 361f, 384, 405. —M.B.

**GATE, CITY**, designated by πύλη, the same word as "door," formed an opening in the city walls, usually in the form of an ARCH. The gate marked the point where the principal urban thoroughfare changed into a highway. Through the gate the city communicated with the outer world: goods were imported, livestock driven to market, troops departed and returned, visitors and processions entered. Some portals were the setting of ceremonies, such as ADVENTUS. The gates sometimes consisted of wide passages for carriages and narrow wickets for pedestrians. Gates were the weakest point in the system of fortifications; they had to be barred at night and guarded by special watchmen who had possession of the keys; they were flanked by towers.

The Roman practice of embellishing the main entrances in city walls was pursued at SPLIT, GAMZIGRAD, and other towns and camps. Gates were decorated with statuary set in niches and colonnades resting on corbels to either side and above the gate. Other examples are preserved at NICAIA, NIKOPOLIS, and the north and south gates at SERGIOPOLIS. Apart from the GOLDEN GATE and those of the BLACHERNAI quarter, the names of seven of Constantinople's gates are known. Most derive from the region of the city in which they were situated, local churches (e.g., St. Romanos), or destinations beyond them (PEGE, RHEGION). Towers flanking these gates bear many inscriptions attesting to their imperial sponsorship or restoration. There is little basis for the widespread supposition that some gates were reserved for military use only.

In Byz. symbolism the *pyle* (gate or door) played an important role: both heaven and hell were supposed to have gates; Christ was a gate in the tower that represented the Church, and the gate facing east was a *typos* of the Virgin. In iconography, the gate stood for the city in the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, for the province in the FLIGHT



INTO EGYPT. Book illustrators employed a *pyle* (a *pi*-shaped framed HEADPIECE) at the “entrance” of many texts.

LIT. W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien* (Berlin 1976). Janin, *CP byz.* 267–83. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism* (Princeton 1956) 10–51. R. Schultze, “Die römischen Stadttore,” *BJb* 118 (1909) 324–46.  
—M.J., A.K., A.C.

**GATTILUSIO** (Γατελιούζος) or Gattilusi, Genoese family that ruled LESBOS from 1355 to 1462. The Levantine branch of the family was founded by Francesco I, an adventurer who was reportedly instrumental in securing control of Constantinople for JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS in Nov. 1354 (Douk. 67–69). He was rewarded with marriage (summer 1355) to the emperor’s sister Irene (who took the name Maria) and with lordship over Lesbos. In 1366 he helped AMADEO VI OF SAVOY recapture Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS) from the Turks. Doukas called Francesco a “good and faithful friend” of John V; he accompanied the emperor to Rome in 1369. Francesco died in the earthquake that struck Lesbos on 6 Aug. 1384, together with two of his sons, Andronico and Domenico.

He was succeeded by his son Francesco II (1384–1403), whose daughter Irene (later Eugenia) married John VII Palaiologos and was the mother of the short-lived ANDRONIKOS V (N. Oikonomides, *Thesaurismata* 5 [1968] 28–31 and “Ivory Pyxis” 331f). To underline their Palaiologan connections, the Gattilusio family made frequent use of the double-headed EAGLE on their coins and her-

aldry. The family ruled over Lesbos until 1462, when Niccolò Gattilusio was forced to surrender to the Turks. They also acquired control of other northern Aegean islands and coastal lands, including Ainos, Thasos, Samothrace, Lemnos, and Palaia Phokaia. The salt beds of Ainos and alum mines of Phokaia provided substantial income. An important source for the later history of the family is DOUKAS, who was in the service of the Gattilusio and went on embassies for Dorino I (1428–55) and Domenico (1455–58). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. G.T. Dennis, “The Short Chronicle of Lesbos 1355–1428,” *Lesbiaka* 5 (1966) 128–42. W. Miller, “The Gattilusij of Lesbos (1355–1462),” *BZ* 22 (1913) 406–47. *PLP*, nos.3580–94. A. Luttrell, “John V’s Daughters: A Palaiologan Puzzle,” *DOP* 40 (1986) 103–12. —A.M.T., A.C.

**GAUFREDUS MALATERRA**, Benedictine monk who accompanied other Normans to southern Italy and who evidently belonged to the entourage of Count Roger I of Sicily; died before 1101. At Count Roger I’s request Gaufredus authored *On the Deeds of Roger Count of Calabria and Sicily and his Brother Robert Guiscard*, a history of the Normans from ca.1038 to 1099. Dedicated to Angerius, bishop of Catania, the work mixes prose with verse and apparently was left unfinished. Although the earlier part contains legendary material, the contemporary section offers unique details on prosopography and military events of the Byz.-Norman conflict in southern Italy, possibly furnished by Roger’s court. Gaufredus considered

the Byz. too soft to make good warriors (bk.3, ch.13), but his account sheds much light on Byz. CALABRIA, esp. on George MANIAKES (bk.1, chs. 7–8), and the subjugation of Calabria (bk.1, chs. 9–37). He describes how Guiscard exploited Michael VII’s deposition (bk.3, chs. 13–14) and the Norman assault on Greece (bk.3, chs. 24–29, 33, 39–41).

ED. *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. E. Pontieri [= RIS<sup>2</sup> 5.1] (Bologna 1927–28) 3–108.  
LIT. O. Capitani, “Specific Motivations and Continuing Themes in the Norman Chronicles of Southern Italy: Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy* (Oxford 1977) 1–46. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:415. —M.McC.

**GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO**, Bulgarian hermit and saint; born Osice near Kriva Palanka, fl. 11th–early 12th C. Gavriil founded the monastery of the Archangel Michael (later known as the Lesnovo monastery) on the slopes of Mt. Plavitsa, near the village of Lesnovo (now in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia). Established in the period of Byz. rule in Bulgaria, it became a center of learning and book production throughout the Middle Ages. In the second half of the 14th C. the saint’s remains were removed to the Church of the Holy Apostles in the capital city of Tŭrnovo. The present monastery church was built in 1347 by the Serbian *despotes* Jovan OLIVER on the site of Gavriil’s original church. The fine frescoes are probably of the same date.

LIT. G. Traichev, *Manastirite v Makedonija* (Sofia 1930) 91–101. K. Balabanov, A. Nikolovski, D. Kornakov, *Spomenici na kulturata na Makedonija* (Skopje 1980) 112–17, 304 (plate). —R.B.

**GAYANĒ**. See VALARŠAPAT.

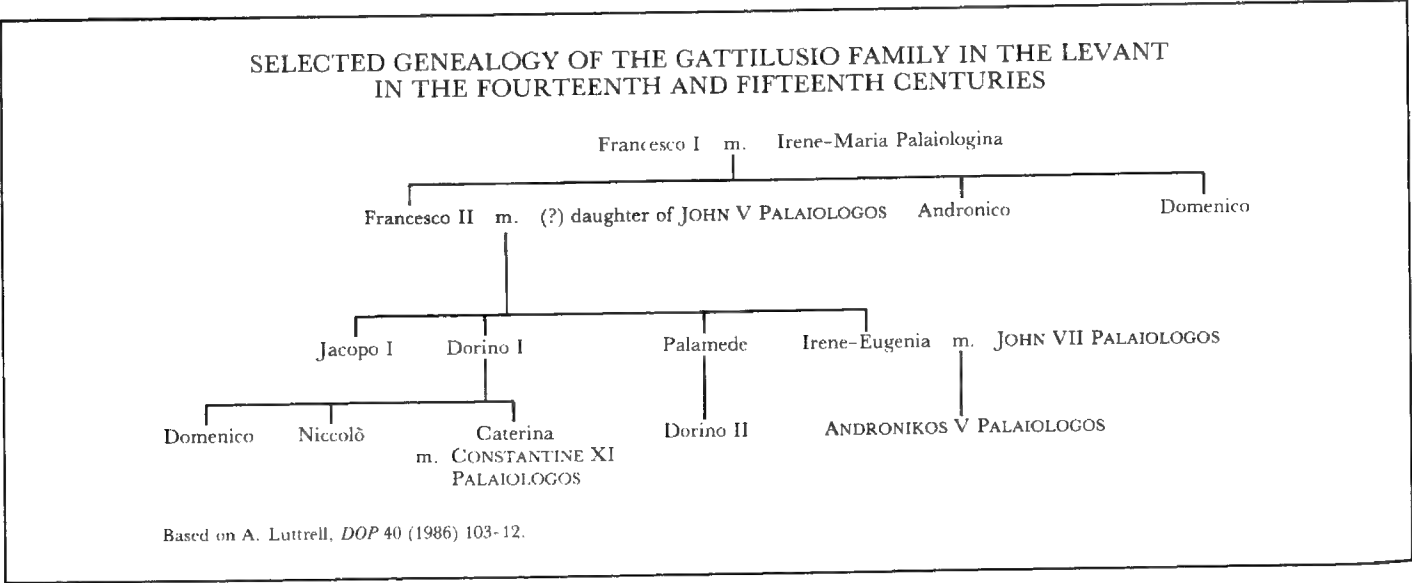
**GAZA** (Γάζα, Ar. Ghazzah), ancient city on southern coast of Palestine that remained prosperous until the end of the 6th C., when the PIACENZA PILGRIM (ch.33) called it a “lovely and renowned city.” Gaza lay inland, almost 5 km from its harbor at Constantia. It was a center of trade with Mecca; according to Arabic legend, Hashim, great-grandfather of Muḥammad, died there. Gaza resisted the penetration of Christianity and until the beginning of the 5th C. possessed a pagan shrine of Zeus Marnas (the Marneion), which was finally destroyed by PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, probably in 402. Even after the extinction of paganism, Gaza remained an important focus of ancient culture;

teachers at its school of rhetoric included CHORIKIOS OF GAZA and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, while DOROTHEOS OF GAZA was an influential monastic writer. On the MADABA MOSAIC MAP, Gaza is shown as a large city with colonnaded streets crossing its center and a large basilica in the middle, probably the church erected over the Marneion. A mosaic dated by Greek inscription to 508/9 was found during the excavations of a synagogue on the seashore; it represents David as Orpheus, and dressed as a Byz. emperor (A. Ovadiah, *IEJ* 19 [1969] 193–98).

When Gaza was conquered by the Arabs under ‘AMR in 635, the soldiers of the garrison were massacred; the Christian civilian population survived, however, and the city remained the seat of the governor of the Negev. In 723–26 the pilgrim Willibald saw a church in Gaza. The sequence of ceramic finds near Gaza indicates that soon thereafter the area was abandoned (L.Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 33 [1983] 219–30). Probably recovered by the 10th C., Gaza was again in ruins when it fell to the Crusaders. They fortified it anew from ca.1149, and a lower town of merchants and peasants grew up around the citadel. The citadel of Gaza played an important part in the Crusaders’ conquest of ASKALON. Saladin captured Gaza in 1187, but Richard I Lionheart retook it and the Latins held it until 1229. Gaza was never a goal of pilgrimage, but an EULOGIA stamp with a representation of the Virgin was found near there (L.Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 20 [1970] 105–08).

LIT. D. Sourdel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 2:1056f. G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1963). K. Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza* (Heidelberg 1892). *EAEHL* 2:408–17. —G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

**GAZES, THEODORE**, Greek émigré teacher and translator in Italy; born Thessalonike ca.1400, died Policastro in Calabria 1475/6. The early career of Gazes (Γαζης) is poorly documented. Before 1440 he moved to Italy and taught Greek in Ferrara, Naples, and Rome, where he joined the literary circle of BESSARION. In Ferrara he wrote the *Introduction to Greek Grammar* (D. Donnet, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 133–55), which became the standard textbook for humanists and was highly praised by Erasmus. He also delivered a speech called *On the Importance of Greek Studies*, in which he emphasized the value of reading Greek literature as preparation for participation in political life. Gazes contributed much to developing mutual knowl-



edge of the Latin and Greek worlds; he translated Cicero and Claudian into Greek and made Latin translations or paraphrases of Xenophon, Aristotle, and some patristic texts (e.g., Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew). The study of Aristotle, whom Gazes tried to reconcile with Christian doctrines on the Trinity, on the immortality of the individual soul, and on the incarnation, led him into polemics with PLETHON, the consistent follower of Plato.

Gazes supported the policy of Union of Churches, in which he saw the only means to stop the Ottoman conquest. His letter to Francesco FILELFO, a treatise on the origin of the Turks (PG 161:997–1006), attests to his interest in their history. Moreover, Gazes argues against Plethon's fatalistic concept of the Turkish invasion as a revenge for Alexander the Great's conquest; he lays the foundation of historical criticism, drawing a contrast between Plethon's account and the history of the Turks as presented by "Skylax" (i.e., Skylitzes), whom Gazes finds closer to Strabo.

ED. PG 19:1168–1216; 161:985–1014. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 269.

LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, "Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine Scholar of the Palaeologan 'Renaissance' in the Italian Renaissance," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 61–81. J. Irmscher, "Theodoros Gazes als griechischer Patriot," *ParPass* 78 (1961) 161–73. *PLP*, no.3450. —A.K., A.M.T.

**GEITONIA** (γειτονία), neighborhood, quarter; the term was esp. often applied to Antioch, where Malalas (Malal. 417.14) mentions various *geitoniai*. Some *geitoniai* are known by name: in Evagrius Scholasticus (*HE* 2.12), Ostrakine; in Malalas (272.6), Skepane; and in Theophanes (Theoph. 68.16), Iobiton. G. Downey (*A History of Antioch* [Princeton 1961] 478) suggests that Ostrakine was the potters' quarter. Theophanes (236.6) also mentions the *geitoniai* of the Blues in Constantinople, and in an excerpt from Malalas (T. Mommsen, *Hermes* 6 [1972] 380f) a *geitonia ta Mazentiou* in Constantinople reappears. A.P. Djakonov's theory (in *VizSb* 155f) that *geitoniai* were centers of FACTIONS is now rejected.

The term *geitonia* disappeared after the 6th C. but the term *geitonema* ("neighborhood") continued in use. The hagiographer of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (vita, ed. Dvornik, 63.22–26) reveals that *geitonema* gave some right to a neighboring piece of land.

LIT. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 26f. G. Prinzing, "Zu den Wohnvierteln der Grünen und Blauen in Konstantinopel," *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich 1973) 31f, 37–41. —A.K.

**GEITONIARCHES** (γειτονίαρχης), the chief official of the GEITONIA. According to the 6th-C. GREGENTIOS (PG 86:577D), the king of the Himyarites established in his capital 36 *regiones* and appointed to each a *geitoniarches* with a SEKRETON. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the term designates subaltern officials of two departments—that of the EPARCH OF THE CITY and that of the DEMARCHOI. The scanty evidence creates problems. If 10th-C. *geitoniarchai* were in fact district magistrates, it seems strange that Philotheos speaks of only 12 *geitoniarchai* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 209.22), whereas there were 14 districts in Constantinople. Secondly, if the *geitoniarchai* of the *demarchoi* were local supervisors, then it is curious that there was only one *geitoniarches* of each color (Cameron, *Circus Factions* 92, n.3).

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 321, n. 194, 326. —A.K.

**GELASIOS OF CAESAREA**, nephew of CYRIL of Jerusalem, died 395. Gelasios (Γελάσιος) was elected bishop of Caesarea in 367. As a Nicæan, he naturally fell foul of the Arian emperor Valens and was ousted, but came back on the accession of THEODOSIOS I. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 5.8) commends the purity of both Gelasios's doctrine and his life. JEROME (*De vir. ill.* 130) observes that he wrote quite well, but did not publish. At least some works circulated, however, since a number of authors do cite him. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.89) distinguishes two or three Gelasioses of Caesarea and lists their works, among which was the *Church History*, which ends with the death of Constantine the Great. Its relationship to the last two books of the continuation by RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA is much disputed (J. Schamp, *PBR* 6 [1987] 146–52; idem, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 360–90). Only fragments survive, as is the case with his *Exposition of the Symbol*, possibly similar to the catechetical lectures of his uncle Cyril. A polemic *Against the Anomaeans* mentioned by Photios is lost.

ED. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 16–49.  
LIT. F. Winkelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (Berlin 1966). A. Glas, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914). —B.B.

**GELASIOS OF KYZIKOS**, church historian; died after 475. The name of Gelasios (Γελάσιος) is preserved only by Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 15 and 88); the MSS of his writings, of which the oldest and the most important codex is Milan, Ambros. gr. 534 of the 12th and/or 13th C. (i.e., later than Photios), are anonymous. Of his life is known only what he himself says in the preface to his *History*: he was a son of a priest in Kyzikos and composed his work during the rebellion of BASILISKOS in order to refute the statement of the partisans of EUTYCHES that the fathers of the Council of Nicaea allegedly had been inclined to the Monophysite creed. The title of the book was *Ekklesiastike historia* (Church History), replaced in later tradition by the title *Syntagma of the Holy Council in Nicaea*. The book begins with Constantine I the Great's assumption of power; the manuscript breaks off at the description of the synod in Tyre in 335. According to Photios, the history originally extended to the end of Constantine's reign; the *Bibliotheca* also records that Gelasios rejected the view that the emperor was baptized by a heretic and affirmed that Constantine was Orthodox. For his compilation Gelasios used some sources that are still extant (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, RUFINUS, SOKRATES, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS) as well as some texts now lost, such as the *Church History* of GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, the *Church History* of a certain John, and the documents of the Council of Nicaea, particularly the address of Constantine to the Council and the dialogue between the Fathers of Nicaea and the Arian philosopher Phaidon.

ED. PG 85:1191–1360. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Loeschcke, M. Heinemann (Leipzig 1918).

LIT. F. Winkelmann, "Die Quellen der *Historia Ecclesiastica* des Gelasios von Cyzicus (nach 475)," *BS* 27 (1966) 104–30. C.T.H.R. Ehrhardt, "Constantinian Documents in Gelasios of Cyzicus, *Ecclesiastical History*," *JbAChr* 23 (1980) 48–57. G. Loeschcke, "Das Syntagma des Gelasios Cyzicenus," *RhM* n.s. 60 (1905) 594–613; 61 (1906) 34–77. —A.K., B.B.

**GELASIUS I**, pope (from 1 Mar. 492); died 21 Nov. 496; probably an African by birth. As archdeacon and papal secretary under FELIX III, Gelasius exerted influence even before his election to the papacy. He contributed much to developing the concept of papal PRIMACY. Unlike his predecessor LEO I, Gelasius sought support from the barbarians, esp. THEODORIC THE GREAT. When

Emp. Zeno and particularly Anastasios I inclined toward alliance with Alexandria against Rome, he favored severing relations with Constantinople. He rejected the HENOTIKON and accused Patr. AKAKIOS of heresy; his opposition to Constantinople was formulated in instructions (*commonitorium*) sent to Theodoric's *magister officiorum* Probus Faustus Niger. In his treatises, Gelasius developed the idea of papal authority as parallel to that of the emperor—as a governor of all the Romans based on the *jus publicum*—but with the emperor receiving his power from men and the pope from God. Accordingly, Gelasius stated that the canons of the Council of CHALCEDON (451) had validity only insofar as they were acknowledged by the papacy, and he denied the legality of canon 28 (H. Anton, *ZKirch* 88 [1977] 79–82). It was probably under his auspices that the legend of Pope SILVESTER developed.

LIT. W. Ullmann, *Gelasius I* (Stuttgart 1981). Idem, "Der Grundsatz der Arbeitsteilung bei Gelasius I," *HistJb* 97–98 (1978) 41–70. J. Taylor, "The Early Papacy at Work: Gelasius I (492–96)," *Journal of Religious History* 8 (Sydney 1975) 317–32. —A.K.

**GELAT'I**, a monastic academy southwest of Kutaisi in Georgia, founded by DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER in 1106 and completed under King Demetrios (1125–56). The *katholikon*, a domed cruciform building with low chapels inserted at the four corners, is completely frescoed, save the apse, which carries a mosaic of the VIRGIN NIKOROIOS. The subject and medium are both rare in Georgia, suggesting Byz. work, as does the presence of a lengthy Greek inscription. The pose of the Virgin, however—standing and closely flanked by archangels—and the enamel-like colors, are local features, as is the juxtaposition of the mosaic with frescoes (now obscured by 16th- and 17th-C. work) in the nave. Twelfth-century frescoes in the narthex represent the Seven Ecumenical COUNCILS.

LIT. R. Mepisašvili, *Architekturnyj ansambl' Gelati* (Tbilisi 1966). —A.T.

**GELIMER** (Γελίμερ), last Vandal king (530–34); born North Africa at unknown date, died Galatia at unknown date. The son of Gelaris, great-grandson of GAISERIC, and nephew of kings Gunthamund and Thrasamund, Gelimer became king

after his overthrow of the philobyzantine Hilderic on 19 May (Stein, *infra* 311) or 15 June 530 (Courtois, *infra* 269). This act and his haughty rejection of the demand of Justinian I that Hilderic be handed over created a diplomatic pretext for the Byz. reconquest of North Africa. Belisarios's landing of an expeditionary force in Sept. 533 surprised Gelimer, who ineptly directed the Vandal resistance; Belisarios subsequently defeated the Vandals at Ad Decimum on 13 Sept. 533. Gelimer unsuccessfully tried to besiege Belisarios at Carthage, was crushed at Tricamarum in mid-Dec., and fled to Mt. Pappua on the border of Numidia during the winter of 533–34. In Apr. 534 Gelimer surrendered to Belisarios, effectively ending Vandal resistance. Gelimer was brought to Carthage, and then in the summer of 534 with his wife and children to Constantinople, where he was exhibited in a triumph in the Hippodrome. Justinian gave him an estate in Galatia but denied him the rank of *patrikios* because he refused to renounce Arianism. Despite his earlier reputation for military prowess, Gelimer was a poor military commander whose complex and moody personality (according to Prokopios, *Wars* 3:19.25–29) caused his lack of steadiness and inability to rule or to save his kingdom and people.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955; rp. Aalen 1964) esp. 269–71, 353–55. Stein, *Histoire* 2:314–18. L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen* (Munich 1942) 121–41. P. Pischel, *Kulturgeschichte und Volkskunst der Wandalen* (Frankfurt-Bern 1980) 117–22. —W.E.K.

**GEMS** (λιθάρια) in Byz. were used for JEWELRY, on horse fittings, weapon mounts and scabbards, and religious items, such as crosses and liturgical vessels; they could also be attached to textiles. All types of precious and semiprecious stones were used, the most common being carnelians, emeralds, sardonyx, jasper, haematite, lapis lazuli, amethysts, and rock crystal. Stones were used in their natural crystalline form wherever that occurred, polished or carved into CAMEOS and ringstones. They were rarely faceted, even though the use of diamonds for cutting diamonds was known. Gems were used in conjunction with gold, silver, and other materials. Thirty stones, of seven different kinds, are combined with marble and glass paste on Justin II's reliquary cross (C. Belting-Ihm, *JbRGZM* 12 [1965] 142–66). A law of Leo I (*Cod. Just.* XI 12[11]) expressly states that private

individuals were forbidden to use pearls, emeralds, and *hyakinthoi* (sapphires, aquamarines, amethysts?) on harness trappings but were allowed to use other gemstones. The imperial monopoly on the use of specific gems may have been entirely for economic reasons or could imply belief in the amuletic value of such stones. The two most important works on the healing powers of gems were written by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis and Michael PSELLOS.

LIT. U.F. Holmes, "Mediaeval Gem Stones," *Speculum* 9 (1934) 195–204. Z. Kádár, "Über die Symbolik der Edelsteine der ungarischen Krone," in *Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest 1983) 147–52. —S.D.C., A.C.

**GENEALOGY OF CHRIST**, enumerated in Matthew 1:1–17 (40 names) and Luke 3:23–38 (56 names), is commemorated on the Sunday before Christmas. Illustrations of Christ's ancestors are rare: for example, Paris, B.N. gr. 64, fols. 10v–11r, and the two FRIEZE GOSPELS where the ancestors appear as witnesses to the Incarnation. The 43 ancestors named in the liturgy adorn the inner narthex domes of the CHORA, and ancestors appear in the nave of the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM (12th C.). Christ's Davidic ancestry through his mother, Mary, is frequently emphasized: David is axially aligned with Christ in monumental cycles and accompanies him in Gospel headpieces (Parma, Bibl. Pal. 5—Nelson, *Preface & Miniature*, frontispiece); the marginal PSALTERS illuminate Psalm 71 with an image of Mary, who also prefaces aristocratic Psalters; and the TREE OF JESSE flourishes in Palaiologan art.

LIT. S. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975) 188–203. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:49–59. —A.W.C.

**GENESIOS** (Γενέσιος), conventional name of the 10th-C. author of the anonymous "History of emperors" that is preserved in a single MS (Leipzig, Univ. Lib. gr. 16); an 11th-C. hand wrote the text of Genesios, but on fol. 248 another, later hand has inserted the notation "Genesiou" (F. Šteinman, *VizVrem* 21 [1914] 37–39). There have been numerous attempts to reconstruct the biography and genealogy of Genesios, who has been given the first name of Joseph (a Joseph Genesios is mentioned in the preamble to Skylitzes) and

proclaimed the son or grandson of a certain Armenian Constantine (A. Markopoulos, *ZRVI* 24–25 [1986] 103–08). Written at the court of CONSTANTINE VII, the chronicle encompasses the period 813–86 and presents events from the viewpoint of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

The problem of its interrelationship with THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS is complicated: because Genesios stated that he employed eyewitnesses and rumors (p. 3.11–12), he used to be considered the source of Theophanes Continuatus; comparing the texts, however, leads to the conclusion that he borrowed his material from the continuator (esp. from VITA BASILII) or that they both depended on the same source. F. Barišić suggested that Genesios used SERGIOS THE CONFESSOR (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 260f). Genesios's composition is loose, full of insertions and non sequiturs. Especially poor is the last section, on Michael III and Basil I; its allegedly precise data turn out to be either invented or suspect.

ED. *Regum libri quattuor*, eds. A. Lesmüller-Werner, H. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1978).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Études sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 452–96. F. Barišić, "Génésios et le Continuateur de Théophane," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 119–33. A. Werner, "Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes bei Genesios," *BZ* 31 (1931) 258–323. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Theophanes Continuatus und Genesios," *BS* 48 (1987) 12–27. —A.K.

**GENESIS**, first book of the Old Testament, which deals with the Creation. Illustration of the Book of Genesis is found most abundantly in two fragmentary MSS that are unrelated iconographically.

**The Vienna Genesis** (Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 31; 6th C.) now consists of 24 folios of an estimated 96. It is a sumptuous book, written in silver ink on purple-dyed parchment. The layout is conceived around the illustrations, with the lower half of each page given over to the artist and the text in the upper half abbreviated from the Septuagint. No manuscript quite like it survives. Theories about the origin of its iconography and style have led to an attribution to the region of Syria/Palestine, although the purple parchment might seem to point to Constantinople itself.

**The Cotton Genesis** (London, B.L. Cott. Otho B.VI; 5th? C.) once contained the full text of Genesis and some 360 miniatures, but a fire in 1731 reduced it to charred and shrunken fragments. Scholarly ingenuity has reconstructed in

large part its original layout and to some extent the appearance of its miniatures. This was possible after study of iconographically related material, notably mosaics in the porches of S. Marco at VENICE, which, since the work of Tikkanen (1899), have been accepted as closely related descendants of miniatures in the Cotton Genesis. The Cotton Genesis has been attributed to Egypt, in part on the basis of its interest in the JOSEPH story and enthusiasm for Nilotic landscapes, beehive granaries, and pyramids.

Further cycles of Genesis illustration in the early period are implied by the OCTATEUCHS and monuments such as the mosaics of MONREALE. Yet, in contrast to the situation in and after the 10th C. when, it is often argued, artists frequently made reference to pre-Iconoclastic artistic treasures, it is striking that the Cotton and Vienna Genesis MSS seem to have been unknown in the East. Both had reached Venice and been consulted by artists by the early 14th C. at the latest (for the Vienna Genesis, see H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana* [London 1972] 47–52). Genesis illustration is usually held to be characterized by its literalism. Significant elements were derived from extrabiblical sources, notably Jewish and Christian legends and exegesis, which probably entered the pictorial traditions before the 6th C.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton 1986). H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna 1931). O. Mazal, *Wiener Genesis*, 2 vols., fasc. and comm. (Frankfurt am Main 1980). S. Dufrenne, "A propos de deux études récentes sur la Genèse de Vienne," *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 598–601, with add. in *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 504f. —J.H.L.

**GENIKON** (γενικόν), major fiscal department that dealt with assessment of land and other taxes, maintaining the lists of taxpayers, and collecting payments (Dölger, *Beiträge* 19f). It also served as a tribunal for fiscal cases, Basil I is said to have presided over trials in the *genikon*. It occupied a special building allegedly constructed by Constantine I and located within the Great Palace. The building was destroyed by Isaac II (Janin, *CP byz.* 173f).

The head of the *genikon* was the *logothetes tou genikou*. The office is distinct from that of the *genikos logothetes*, who was a high-ranking provincial KOMMERKIARIOS in the 6th–7th C. The first mentioned head of the *genikon* LOGOTHESION was



the (former?) monk Theodotos ca.692. N. Oikonomides (*Dated Seals*, no.23) attributed to him the seal of Theodotos "monk and *genikos logothetes*." Under the *logothetes* were various officials: *megas chartoularios*, *chartoularioi* of the ARKLAI, EPOP-TAI, DIOIKETAI, KOMES HYDATON, OIKISTIKOS, *kommerkiarioi*, KOMES TES LAMIAS, etc. The role of the *genikon* declined under the Komnenoi but recovered under Andronikos I and the Angeloi. After 1204 the term *logothetes tou genikou* survived only as a title, often conferred on intellectuals such as George and Constantine AKROPOLITES and Theodore METOCHITES. The chrysobull of 1302 mentioning the SEKRETON of the *genikos logothetes* (*Xerop.* 235.40) is a forgery. Pseudo-KODINOS refers to the *logothetes tou genikou* but admits ignorance of his functions. The last *logothetes tou genikou* was probably Iannes [*sic*] Androuses in 1380 (*PLP*, no.90111).

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 11–24. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:129–94. —A.K.

**GENNADIOS I**, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug./Sept. 458–between 17 and 20 Nov. 471); born ca.400. A man of wonderful memory and excellent education, he was highly praised by GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES. A consistent opponent of Alexandrian political and theological independence, Gennadios polemicized in his youth against Cyril of Alexandria and later deposed TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. On the other hand, he was a true ally of Pope LEO I and composed an *enkomion* of the pope's tome addressed to FLAVIAN and directed against EUTYCHES. In 458 or 459 Gennadios sent an encyclical epistle condemning SIMONY (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.143). Gennadios enjoyed fame as a miracle worker: Theodore Lector relates that the patriarch healed a painter whose hand withered because he dared to depict Christ with the attributes of Zeus; when the *anagnostes* Charisios refused to improve his behavior, Gennadios predicted his death, which indeed occurred the next day. Little has survived from his exegetic and dogmatic works. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS wrote a eulogy of Gennadios, whom he compared to Daniel the Stylite and Andrew the Fool (H. Delehay, *AB* 26 [1907] 221–28).

ED. PG 85:1613–1734. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Münster in Westfalen 1933) 352–422. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 54–108.

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:525f. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 143–47. J. Kirchmeyer, *DictSpir* 6 (1965) 204f. —A.K.

**GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS**, theologian and patriarch of Constantinople (6 Jan. 1454–56, 1463, and 1464–65); baptismal name George; born Constantinople between 1400 and 1405, died Mt. MENOIKEION ca.1472. He is sometimes referred to as Kourteses, perhaps his mother's name. A student of Mark EUGENIKOS, John CHORTASMENOS, and Joseph BRYENNIOS, Gennadios taught logic and physics in Constantinople. By 1438 he was *didaskalos*, senator, and *krites katholikos*. He attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he took a Unionist position. By 1444, however, Gennadios became an avowed opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and inherited from Mark Eugenikos the leadership of the anti-Unionist party. He was consequently deposed (1446/7) from his official positions and ca.1450 took monastic vows at the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY. Gennadios was captured by the Turks in 1453; after his release he served three times as patriarch. He sought to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Turkish authorities, urged a policy of OIKONOMIA with respect to infractions of the canons, and hoped for spiritual revival among the Orthodox. In the interlude between his patriarchates, he retired to the Prodromos monastery near Serres; he later died and was buried there.

Gennadios knew Latin well and admired Latin scholarship, esp. the works of AQUINAS, of which he prepared translations and commentaries. He wrote an ardent defense of ARISTOTLE, who had been attacked by PLETHON, and sought to incorporate into Byz. thinking SCHOLASTICISM and the Thomist interpretation of Aristotle (G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974] 305–23). His extensive writings include anti-Union treatises; expositions of the Christian faith for Mehmed II (A. Papadakis, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 88–106); and essays on divine providence, predestination, and the origin of the human soul.

ED. *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Petit, X.A. Sidéridès, M. Jugie, 8 vols. (Paris 1928–36).

LIT. C.J. Turner, "The Career of George-Gennadios Scholarios," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 420–55. Th.N. Zeses, *Gennadios B' Scholarios. Bios-Syngammata-Didaskalia* (Thessalonike 1980), corr. G. Podskalsky, *BZ* 77 (1984) 58–60. Beck, *Kirche* 760–63. —A.M.T.

**GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES**, Latin theologian; died between 492 and 505. His biography is unknown, and most of his works (including books against Nestorios and Eutyches) are lost.

His book *On Famous Men*, which is a continuation of JEROME, is our most important source concerning Christian writers of the 4th and esp. 5th C. Gennadius knew both Greek and Latin, he described only those works he himself had read, and he tried to be objective in his approach. He viewed Pelagios as a heresiarch; at the same time he had no praise for AUGUSTINE, rejecting his concept of PREDESTINATION.

ED. E.C. Richardson in *TU* 14.1 (1896) 57–97.

LIT. B. Czaplá, *Gennadius als Literaturhistoriker* (Münster 1898). M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 4.2 (Munich 1920) 552–54. —A.K.

**GENOA** (Γέν[υ]ουα), port city in Liguria in northwestern Italy, which after Diocletian belonged to the province of Alpes Cottiae. It was a bishopric in the 5th C., and its bishop Paschasius participated in the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Two edicts of Theodoric the Great mention a Jewish community and a synagogue in Genoa. By 539 the city was in the hands of the Byz.; it was taken for a short time by the Franks, but then remained Byz. until the 7th C. The Lombard king Rothari conquered Genoa ca.642 and destroyed its walls. The city recovered in the 10th C. despite Muslim raids in 930–35; in the 11th C. Genoa defeated the Arabs and expelled them from SARDINIA; its fleet also sacked Tunis.

The Genoese took part in the First Crusade, sending a squadron of 13 vessels that was instrumental in attacking the Syrian and Palestinian coast. Genoa's abundant archives record Genoese trade activity with Syria, Alexandria, and Constantinople; in 1155 Emp. Manuel I Komnenos, suspicious of VENICE, granted the Genoese a chrysobull promising them an EMBOLOS and SKALAI in Constantinople as well as a reduction of the KOMMERKION. In their penetration into "Romania" the Genoese encountered competition from Venice and PISA; Manuel I considered Genoa a natural ally in his struggle with Venice, and after 1171 the Genoese position in the empire became favorable. In 1201 the Genoese ambassador Ottobone della Croce received new privileges from Alexios III, and relations were active in 1203 when the threat of the Crusaders' attack on the Byz. capital became imminent (P. Schreiner, *QFIaArch* 63 [1983] 292–97).

Although Venice benefited enormously from the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Genoa took

advantage of Greek hostility toward Venice to secure its position in the Empire of Nicaea. Guglielmo Boccanegra, "captain of the people," concluded the Treaty of NYMPHAION with Michael VIII in 1261, and after the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople the same year Genoa attained a privileged position in the empire, replacing Venice. The Genoese naval victory of 1284 at the battle of Meloria (near Livorno) weakened, if not completely destroyed, Pisa, another rival (*Genova, Pisa e il Mediterraneo tra due e trecento* [Genoa 1984]), making Genoa the major Italian power in the Levant. Genoa established colonies in Pera (see GALATA), CHIOS, the Danubian delta (VICINA, CHILIA), the Crimea (KAFFA, SOUGDAIA), and TREBIZOND; alum mines in PHOKAIA were ceded to the Genoese. From 1292 on, however, the Venetians waged a counterattack that led to a series of wars involving the Greeks, Catalans, and Turks (C.P. Kyrris, *Byzantina* 4 [1972] 331–56; M. Ballard, *TM* 4 [1970] 431–69). The treaty of 1352 signed by John VI Kantakouzenos expanded Genoa's privileges in the Levant (I.P. Medvedev, *VizVrem* 38 [1977] 161–72). Thereafter Genoese activity began to decrease, owing to the collapse of the Mongols and the advance of the Ottomans, among other reasons; Pera was lost in 1453, Kaffa in 1475, and Chios in 1566.

The Byz. of the 14th C. attentively observed internal strife in Genoa. Theodore Metochites deplored it as an example of the inadequacies of democracy; Gregoras and Kantakouzenos mention Simone Boccanegra's rise to power (1339–44). However, an attempt to demonstrate that Boccanegra's uprising inspired the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike (where a Genoese colony allegedly existed) is inconclusive (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.III [1953], 603–17).

A textile with a cycle of the Life of St. Lawrence and extensive Latin inscriptions, sent by Michael VIII to his Genoese allies, is preserved in the Galleria di Palazzo Bianco (Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 318f). R. Nelson (*ArtB* 67 [1985] 548–66) suggested that frescoes painted in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence in Genoa ca.1310 were the work of an itinerant Byz. artist.

LIT. A. Frondoni, "Note preliminari per uno studio sulla topografia di Genova 'paleocristiana,'" *Atti del V Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana*, vol. 2 (Rome 1982) 351–64. L.G. Bianchi, E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli X–XVI* (Genoa 1980). M. Ballard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2 vols. (Rome 1978). G. Day, "Byzantino-Genoese Diplomacy and the Collapse of Emperor Manuel's

Western Policy 1168–1171," *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 393–405. C. Manfroni, "La relazione fra Genova, l'Impero bizantino, e i Turchi," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 28.3 (1902) 575–860. R.S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna 1938). —A.K., A.C.

**GENRE, LITERARY.** The concept of genre is historically determined, and the classical categorization of literature into three genres (lyric, epic, and drama) did not apply to Byz. The Byz. had no coherent theory of genre, except in the case of rhetoric, whose works they divided, in accordance with ancient principles, into various *gene* and *eide* (Martin, *Rhetorik* 9). Some Byz. writers, such as Psellos (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 139–41) or Eustathios of Thessalonike (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 183–87), tried to draw a distinction between certain genres. The principle of classification for medieval literature was functional rather than aesthetic—the objective and the audience addressed were the major criteria of categorization; accordingly, the genres formed an interconnected system that can be characterized as a hierarchy of genres. Each genre was supposed to possess strict rules of stylistic formulas (which some historians of literature call "etiquette"), even though the Byz. accepted the existence of mixed genres. Eustathios justified this formulaic method of composition: although in antiquity Solon demanded that each work of art be unique, now standards had changed, and God and the divine deeds of emperors should be praised repeatedly, retained "as a seal of brilliant character," and promoted everywhere (Regel, *Fontes* 1:98.21–27). Eustathios argued that the repetitive formulas were necessary for the didactic purposes of Byz. literature.

The type of genre was often, but not in every case, stated in the heading of a work (*logos*, epitaph, chronicle, vita, etc.), but this categorization is not always the author's and in any case is inconsistent. From the point of view of modern criticism, one can distinguish the following major genres: POETRY (secular and religious, both with subdivisions), RHETORIC (with many subdivisions), and esp. SERMONS, EPISTOLOGRAPHY, HAGIOGRAPHY, theological literature (primarily POLEMIC and EXEGESIS), HISTORIOGRAPHY, ADMONITIONS, ROMANCE, FABLE, GNOMAI, PROVERBS, and SATIRE. Although scientific and juristic literature contain some elements of literary genres, they belong to the sphere of normative, not didactic and entertaining works.

LIT. K.W. Kempfer, *Gattungstheorie* (Munich 1973). D.S. Lichačev, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Moscow 1979) 55–102. W.-H. Schmidt, K.-D. Seemann, "Die Gattungsforschung und die älteren slavischen Literaturen," *Gattungsprobleme der älteren slavischen Literaturen* (Berlin 1984) 13–32. E. Patlagean, "Discours écrit, discours parlé: Niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIIIe–XIe siècles," *Annales ESC* 34 (1979) 264–78. —A.K.

**GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN** (Ντεφρὲς ντὲ Βιλαρτουή), prince of Achaia (ca.1209–25/31); born between 1170 and 1175, died between 1225 and 1231. Nephew of the historian Geoffrey de VILLEHARDOUIN, Geoffrey accompanied the part of the Fourth Crusade that went to Syria. There, in 1204, he learned of the capture of Constantinople and set sail for the city. His ship was forced to pass the winter of 1204/5 at Methone, where an unnamed Byz. magnate invited him to help seize that area. Their cooperation prospered until the magnate's death. In summer 1205, his son's hostility forced Geoffrey and his followers to seek out BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, then besieging Nauplia. With Boniface's consent, Geoffrey joined WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE in conquering the Morea. After William departed for France, Geoffrey did homage to Emp. HENRY OF HAINAULT (1209) and became prince of ACHAIA. Around 1209/10 he took the Acrocorinth (where he constructed a donjon) and then the Lakonian plain, leaving only MONEMVASIA, the Slavs of Taygetos, and the MANI unconquered. In the feudal organization of the principality, former Byz. magnates assumed a recognized place while peasants continued to pay dues similar to those in Byz. times. The circumstances of Geoffrey's death are unknown.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 64–76. Longnon, *Compagnons* 32–41. B. Hendrickx, "Quelques problèmes à la conquête de la Morée par les Francs," *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 373–88. —C.M.B.

**GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN**, prince of Achaia (ca.1226/31–1246); born France ca.1195?, died Morea early summer 1246. The son of GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN, he came to the Morea ca.1210. In 1217 he married Agnes de Courtenay, daughter of Pierre de Courtenay, Latin emperor of Constantinople. As Pierre's vassal Geoffrey helped the Latins oppose Byz. efforts to reconquer Constantinople. In 1236 and 1238 he fought against JOHN III VATATZES, who was besieging the capital. The Latin emperor rewarded him with suzerainty over Euboea. During Geoffrey's reign

the principality of ACHAIA enjoyed great tranquility and prosperity. Since he left no male heir, he was succeeded by his brother WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:75f, 79–115. Longnon, *Empire latin* 165f, 175f. HC 2:242–44. —A.M.T.

**GEOFFREY DE VILLEHARDOUIN** (historian). See VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFREY.

**GEOGRAPHY** as a scholarly discipline was inherited by the Byz. from antiquity. STRABO and PAUSANIAS were the favorite sources of STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM in the 6th C., and interest in Strabo was revived by the 9th C. (A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* [Amsterdam 1983] 1–62, 137–82): a 9th-C. Heidelberg MS contains a selection of minor geographical works, including the *Periplus of the Erythrean (Red) Sea* (see PERIPLUS), and an epitome of Strabo (Wilson, *Scholars* 87). Strabo and Stephen of Byzantium were excerpted in chronicles and lexika, in works by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, and elsewhere. The didactic poem on geography of Dionysios Periegetes (2nd C.) also acquired popularity and was commented on by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, among others. PTOLEMY, however, was more appreciated as the author of the *Handy Tables* than as a geographer, and Eratosthenes, the most scientific of ancient geographers, remained scarcely more than a name to the Byz.

The late Roman period witnessed an interest in descriptive geography—from accounts of marketplaces and harbors (EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI) to the itineraries of pilgrims (EGERIA). The development of this genre stopped after the 6th C. and only slowly revived, beginning with EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES (end of 8th or 9th C.). The resurgence of TRAVEL LITERATURE from the 11th C. on shows growing interest in geography, although the Byz. retained a generally negative attitude toward TRAVEL. Psellos made ironic remarks about the wandering monk Elias (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 74–79), and Niketas Choniates ridiculed Patr. John X Kamateros for behaving as if he had journeyed throughout the world. Later this negative attitude disappeared: Gregoras included in his *History* (Greg. 3:3–75) a lengthy section devoted to his friend Agathangelos, who allegedly spent 20 years traveling around the Mediterranean, describing his journeys in letters. The representatives of Greek

travel literature of the 12th–15th C. are John PHOKAS, Andrew LIBADENOS, and Laskaris KANANOS. To descriptive geographic literature also belong the narrative accounts of AMBASSADORS to foreign lands, such as PRISKOS of Panion and NONNOSOS in the late Roman period and Constantine MANASSES, Nicholas MESARITES, and Theodore METOCHITES in the 12th–14th C. Many geographic observations, based partly on personal experience and partly on the records of travelers, are contained in historical works from AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS to Laonikos CHALKOKONDYLES.

Theoretical geography, however, lagged behind descriptive observations. CARTOGRAPHY was barely known after the late Roman period. Description of lands and cities tended to be replaced by lists of names, as in HIEROKLES or the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, rarely supplemented with information. More elaborate are the lists of themes and esp. of neighboring peoples in Constantine VII's DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO and DE THEMATIBUS, which also provide historical and ethnographic data. Various causes hampered the development of Byz. geographic perceptions. First, writers felt the need to reconcile observations and empirical findings with preconceived notions based on the Bible—such a combination of personal experience and traditional stories is typical of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. Following another tradition, already found in ancient literature, some Byz. "geographers" uncritically accepted bookish information as true. Even in *De thematibus* the distribution of cities in ancient times is not distinguished from the situation of the 10th C. Finally, geographic views were strongly influenced by folklore; fantastic notions regarding alien lands and peoples were often blended with reliable information.

In Byz. cosmography views on the shape of the earth ranged from the domed cube (Kosmas) to the globe (Photios), but in both cases the OIKOUMENE was centered on the MEDITERRANEAN, which was seen as surrounded by three continents—Europe, Asia, and Libya—that were surrounded, in their turn, by the Ocean. The extremes of the earth—the British Isles, China, and Black Africa—were more often than not presented in legendary form, whereas INDIA had a double existence—both as a place situated on the Ganges and as another identified with ETHIOPIA. Far in the east was the earthly PARADISE, where the four major rivers (see PARADISE, RIVERS OF) supposedly rose.



LIT. Ahrweiler, *Byzance: Les pays*, pt.II (1967), 465–73. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:507–22. G. Guarnieri, *Le correnti del pensiero geografico nell'età medioevale*, vol. 3 (Pisa 1971) 27–46. A. Diller, "Byzantine Lists of Old and New Geographical Names," *BZ* 63 (1970) 27–42. Z. Avalichvili, "Géographie et légende dans un écrit apocryphe de S. Basile," *ROC* 26 (1927–28) 279–304. —A.K.

**GEOPONIKA** (Περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί), collection of excerpts on agriculture dedicated to CONSTANTINE VII; probably compiled 944–59. The *Geoponika* deals with grain production, horticulture, apiculture, and esp. viticulture. In the preface the compiler praises Constantine's victories and patronage of philosophy, rhetoric, and all sciences and arts. Since the state consists of three elements—the army, the clergy, and agriculture (p.2.6–7)—it was natural to issue an encyclopedia of this kind.

The originality of the *Geoponika* has been much discussed. Lipšic emphasizes the original elements of the treatise (e.g., the author expressed the hope that the Arabs would perish [p.19.16]) and regards the *Geoponika* as a source for the study of 10th-C. agriculture. Lemerle asserts that the *Geoponika* contains nothing original except the preface; he argues that the *Geoponika* was based on the work of Kassianos Bassos the *scholastikos* (an office that had already disappeared by the 10th C.) and ascribes to him all the personal remarks included in Bassos's *Eklogai*, a compilation based in turn on the work of Vindanios Anatolios of Berytus (4th C.), mentioned in Photios's *BIBLIOTHECA* (cod. 163). Gemoll, on the other hand, saw in Kassianos Bassos the compiler of the *Geoponika*. This very popular book has been preserved in approximately 50 MSS of the 11th C. and later; the *Geoponika* (or its source) was translated into Arabic, Syriac, and later into Armenian. In 1157 BURGUNDIO OF PISA acquired a MS of the *Geoponika* and translated into Latin the section on viticulture.

ED. *Geoponica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig 1895), with corr. and add. Eu. Fehrlé, *Richtlinien zur Textgestaltung der griechischen Geoponica* (Heidelberg 1920), and A.D. Wilson, *BMQ* 13 (1939) 10f. Russ. tr. E. Lipšic (Moscow 1960).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 332–36. W. Gemoll, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen, der Verfasser und die Abfassungszeit der Geoponica* (Berlin 1884). —A.K.

**GEORGE** (Γεώργιος), personal name (derived from *georgos*, "peasant"). The name appeared in the 4th C. and became more common in the 5th

C., primarily in the milieu of intellectuals (*rhetoires*) and state functionaries (*PLRE* 1:391; 2:503f). The only known clergyman of this time with the name George is bishop of Laodikeia (died ca.360), a man who received a philosophical education. Rare in Prokopios (3 examples), the name is frequent in late papyri (J. Diethart, *Prosopographia arsinotica*, vol. 1 [Vienna 1980] nos. 1321–1552). It penetrated into narrative sources by the 9th C.: in Theophanes the Confessor, George is tied for ninth place with Anastasios. In Skylitzes it also holds ninth place, together with Niketas. The name George reached its peak in the history of Anna Komnene, following directly after CONSTANTINE and JOHN, but in Niketas Choniates it returned to ninth place. This situation probably reflects the attitude of the aristocratic milieu toward the name; it was more popular with the peasantry and no emperor bore this name. At any rate, vol. 1 of the acts of *Lavra* (10th–12th C.) lists 41 cases, third only to John (90) and to NICHOLAS (42); in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), George, with 275 instances, is second only to John. —A.K.

**GEORGE**, saint; principal feastday 23 Apr. No reliable evidence attests his martyrdom, attributed to the time of a legendary Persian king Dadianos and located in Lydda (DIOSPOLIS in Palestine); later accounts transferred his execution to Nikomedeia and the reign of Diocletian. Nevertheless the veneration of George is attested very early. An inscription of 323 found at Shakka in the Hauran mentions George "and the saints who suffered with him." A decree of Pope Gelasius I of 496 rejects George's *acta* as apocryphal; several 6th-C. pilgrims observed the cult of George's tomb in Lydda. The earliest fragments of his *passiones* are the 5th-C. palimpsest in Vienna, the 6th-C. papyrus from the Negev, and a fragment (ca.1000?) from Nubia (W.H.C. Frend, *AB* 100 [1982] 79–86). The earliest *passio* emphasized George's ordeal and endurance; gradually, the theme of George as intercessor developed, esp. in his *Miracula* (some of which cannot be dated earlier than 1100—A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 420), in which the saint helped in finding cattle, releasing captives, etc. Unlike the *passiones*, the *Miracula* present George as a mounted knight. George, DEMETRIOS, THEODORE STRATELATES, and THEODORE TERON were the most popular MILITARY

SAINTS; Emp. John II Komnenos introduced the image of George in military costume on coins. The legend of George's victory over the dragon was known probably only from the 12th C. Many writers such as ROMANOS THE MELODE, Theodore DAPHNOPATES, and Theodore PRODRAMOS eulogized George. His *passiones* were translated into Latin, Slavic, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, and Ethiopic.

**Representation in Art.** Virtually no other saint is so widely depicted in Byz. art as George. His portrait as a youthful warrior, elegantly clad, his hair in tight curls, is an essential feature of every church program, and appears in every other possible medium as well, from painted icons to ivories, from MSS to coins. In the post-Iconoclastic period (mostly after the 10th C., though there is a 9th–10th-C. icon with a related image on Mt. Sinai; Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, B.44) George is also shown on horseback, often as a pendant to the mounted St. Theodore Stratelates (B.E. Scholz, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 243–53). His martyrdom on the wheel appears in the earliest marginal PSALTERS, and cycles of his martyrdom, with its long sequence of tortures as well as some of his miracles, are painted in subsidiary areas of churches from the 11th C. onward, esp. in Georgia and Serbia. Large historiated icons may contain over a dozen scenes surrounding a central figure of the saint; in some of these the figure of George is in relief, as though to imitate one of the three-dimensional wooden statues (*zoana*) of George such as that housed in his church in Omorphekklesia near KASTORIA.

SOURCES. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich 1911). *Miracula s. Georgii*, ed. J.B. Aufhauser (Leipzig 1913). A.V. Rystenka, *Legenda o sv. Georgii i Drakone* (Odessa 1909).

LIT. BHG 669y–691y. S. Braunsfels-Esche, *Sankt Georg: Legende, Verehrung, Symbol* (Munich 1976). E.A. Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda, the Patron Saint of England* (London 1930). D. Howell, "St. George as Intercessor," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 121–36. F. Cumont, "La plus ancienne légende de Saint Georges," *RHR* 114 (1936) 5–51. E. Lucchesi Palli, *LCI* 6:365–73. K.J. Dorsch, "Der Drachentöter Georg—Korrektur eines Heiligenbildes," *Das Münster* 39 (1986) 297–300. J. Myslivec, "Svatý Jiří ve východokřesťanském umění," *BS* 5 (1933) 304–75. —A.K., N.P.S.

**GEORGE, ROTUNDA OF SAINT.** Located in Thessalonike, it may have been originally dedicated to the ASOMATOI or to Christ as the Dynamis Theou (W. Kleinbauer, *CahArch* 22 [1972] 55–

60). First built as a temple or mausoleum (part of the palace complex of Galerius) at the end of the 3rd C., this structure was transformed into a church by the first half of the 5th C. Constructed entirely of brick, it is a large domed cylinder 24 m in diameter, with eight vaulted recesses set regularly into the 4-m thickness of the wall (G. Velenis, *BalkSt* 15 [1974] 298–307). When the building became a church, an apse was added to the easternmost niche and an aisle was constructed around the entire exterior, with a monumental entrance to the west and an ambo in a special enclosure to the south.

The mosaics in the drum show 16 figures, standing *orans* in pairs against elaborate two-storied gold architectural fantasies of gemmed arcades, peacock-feather conches, and ciboria over altars and thrones. The identity of the figures is still disputed: inscriptions near each head provide a name, a month, and even a profession for each figure, but it is not clear whether they represent saints or donors. In the dome are fragments of mosaics, probably a standing Christ and four flying angels in the center, and standing prophets around them. In the vaults of the recesses are mosaics with geometrical motifs enclosing birds and fruits.

LIT. Th. Pazaras, *The Rotunda of St. George in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1985). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 78. W. Kleinbauer, "The Original Name and Function of Hagios Georgios at Thessalonike," *CahArch* 22 (1972) 228–33. M. Vickers, "Observations on the Octagon at Thessaloniki," *JRS* 63 (1973) 111–20. H. Torp, *Mosaikkene i St. Georg-rotunden* (Oslo 1963). —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ**, *despotes* of Serbia (from 1427); born ca.1375, died Belgrade 24 Dec. 1456. Between 1398 and 1402 BAYEZID I reinstalled George and his brother Gregory in lands confiscated from their father Vuk. George participated in the battle of Ankara in 1402 as a Turkish vassal; after the Ottoman defeat he returned to Serbia via Constantinople and used the temporary weakness of the Ottomans to build up a significant principality. Silver mines at Novo Brdo provided Branković with the necessary financial resources to construct between 1428 and 1430 a new capital on the Danube, the well-fortified SMEDEREVO.

In 1427 Branković inherited the territory of his childless uncle, STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ, and received the title of *despotes* from the Byz. emperor John VIII. In addition to coping with the increasing



Ottoman threat, Branković had to resist both Venice and Hungary; he lost Belgrade to Hungary in 1427 and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hungarian king. In these conditions Dubrovnik and Constantinople were his natural allies. In 1414 he had taken as his second (or third) wife Irene Kantakouzene, granddaughter of Matthew I (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 184–88, no. 71). Irene's brother Thomas became one of Branković's leading generals. A daughter Mara was married to MURAD II (I. Papadrianos, *Hellenika* 19 [1966] 113–16).

In 1439 Smederevo fell to the Turks. In 1444 Branković and HUNYADI, voivode of Transylvania, recaptured Smederevo and in 1444 reinstated the despotate of Serbia. This initially successful Christian crusade against the Turks ended the same year, however, in defeat at the battle of VARNA (in which Branković did not participate). Branković resumed his vassalage to the Ottomans and was forced to send a contingent of troops and sappers for the siege of Constantinople in 1453. After the fall of the Byz. capital, Mehmed II repeatedly attacked the Serbian despotate. In 1455 the Turks captured Novo Brdo and in June 1459, after the death of Branković, they took Smederevo, thus ending the last Serbian medieval state. A portrait of Branković with his family is preserved on a chrysobull of 1429 in the Esphigmenou monastery on Athos.

LIT. *IstSrpskiNar* 2:218–74. M. Spremić, "La Serbie entre les Turcs, les Grecs et les Latins au XVe siècle," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 436–40. Č. Mijatović, *Despot Djurdj Branković*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1880–82). —J.S.A.

**GEORGE HAMARTOLOS** ("the sinner"), or George the Monk, author of a universal chronicle encompassing history from Adam to 842. His biography is unknown, the time of his compilation under discussion. The traditional date of ca. 866/7 has been questioned by P. Lemerle (*TM* 1 [1965] 259, n. 13); W. Regel (*Analecta byzantino-russica* [St. Petersburg 1891] vi–xiii) hypothesized that George used the Life of the empress THEODORA (who died 867) and was therefore a contemporary of LEO VI; A. Markopoulos (*Symmeikta* 5 [1983] 252–55), although rejecting Regel's argument, believes that George could not have written before 872. C. de Boor based his edition on a single MS (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 305 of the 10th or early 11th C.), even

though various other MSS represent a common archetype (P. Odorico, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 39).

George's *Chronicle* is very combative and biased. He claims that his "small and modest *bibliodiarion*" conveys unadorned truth, for it is better "to stammer in the path of the truth than to be false while imitating Plato" (1:2.3–10); whether George had more than textbook knowledge of Plato remains unclear (G. Belfiore, *Sileno* 4 [1978] 23–71). George hates Iconoclasm, Islam, Manichaeism, and idolatry and often expresses his hatred with a string of obscene epithets. He focuses primarily on the events of ecclesiastical history: thus he dedicates ten lines to Julius Caesar, but 20 pages to Augustus, whose reign coincided with Christ's birth. George is expansive in describing church councils and quotes abundantly from the church fathers. For the Byz. period his main sources are THEOPHANES and MALALAS; he is independent for 813–42. Some MSS contain a continuation sometimes ascribed to SYMEON LOGOTHETE, going up to 948 or 1081, even 1142/3. The *Chronicle* was translated into Old Georgian and Church Slavonic. An illustrated late 13th- or early 14th-C. MS of the latter version, now in Moscow (Lenin Lib. 100), contains an author portrait and a full-page image of Christ enthroned between Michael, prince of Tver (died 1318), and his mother. One hundred twenty-seven miniatures set in the text-columns depict Old Testament, New Testament, and historical subjects. These are derived by Podobedova and others from Byz. *CHRONICLE* illustration.

ED. *Georgius Monachus, Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1904; rp. Stuttgart 1978, with corr. P. Wirth). V.M. Istrin, *Chronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjano-russkom perevode*, 3 vols. (Petrograd-Leningrad 1920–30); rp. with intro. and bibl., F. Scholz, 2 vols. (Munich 1972).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:347–51. S. Šestakov, *O proischoždenii i sostave chroniki Georgija Monacha* (Kazan' 1891). A. Dostál, "Slovanský překlad byzantské kroniky Georgija Hamartola," *Slavia* 32 (1963) 375–84. O.I. Podobedova, "Otraženie vizantijskich illjustrirrovannykh chronik v Tverskom (Troickom) spiske chroniki Georgija Amartola," 14 *CEB* (Bucharest 1974) 1:373–90. G.V. Popov, "Zametki o Tverskoj rukopisi chroniki Georgija Amartola," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 124–47. —A.K., A.C.

**GEORGE KOMNENOS**, emperor of Trebizond (1266–80); born after 1254, died 1284 or later. Young and violent when he ascended to the throne, he changed the cautious policy of his father Man-

uel I and took an anti-aristocratic course. He also supported anti-Unionists and, in his foreign policy, attempted alliances with the Golden Horde and some Georgian princes against the Mongols of Persia. In 1278 George replaced his title of *despotes* with that of *basileus* to emphasize the independence of his position. This action provoked objections both in Constantinople by Michael VIII and in Tabriz by the Ilkhan Abaga. En route to Abaga, in the mountains near Tabriz, George was betrayed by Trapezuntine nobles, seized by the Mongols, and imprisoned. He was probably liberated after Abaga's death in 1282. In 1284 he (or an impostor) invaded Trebizond; again betrayed, he was captured by his brother JOHN II KOMNENOS and died in captivity.

LIT. A. Bryer, "The Fate of George Komnenos, Ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280)," *BZ* 66 (1973) 332–50. M. Kuršanskis, "L'usurpation de Théodora Grande Comnène," *REB* 33 (1975) 187–210. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 126f. *PLP*, no. 12094. —A.K.

**GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI** ("of the holy mountain," Gr. *Hagiorites*), Georgian translator and hagiographer; born Trialeti 1009, died Constantinople 1065. After long study in Constantinople (1022–34), George went to Mt. Athos; he became superior of the Georgian monastery of IVERON ca. 1045, then traveled widely—back to Georgia, to the Black Mountain, and to Jerusalem. George is important for his extensive translations from Greek into Georgian. These include revisions of the Psalms, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; liturgical and hymnographical texts (the Great Synaxarion, Menaion, Sticharia, and homilies); and patristic texts (Basil the Great of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and *Commentary on the Song of Songs*). His most valuable original work (written ca. 1044) is a Life of John and EUTHYMOS THE IBERIAN, respectively the founder and first superior of Iveron. George's own Life was written soon after his death by a disciple, also named George, at the request of George the Recluse on the Black Mountain, where George Mt'ac'mindeli was well known.

ED. *Dzveli Kartuli agiograf'uli literaturis dzeglebi*, ed. I. Abuladze, vol. 2 (Tbilisi 1967) 38–100. Lat. tr. in P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 8–68.

SOURCES. Vita of George Mt'ac'mindeli—Lat. tr. P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 69–159. Eng. excerpts in W.Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in*

*the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (Louvain 1976) 50–59.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 154–74. *Ivir.* 1 (1985) 50–53. —R.T.

**GEORGE OF AMASTRIS**, saint; born in the town of *ton Kromnenon*, near Amastris, died Amastris between 802 and 807; feastday 21 Feb. Born to a family of local nobility, George began at an early age to participate in church administration; he then became a hermit on Mt. Agrioserike but subsequently moved to the cenobitic community of Bonyssa (in Paphlagonia?). Patr. TARASIOS appointed him bishop of Amastris ca. 790, although the emperor supported a different candidate.

The Life of George, preserved in a single 10th-C. MS, consists of a biography, very poor in details, and the description of a few miracles, including the conversion or at least appeasement of the barbarian "Rhos," who attacked Amastris and tried to despoil the saint's tomb. The authenticity of this information depends on the date and attribution of the Life: Vasil'evskij (*infra*) and, recently, Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 123–25) attribute it to IGNATIUS THE DEACON, whereas G. da Costa-Louillet (*Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 245–48) considers it a 10th-C. work. A. Markopoulos (*JÖB* 28 [1979] 78–82) proposes a compromise solution: that the Life is by Ignatios but the "Russian miracle" is an insertion produced under the influence of PHOTIOS. Another puzzle in the Life is its lack of anti-Iconoclastic invective, despite George's evident closeness to Empress IRENE and esp. to Emp. NIKEPHOROS I, whose ascent to the throne George allegedly predicted. The hagiographer is exceptionally eloquent when criticizing trade "on land and sea" (p. 52f).

SOURCE. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskaja issledovanija*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1–73, reproduced in his *Trudy* 3:1–71.

LIT. *BHG* 668–668e.

—A.K.

**GEORGE OF CYPRUS**, 7th-C. geographer of whom nothing is known save that he was born in Lapithos on Cyprus. His work is preserved in a compilation ascribed to another obscure individual, the Armenian Basil of Ialimbana, although Darrouzès (*Notitiae CP* 34, n. 1, 42f) considers this attribution extremely hypothetical; the compilation is assumed to have been written in the 9th

C., and the compiler probably altered the text of George's work. While accompanied in MSS by *notitiae*, that is, lists of metropolitan sees, archbishoprics, and bishoprics, George's record, like that of HIEROKLES, contains secular administrative divisions, including cities (the term *polis* is usually omitted), *KAISTRA*, *komai* (villages), *KLIMATA*, and, rarely, *polichnai* (towns), islands, and harbors. George begins with the district under the "eparch" of Rome or Italy, then follows with Africa, Egypt, and the Orient (Anatolike), that is, Cilicia, Isauria, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Cyprus. The list is evidently incomplete.

ED. *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. H. Gelzer (Leipzig 1890) 28–56.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:531f. E. Honigmann, "Die Notitia des Basileios von Ialimbana," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 205–22. V. Laurent, "La 'Notitia' de Basile l'Arménien," *EO* 34 (1935) 439–72. V. Grumel, "La 'Notitia' de Basile de Ialimbana," *REB* 19 (1961) 198–207. —A.K.

**GEORGE OF MYTILENE.** See DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE.

**GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA**, metropolitan of Nikomedeia (from ca.860); deacon and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, preacher, author of various encomiastic works, esp. some devoted to the VIRGIN MARY. The *typikon* of the EUERGETIS monastery (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1.1:550.30–32) included George's sermon on "the *threnos* of the Virgin" in the service for Good Friday. According to H. Maguire ("Depiction of Sorrow" 162f), George's introduction of the theme of the Virgin "holding and embracing the body" of Christ influenced the artistic representation of the scene of the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS beginning with the 10th C. (an early surviving example is a fresco in the Old Church of Tokali, GÖREME). R. Cormack (in *Iconoclasm* 151–53) hypothesized that the painted wooden reliquary of the True Cross, now in the Vatican, reflects the dramatic description of the Virgin kissing Christ's bleeding feet in George's sermon for Good Friday. The homily on the Presentation of Christ published as a work of Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 28:973–1000) is spurious and in some MSS ascribed to George of Nikomedeia (CPG 2 no.2271).

ED. PG 100:1336–1529.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 542f. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 106. —A.C., A.K.

**GEORGE OF PISIDIA**, poet; born probably in Pisidian Antioch, died between ca.631 and 634. George served as deacon, *skeuophylax*, and *referendarius* in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople. His unabashedly Christian tone and stylistic innovation of using the iambic trimeter for EPIC poetry, the first step toward the later POLITICAL VERSE, make him a significant early landmark in Byz. poetry; PSELLOS even compared him (sometimes favorably) to Euripides (A.R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia* [Vienna 1986] 25–74). George's major historical epics eulogize HERAKLEIOS, esp. for his campaigns against the Persians and Avars. Imperial virtues and achievements are exalted but emphatically subordinated to God. Some predilection for medical diction and imagery is observable (J.D.C. Frendo, *Orpheus* 22 [1975] 49–56). George's language and themes strive for symbiosis of sacred and profane, classical and biblical; Frendo (*infra* 186) praises his "dazzling sophistication and intellectual subtlety." Others celebrated by George include Patr. SERGIOS I and Bonos the *patrikios*. Of his religious poetry, George's best efforts are the iambic HEXAEMERON on the Creation (which was translated into Church Slavonic) and a rare hexameter piece *On the Vanity of Life*; also notable are a hymn on Christ's Resurrection and a polemic against SEVEROS of Antioch. His short poems on religious and secular subjects look back to the Hellenistic and forward to the Byz. EPIGRAM.

ED. *Poemi*, ed. A. Pertusi (Ettal 1959), with It. tr. *Carmina inedita*, ed. L. Sternbach in WS 13 (1891) 1–62; 14 (1892) 51–68. *Hexaemeron*—ed. R. Hercher in *Claudii Aeliani varia historia* (Leipzig 1866) 2:603–62. *Šestodnev Georgija Piside i njegov slovenski prevod*, ed. N. Radošević (Belgrade 1979), with Slavonic tr.

LIT. J.D.C. Frendo, "The Poetic Achievement of George of Pisidia," in *Maistor* 159–87. G. Bianchi, "Note sulla cultura a Bisanzio all'inizio del VII secolo in rapporto all' *Esamerone* di Giorgio di Pisidia," *RSBN* 2–3 (1965–66) 137–43. —B.B.

**GEORGE OF TREBIZOND.** See GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS.

**GEORGE THE MONK.** See GEORGE HAMARTOLOS.

**GEORGE THE PHILOSOPHER**, also known as George (metropolitan?) of Pelagonia, writer of the second half of the 14th C. Virtually nothing cer-

tain is known of his biography, although his classical allusions indicate a secular education. He wrote a (still unpublished) treatise against Gregory PALAMAS and an *enkomion* of JOHN III VATATZES, who was later called St. John the Merciful (Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 27 [1927] 36–39). Moravcsik theorized that George was originally a monk at the monastery in Magnesia where the saintly emperor's relics were preserved but that, under the pressure of Turkish occupation, he moved to Pelagonia in Macedonia. N. Festa also attributed a Lenten homily to Vatatzes' hagiographer (*VizVrem* 13 [1906] 1–35).

Probably to be distinguished from George of Pelagonia is George Kydones GABRIELOPOULOS (ca.1323–ca.1383), also known as George the Philosopher, who was a friend and correspondent of Demetrios KYDONES (*PLP*, no.3433; cf. F. Tinnefeld, *OrChrP* 38 [1972] 141–71). This George was probably born in Thessalonike, became Kydones' physician in Constantinople, and then traveled to Cyprus, Palestine, Crete, the Morea, and Genoa. He was a Platonist and, like George of Pelagonia, an anti-Palamite.

ED. A. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," *BZ* 14 (1905) 160–233.

LIT. *PLP*, no.4117. Beck, *Kirche* 723. K. Amantos, "Ho Bios Ioannou Batatse tou Eleemonos," in *Prosphora eis Stilon P. Kyriakiden* [= *Hellenika*, supp. 4 (1953)] 29–34. —A.M.T.

**GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS**, historian; died after 810. His life is scarcely known; he was a monk and a SYNKELLOS of Patr. TARASIOS. V. Grecu questioned the hypothesis that George visited Palestine and Syria (*BShAcRoum* 28.2 [1947] 241–44). His *Selection from Chronographers* (*Ekloge chronographias*) covers history from the creation of the world to Diocletian (284); perhaps he planned to continue it to his own time but was prevented by illness and death. The work is an antiquarian compilation of various carefully indicated sources (JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, Sextus JULIUS AFRICANUS, etc.) in separate topical clusters. Even though different layers of George's information are sometimes contradictory or repetitious, his purpose is consistent: to set forth the history of mankind in strict chronological sequence. The presentation is uneven, shifting from dry lists of rulers to descriptions of events. George's choice of material is arbitrary: as in GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, only a few lines are

dedicated to Julius Caesar, in contrast to a vast section on Augustus. C. Mango's attempt (*ZRV* 18 [1978] 9–17) to ascribe to George the authorship of the *Chronicle* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR was criticized by I. Čičurov (*VizVrem* 42 [1981] 78–87), who admitted, however, that George could have provided Theophanes with some materials collected for his own work. The only complete MS of George is Paris B.N. gr. 1711, dated 1021 (A. Mosshammer, *GRBS* 21 [1980] 289–95). ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS used George for his *Historia tripartita*.

ED. *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig 1984).

LIT. W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, D.C., 1989) 132–234. R. Laqueur, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 1388–1410. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:331f. G.L. Huxley, "On the Erudition of George the Synkellos," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 C (1981), no.6, 207–17. —A.K.

**GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS**, conventionally termed "George of Trebizond," humanist teacher, rhetorician, and translator; born Crete 3 Apr. 1395, died Rome ca.1472/3. The descendant of Trapezuntines who emigrated to Crete, George moved to Italy ca.1416, converted to Catholicism in 1426, and taught Greek in Vicenza, Venice, and Rome. He attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE as a supporter of the Pope, and in the 1440s entered the papal curia as a secretary. George's translations of Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, and the Cappadocian fathers were severely criticized, perhaps unfairly, by some of his contemporaries. His translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* fared better, although his commentary was attacked. He also produced a wide variety of writings predominantly in Latin on rhetoric, logic, philosophy, theology, astrology, and astronomy (J. Irmscher, 12 *CEB* 2 [Belgrade 1964] 362). He dreamed of the unity of mankind, but was shocked by the expectation of PLETHON that this unity be achieved on the basis of a revitalized paganism. George built his hope first on papal supremacy, but in 1453 expressed the utopian view (in his Greek treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Faith*) that the Turkish sultan, converted to Christianity, would be able to conquer the world. George's hopes in this respect were strongly affected by his eschatological vision of the Roman Empire (meaning the papacy) fighting the Antichrist. In 1465

he went to Constantinople as emissary of Pope Paul II to MEHMED II, but his mission was unsuccessful; on his return to Rome in 1466, George was briefly imprisoned for his fulsome praise of the sultan.

George argued that the study of antiquity was useful as preparation for political activity. He had high regard for Cicero, but replaced the latter's ideal of the orator-philosopher with that of the orator-statesman (Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* 294). George had a hot temper and quarrelsome nature; although a translator of Plato, he turned into an ardent defender of Aristotle in his *Comparison* of the two philosophers. As a result he was the target of the polemic of BESSARION, *Against the Calumniator of Plato*. George sharply criticized not only Plethon and Bessarion, but the more moderate GAZES: Plato's closeness to Christianity George considered deceptive, whereas Aristotle, he said, taught the immortality of the soul, creation *ex nihilo*, and a consistent monotheism; he even anticipated the Christian Trinity (Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* 157).

ED. G.T. Zoras, *Georgios ho Trapezountios kai hai pros hel-lenotourikēn synemnoēsēn prosatheiai autou* (Athens 1954) 93–165. Fr. tr. A.Th. Khoury, *PrOC* 19 (1969) 320–34; 20 (1970) 238–71; 21 (1971) 235–61. For complete list of ed., see J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984).

LIT. J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* (Leiden 1976). E. Garin, "Il platonismo come ideologia della sovversione europea: la polemica antiplatonica di Giorgio Trapezunzio," *Studia humanitatis. E. Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich 1973) 113–20. *PLP*, no.4120. —A.K., A.M.T.

**GEORGIA.** The modern term refers to two areas: eastern Georgia (Georg. K'art'li, Gr. Iberia, Arm. Virk', Pers. Gurgan) and western Georgia (Gr. Colchis, later LAZIKA; Georg. Egrisi, later ABCHASIA). These were united politically in Byz. times only in the years 978–1258 and 1330–1491, but had a common language and similar social structure.

The Georgian language (with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan) belongs to the southern Caucasian, or Kartvelian, group. The literary language is based on the K'art'li dialect and the written tradition (cf. GEORGIAN LITERATURE) goes back to the 5th C.

King Mirian of Iberia was converted to Christianity in the 330s by Nino, known to tradition as a captive attached to the court. There were Chris-

tian settlements on the Black Sea coast by the 4th C. Western Georgia accepted Christianity in the same century, but as in Armenia, the populace was not fully converted until much later. In 505 or 506 at the Council of DUIN the Georgians and Armenians rejected CHALCEDON. At the beginning of the 7th C., however, the Armenian and Georgian churches split; from then on the Georgians remained in communion with the Greek church. This encouraged close contacts, political and intellectual, between Byz. and Georgia; relations with Armenia were intimate but often strained.

The original capital of K'art'li, Mc'xet'a, remained the patriarchal seat after Tblisi became the political capital in the reign of Vaxtang Gorgasali (ca.440–522). At the end of his reign, dislodged by the Persians, Vaxtang fled for a short time to Western Georgia, which remained under Byz. control. After 523 the Persians installed a *marzpan* (governor) in Tblisi, and Iberia with ARMENIA fell into the Iranian orbit. In the following century the Muslims gained control of both Armenia and Iberia. The enlarged province was ruled from Duin, Tblisi remaining the center for local administration.

The caliph's hold over Georgia lasted two centuries. In 888, three years after the Armenian BAGRATID princes assumed the royal title, Adarnase of the Georgian branch of that family claimed the title of king. Georgia was not united, however, for Abchasia remained an independent kingdom until the reign of Bagrat III (978–1014).

As the borders of Byz. expanded eastward in the 10th C., upper TAYK' was annexed on the death of its prince DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO in 1000. Unlike the Armenian kingdoms, however, which were incorporated into the empire in the 11th C., Georgia remained independent. After Byz. control in eastern Anatolia collapsed following the defeat at MANTZIKERT (1071), the Georgians extended their sway in Caucasia under DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER and his descendants. The eastern region of Kakhetia was incorporated in 1105. Tblisi was regained in 1122 from the Shāddadids (a Muslim Kurdish dynasty of Gandza, which had occupied Ani and Tblisi after the Turkish conquest of Anatolia). Tblisi now became the capital; the monastic complex of GELAT'Ī near the earlier capital of Kutaisi remained an important center of learning. In 1124 Ani was captured, but during the remainder of the 12th C. it passed back and

forth several times between Georgians and Shāddadids.

Cultural contacts between Georgia and Byz. were fostered in Constantinople and in monastic centers such as Mt. Athos (where the Georgians had their own monastery, IVERON), Mt. SINAI (see G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* [Louvain 1956]), and Jerusalem. Political ties were strengthened in the 6th C., when the emperor first bestowed titles (usually KOUROPALATES) on Georgian princes. In the 11th C. marriage alliances confirmed those ties: in 1032 Bagrat IV married the niece of Romanos III, following a visit to Constantinople by Bagrat's mother Maria, herself of Armenian descent; Bagrat's daughter MARIA OF "ALANIA" married Michael VII Doukas and subsequently Nikephoros III. The daughter of David II/IV the Restorer married the grandson of Alexios I Komnenos, while the first wife of Andronikos I Komnenos was related to Queen T'AMARA (who helped Alexios and David Komnenos to seize TREBIZOND in 1204). Many nobles of Georgian or Armenian descent served in the Byz. army, such as John TORNİKIOS and Gregory PAKOURIANOS.

After 1204 direct contacts with Constantinople were few. The Mongol attack of 1220 curbed the military success of T'amara and her son George IV (1212–23). In 1240 Queen Rusudan (1223–45) appealed to Pope Gregory IX for help. Latin missionaries had been in Tblisi since 1233 and a Latin bishopric was established there in 1329. Nevertheless, the Georgian delegation to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE did not sign the act of Union.

In the 14th C. Georgian control over eastern Georgia and Armenia declined. George VI (the Brilliant, 1314–46) moved his capital to Kutaisi and contacts with the West and Trebizond became more significant. The second wife of Bagrat V (1360–95) was Anna, the daughter of Alexios II of Trebizond; the daughter of Alexander I (1412–42) married John IV Komnenos of Trebizond. Constantinople remained beyond the Georgian horizon, save for unsuccessful negotiations to arrange a marriage between the daughter of George VIII (1446–65) and the last emperor, CONSTANTINE XI.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* Idem, *CMH* 4.1:593–637, 983–1009. M.D. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XII Centuries* (Tbilisi 1987). K. Salia, *History of the Georgian*

*Nation* (Paris 1983); rev. *BK* 43 (1984) 93–108. M. van Esbroeck, "Église géorgienne des origines au moyen âge," *BK* 40 (1982) 186–99. —R.T.

## GEORGIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

Georgian art retained its distinctive national character throughout the medieval period despite significant foreign influences affecting certain media. Byz. influence was strongest in the 11th–14th C.; it dominated some schools of metalwork (esp. enamels) and painting. Before the Arab conquest Georgian architecture and sculpture followed a course parallel to that of ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE, but, although both nations based their later architecture on the achievements of the 7th C., the experimental Georgian approach after ca.800 has little in common with Armenia's almost reverential use of 7th-C. models.

**Architecture and Stone Sculpture.** The earliest Christian monuments are small hall churches and basilicas; centralized domed plans were introduced by the 7th C. As in Armenia, virtually all the churches are constructed of rubble conglomerate faced with tufa; vaults and domes are also masonry. Because most architectural types used in Georgia appear simultaneously in Armenia (Džvari at Mc'xet'a [586 (or 587)–604?] is paralleled by Avan [ca.590], C'romi [626–35] by St. Gayanē at VAZARŠAPAT [630–41]), attempts to assign precedence to either tradition have proved fruitless. The few Georgian CHURCH PLAN TYPES not attested in Armenia include a tetraconch with four small oval chambers inserted between the apses (Ninoc'minda [6th C.]) and the widely used "three churches basilica," in which partition walls with only one or two small openings divide nave and aisles into very distinct spaces.

In the early basilican churches, only pier capitals and bases are sculpted; those in Sion at Bolnisi (478–83) carry Christian symbols (the Cross with stags, peacocks) and pre-Christian Georgian or Sasanian motifs (animals pursuing one another, vegetal patterns). Façade programs begin ca.600. Džvari at Mc'xet'a displays donors kneeling before Christ and angels. At Atēni (7th C.), separate reliefs show donors at the hunt and Christ and the Virgin. An altar (?) slab from Cebelda combines an image of St. EUSTATHIOS and the stag with Old and New Testament scenes and donor portraits. N. Thierry (*BK* 44 [1985] 169–223) has shown that at least one atelier (in Gugaren) pro-



duced stelae for both Armenian and Georgian patrons, but some forms, such as standing crosses, are attested only in Georgia.

The Arab invasions curtailed building in Georgia, but the experimentation in church plans that typifies 7th-C. architecture had resumed by 800. Somewhat debased standards of construction, with more use of uncut or rough-cut stone facings and less sculpture, suggest the difficulties encountered during this period.

The triumphs of the BAGRATIDS intensified building activity, particularly the foundation and restoration of monasteries. The new, lighter churches dwarf their predecessors. By the early 11th C. finely cut tufa was used again almost universally in Georgia, along with elaborately carved façades: blind arcading, bands of fleshy vegetation, large crosses, Old and New Testament scenes. Exteriors now give little hint of the spaces within: Nikorcminda (early 11th C.) appears to be a blocky inscribed cross, but the north, south, and east arms together conceal five radiating apses.

**Monumental Painting.** Although Iconoclasm did not affect Georgia, little figural art other than stone carving survives from before the 9th C. In the apse at C'romi (626–35), Christ holding a scroll, flanked by apostles, is visible in a mosaic and its underdrawing. The only later example of mosaic occurs at GELAT'I, which has the more traditionally Byz. theme of the Virgin and Archangels.

At Ateni, the 7th-C. fresco program consisted of the Cross in the dome and geometric patterns in the conches. The Cross is often painted in the dome and Christ in glory in the apse; in TAYK'/TAO and in David-Garedža far to the east are examples from the 11th C. or even earlier. In 10th- through 13th-C. Svanetia, painting may be restricted to the apse, and saints popular locally—George, Julitta, Kyros—appear both as individual figures and in abbreviated cycles.

The Georgian kings and princes of the 12th–13th C. favored Byz. programs of church decoration, although these were altered to fit Georgian church plans and often preserved the unusual placement of the Cross and of Christ. Thus at Ateni in 1080, elements of a typical Byz. program were distributed over the four apses of the 7th-C. tetraconch, while the Cross remained in the dome. The rock-cut hall church of the Dormition at Vardzia (1184–6) is painted with a thoroughly Byz. program, and King George III and Queen

T'AMARA OF GEORGIA appear here in imperial Byz. robes; the Glorification of the Cross has been displaced to the narthex vault. At St. Nicholas in Kincvisi (1208) and at Timotesubani (ca. 1220) the dome contains the Cross along with a DEESIS.

The program and style of Ahtala (early 13th C.) are typical of late Komnenian painting. The church may have been frescoed by Byz. artists. Palaiologan models were widely accepted, esp. in western Georgia, where Byz. artists worked at Calendžicha (1384–96; see Manuel EUGENIKOS), and probably at Lihni (mid-14th C.). The frescoes of the Church of the Transfiguration at Zarzma (first half of the 14th C.) have iconographic and stylistic ties with the IVERON MONASTERY on Mt. Athos.

**Manuscript Illumination.** The earliest surviving Georgian illuminated MSS are 9th- and 10th-C. Gospel books. Their decoration consists primarily of full-page CANON TABLES and standing EVANGELIST PORTRAITS, although the First Džruči Gospels of 940 (Tbilisi H-1660) also includes the Virgin and three Miracles of Christ.

More up-to-date Byz. styles were introduced from the 11th C. onward as Georgian monasteries edited and translated Greek texts. The *synaxarion* of EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN of 1030 (Tbilisi A-648) resembles contemporary Byz. MENOLOGIA, as does the 14th-C. *synaxarion* (Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 01–58); both are bilingual (Greek/Georgian; P. Mijović, *Zograf* 8 [1977] 17–23). The Second Džruči Gospels (12th C.; Tbilisi N-1667) is a FRIEZE GOSPEL. The STYLE MIGNON is also represented in the text miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Tbilisi A-109; its frontispiece miniatures, however, are in a broad fresco style). According to a Greek inscription, Michael Koresis illustrated the 13th-C. Vansk Gospels (Tbilisi A-1335) in Constantinople.

**Metalwork and Enamel.** Metal (esp. silver-gilt) was the favored medium for icons; repoussé was used both for scenes and for the floral grounds of icons set with small enamels. The earliest dated example, the Transfiguration from Zarzma (886), is a very shallow relief with chased lines. Later, figures were modeled almost in the round (e.g., the Išhan Crucifix of 973 and the 11th-C. tondo of St. MAMAS on the lion).

Although Georgian figured ENAMELS from the 8th–9th C. are distinct from Byz. work, Greek inscriptions are common (as in other Georgian figural art), and by the 11th C., Byz. influence

was so strong that it is hard to distinguish Georgian from Byz. work.

LIT. A. Alpago-Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980). W. Beridze, E. Neubauer, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Georgien vom 4. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 7–219. L. Chuskivadze, *Gruzinskie emali* (Tbilisi 1981). A. Djavashvili, G. Abramishvili, *Goldschmiedekunst und Toreutik in der Museen Georgiens* (Leningrad 1986). —A.T.

**GEORGIAN CHRONICLES.** The term is a loose rendering of *K'art'lis Cxovreba* (Life of K'art'li [Iberia]), an official collection of some, but not all, historical works written in Georgian between the 8th and 14th C. (For the others, see GEORGIAN LITERATURE.) The process of compilation had begun by the 12th C. In the early 18th C. King Vaxtang VI appointed a commission that edited and amplified it into a continuous whole. Since then earlier MSS have been discovered, the earliest (Queen Anne Codex) dating to the period 1479–95 (C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 5 [1947] 340–44).

The first item in the collection is the *History of the Kings of Iberia* by Leontius Mroveli, archbishop of Ruisi, giving the legendary origins of the Georgian people. There follow the *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasali* by Džuanšer, giving a semifabulous account of that 5th- or 6th-C. king (the Armenian abbreviated adaptation of the first five parts of the *Chronicles*, made in the late 12th or 13th C., falsely attributes the whole collection to Džuanšer); the *Martyrdom of King Arčil II* (died 786); the *Chronicle of Iberia*, 786–1072 (from whose original title, *Cxovreba*, the whole collection probably derives its name); the *History of the King of Kings*, an *enkomion* of DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER; the *Histories of the Sovereigns*, which deals primarily with the reign of Queen T'AMARA; and the *History of the Mongol Invasions*, covering the period 1212–1346. The last four items are of special interest for Byz.-Georgian relations.

ED. *K'art'lis Cxovreba*, ed. S. Kauchišvili, 2 vols. (Tbilisi 1955–59). *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, tr. M.F. Brosset, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg 1849–58).

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature," *Traditio* 1 (1943) 139–82. —R.T.

**GEORGIAN LITERATURE.** Before the creation of a script for their native tongue, the Georgians used Greek and Middle Persian written in Aramaic script. As in Armenia, at the beginning of

the 5th C. church authorities created a script for Georgian based on the Greek alphabet (unlike Armenian, the extra letters are added at the end). The oldest surviving examples of Georgian are the inscription of 493/4 at Bolnisi church and undated inscriptions on mosaics in Jerusalem (G. Tseret'eli, *BK* 11–12 [1961] 111–30).

The first texts written in Georgian are translations of biblical and liturgical texts. The translation of the New Testament was based on the earliest Armenian version (the surviving Armenian text is a later revision); in the 10th–11th C. an extensive revision of the Bible based on Byz. Greek MSS was undertaken (B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* [Oxford 1977] 182–98). The influence of Jerusalem was strong in liturgical texts, reflecting the large number of Georgian monastic establishments in Palestine.

The earliest original composition is the *Martyrdom of St. Šušānik* (daughter of Vardan MAMIKONEAN); her cult was popular in both Georgia and Armenia (I. Curtaveli, *Martvilobay Šušānikisi*, ed. I. Abuladze [Tbilisi 1938; rp. 1978]). After the rupture with the Armenian church in the time of Katholikos Kyrion (early 7th C.), literary contacts were less significant with Armenia than with Greek centers. Because the Georgians were Chalcedonian, they frequented Constantinople as well as Greek monasteries on the Black Mountain, on Mt. Athos, and in Palestine. Hence translations from Christian Arabic played a significant role in the development of Georgian Christian literature (G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* [Louvain 1956]).

Historical works in Georgian date from the 7th C. The texts, both those included in the official GEORGIAN CHRONICLES and others, primarily concern local matters. Of greater value for the Byzantinist are the Lives of numerous Georgians who were active in Constantinople, Mt. Athos, the Black Mountain, and the Holy Land (Latin tr. of Georgian texts in P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 1–317). Scholars such as EP'REM MCIRE and GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI translated anew or revised earlier versions of biblical, liturgical, hagiographical, and patristic texts. John PETRIC'I treated 11th- and 12th-C. Byz. philosophical traditions. In the same period astronomical and medical texts were translated from Arabic. After the 12th C., however, secular literature (prose and poetry), despite overtones of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, was more influenced by Persian models

(Shota Rustaveli, *The Lord of the Panther-Skin*, tr. R.H. Stevenson [Albany, N.Y., 1977]).

Georgian authorship for the corpus of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (*Balavarianis k'art'uli redak'ciebi*, ed. I. Abuladze [Tbilisi 1957]; D.M. Lang, *The Balavariani: Barlaam and Josaphat* [Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966]) has not been unanimously accepted.

LIT. G. Deeters in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 7, *Armenische und kaukasische Sprachen* (Leiden-Cologne 1963) 129–55. Peeters, *Tréfonds*. M. Tarchnišvili, J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955) [= ST 185]. E. Khintibidzé, "Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts," *BK* 36 (1978) 275–86. —R.T.

**GEPIDS** (Γήπαιδες), an eastern Germanic people, akin to the GOTHs. They are first mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*. In the 4th C. they settled in northern DACIA and were soon subjugated by the Huns. After the death of ATTILA, the Gepids, commanded by their prince Ardaricus, defeated the Huns at Nedao in 454, leading to the dissolution of the Hunnic confederacy. The Gepids occupied the flatland on the left bank of the Danube and were supported by Constantinople against the Ostrogoths. Sirmium was, for a long period, a bone of contention between the Gepids and the Ostrogoths, but at the time of Prokopios (mid-6th C.) the Gepids held both Sirmium and Singidunum. Justinian I encouraged the LOMBARDS to attack them; allied with the AVARS, the Lombards defeated the Gepids in 567/8. After this catastrophe the Gepids disappeared. Many hoards of gold and silver objects, including the princely graves in Apahida (near Cluj), have often been attributed to the Gepids, but the ethnic attribution of 5th-C. archaeological material found in Dacia is difficult—the distinction between Germanic tribes and the local population or Sarmatians is not easy to draw (V. Kropotkin, *SovArch* [1958] no.2, 316). In the 12th C. the name Gepids reappears in Byz. historiography and rhetoric as a designation of Hungarians (Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 250).

LIT. C. Diclesu, *Die Gepiden*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1923). H. Sevin, *Die Gepiden* (Munich 1955). D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden in Mitteldonaubecken* (Budapest 1961). K. Horedt, D. Protase, "Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida," *Germania* 50 (1972) 174–220. A. Kiss, "Das Weiterleben der Gepiden in der Awarenzeit," in *VölkSüdost* 203–18. —A.K.

**GERAKI** (Γεράκιον, Γεράκι, anc. Geronthrai), town in the Peloponnesos, situated between Monemvasia and Sparta; it flourished in the 13th–15th C. The Frankish baron Guy de Nivelet was granted the region after the Fourth Crusade, but ca.1263 it was returned to the Byz.; Geraki was an important town of the despotate of the Morea. It fell to the Ottomans by 1460.

A fortress was built by Guy de Nivelet ca.1230 on a hilltop less precipitous than that of Mistra. The fortress was well protected by the mountain ridge save for the southern section where the walls were reinforced by two square towers; the walls, which were 1.5–1.7 m thick, have ceramic decoration. The approximate size of the stronghold was 125 × 60 m.

The Frankish town grew up on the west slope of the hill, while the Byz. town was situated in the plain below. Numerous churches survive in both sites, as well as in the fortress. East of the modern village is an early Christian basilica, now in ruins. To the northwest is the well-preserved Church of the Evangelistria, probably of the 12th C. Its virtually complete fresco program, of the late 12th C., seems to be the work of two painters, probably contemporary with each other and from Constantinople. Moutsopoulos-Demetrokalles (*infra* 136), however, argue that the frescoes are of two different periods. Southeast of the village is the Church of St. Sozon, of inscribed cross plan and dating to the 12th C., according to Moutsopoulos-Demetrokalles (*infra* 218); frescoes of the 12th or early 13th C. survive only in the cupola and sanctuary. Very similar in plan is the Church of St. Athanasios (ca.1200); its poorly preserved frescoes (14th C.?) include portraits of bishops framed like icons. The frescoes of the small single-naved church dedicated to John Chrysostom have survived in their entirety; they are of two layers, one ca.1300, another dated ca.1450.

Within the fortress is the Church of St. George, originally built under the Franks with two naves; a third nave and narthex were added after the Byz. recovery of Geraki. Its frescoes probably date to the second half of the 14th C. A church of the late 13th C., dedicated to St. Nicholas, has frescoes of St. Mary of Egypt and Zosimos on its masonry templon.

About 8 km south of Geraki lies the Church of Hagios Strates, built ca.1430 (S. Kalopissi-Verti in *Festschrift Wessel* 147–66), which contains unusual

frescoes of the Synaxis ton Asomaton (see ASOMATOS) and, in the apse, the Virgin Zoodochos PEGE.

LIT. N.K. Moutsopoulos, G. Demetrokalles, *Geraki: Hoi ekklesies tou oikismou* (Thessalonike 1981). Bon, *Morée franque* 112f, 592–98, 642–45. W. McLeod, "Castles of the Morea in 1467," *BZ* 65 (1972) 362. M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," 22 *CorsiRav* (1975) 335–49. —A.M.T., A.C.

**GERASA** (Γέρασα, Ar. Jarash, in mod. Jordan), one of the cities of the Decapolis and bishopric of the province of Arabia under BOSTRA. The first attested bishop was Exeresius, who attended the Council of Seleukeia in 359. There are considerable remains for the period of the 4th–7th C.: city walls, a stoa and bath of the mid-5th C., and in the 6th C. another bath complex and colonnades flanking the *cardo* (513–30?). It is possible that the Maiouma theater was restored in 535 when that pagan festival, previously abolished, was revived in the guise of a Christian harvest festival.

Gerasa is best known for its extensive number of churches (at least 12), many of impressive size. Most date from the 5th and 6th C. and are basilican in plan. The oldest of these is the cathedral of ca.365, with the Basilica of St. Theodore (496) immediately to the west. The Church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs (465) has a cross-in-square plan. A complex of Justinianic date (529–33) is composed of three linked churches sharing a common atrium. The central Church of St. John the Baptist has an unusual circular plan; the northernmost church, dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, has particularly fine FLOOR MOSAICS with portraits of the donors, the *paramonarios* Theodore and his wife Georgia. A number of other churches have well-preserved pavements. The last church to be constructed at Gerasa was the Basilica of Bp. Genesios, dated to 611 by a mosaic inscription.

The city was conquered by the Arabs in 634, but half its population remained Greek into the 9th C.

LIT. *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C.H. Kraeling (New Haven 1938). *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981–1983*, ed. F. Zayadine (Amman 1986). J.W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* (London 1931). R. Pierobon, "Gerasa in Archaeological Historiography," *Mesopotamia* 18–19 (1983–84) 13–35. D. Sourdel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 2:458. I. Browning, *Jerash and the Decapolis* (London 1982) 92–102, 180–207, 209–211. —M.M.M.

**GERMANIKEIA** (Γερμανίκεια, mod. Maraş), city in the Antitaurus at the edge of the Mesopotamian plain, on roads connecting Asia Minor and Syria. A bishopric of EUPHRATENSIS, Germanikeia became a Monophysite center in the 5th C.; it was the birthplace of NESTORIOS and later Leo III "the Isaurian." Persians occupied Germanikeia when Herakleios campaigned there in 625. Briefly recovered by Byz., it was destroyed by the Arabs in 637, then rebuilt by them to become a base for raiding Asia Minor. Germanikeia was the scene of constant fighting in the 8th–10th C., when it was usually controlled by the Arabs and attacked by the Byz. In 746, Constantine V transferred some of its inhabitants (including many Monophysites) to Thrace; in 769, the people of Germanikeia, accused of spying for Byz., were deported to Palestine. Michael LACHANODRAKON pillaged the region in 778; Theophilos temporarily reconquered it in 841; and in 879 Basil I made Germanikeia the goal of his eastern expedition, ravaging the suburbs when he failed to take the city. It was finally taken by Nikephoros II Phokas in 963. Germanikeia was the southernmost point reached in the campaigns of Romanos IV in 1068–69. The area was entrusted to Philaretos BRACHAMIOS, who created an ephemeral Armenian principality there from 1078 to 1097. Although briefly captured by Alexios I in 1099, it was soon lost to the Crusaders of Edessa.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 6:505–08. D. & L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 943–60. —C.F.

**GERMANOI** (Γερμανοί, derived from the Latin *Germani*), Byz. term for the Germans. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.11.29, 12.8) defined Germanoi as the former name of the FRANKOI, associating the latter with the Rhineland Germans of the early Roman Empire. Through the 15th C. it remained an axiomatic ethnic formula in Byz. historiography that Germanoi and Frankoi were the same, the only exception being the occasional and even more anachronistic association of the Germanoi with the "Keltai" (Celts). The Germanic peoples of the Holy Roman Empire were not independently recognized in Byz. sources until the 11th C., and then as ALEMANNI or NEMITZOI. Thus, Kinnamos defined the German Conrad III as the king of the Alamanoi and the French Louis VII as the king of the Germanoi.



LIT. H. Ditten, "Germannen und Alamannen" in antiken und byzantinischen Quellen," *BBA* 52 (1985) 20-31. —R.B.H.

**GERMANOS** (Γερμανός), general, nephew of Justin I (*PLRE* 2:505) or more likely Justinian I; born before 505, died Serdica early autumn 550. Justinian appointed him *magister militum per Thracias*; he successfully fought the ANTAE. In 536 Justinian sent him to suppress the revolt of STOTZAS and, in 540, to defend Antioch against CHOSROES I, but Germanos abandoned the city. Thereafter he fell into disfavor, due esp. to Theodora's hostility: the empress saw in him a probable successor to Justinian and was angry with Germanos's marrying his daughter Justina to a powerful leader of the *foederati*—John, nephew of VITALIAN. After Theodora died and Germanos displayed loyalty by refusing to join the plot of Artabanes and Arsakes (who probably were planning to place Germanos on the throne), Justinian changed his attitude toward his nephew. He approved Germanos's marriage with the Ostrogothic princess MATASUNTHA of the AMALI, which established Germanos as heir to both realms; Germanos was to replace BELISARIOS as commander of land operations against the Ostrogoths. He assembled an army in Illyricum and frightened the Slavs who had tried to cross the Danube, but died suddenly before the expedition started.

Prokopios (*Wars* 7:40.9) praises his manliness, justice, and generosity. Germanos showed himself to be a brave warrior. He was immensely rich, kept a personal retinue, and was popular in Constantinople. By his first wife, Passara, he had two sons, one of whom, Justin, was executed by Emp. Justin II; Matasuntha bore him a posthumous son, named Germanos.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:324-27, 595-97. Bury, *LRE* 2:67f. C. Benjamin, *RE* 7 (1912) 1258-61. W.E. Kaegi, "Arianism and the Byzantine Army in Africa 533-546," *Traditio* 21 (1965) 48f. —W.E.K., A.K.

**GERMANOS I**, patriarch of Constantinople (11 Aug. 715-17 Jan. 730) and saint; born between 630 and 650 (Garton-Westerink, *infra*, p.v) or between 653 and 658 (Lamza, *infra* 57), died Platanion 730 or 742?; feastday 12 May. Germanos was reportedly more than 90 years old at his death. However, his vita (Lamza, *infra* 204.73-76) states that in 705, when he reached the middle of his life, Germanos turned 37; this would give

him dates of 668-742. E. Stein asserts, on shaky grounds, that Germanos belonged to the family of Justinian I (*Klio* 16 [1919-20] 207). In 669 Germanos's father was executed and Germanos castrated. Elected bishop of Kyzikos ca.705, Germanos supported Emp. Philippikos-Bardanes in his sympathy for MONOTHELETISM but opposed Monothelism after the fall of Philippikos in 713.

As patriarch, Germanos supported Leo III and praised in his sermons Leo's victory over the Arabs. He was probably that anonymous patriarch who questioned the Paulician Gegnesios (Peter of Sicily, PG 104:1284B-1285A) and permitted him to remain at large; among the issues discussed were veneration of the cross and of the Virgin, sacraments, and baptism, but not icon veneration. It is not clear how and when the patriarch came into conflict with Leo's policy of ICONOCLASM; probably the veneration of the Virgin, to whom Germanos dedicated several sermons, was the major point of dispute. Germanos was forced to resign and was replaced by the Iconoclast patriarch ANASTASIOS.

The oeuvre of Germanos is not yet established; the distinction between his writings and those of GERMANOS II is occasionally hard to draw. The dialogue *On Predestined Terms of Life* is sometimes ascribed to Photios; even his authorship of the commentary on the liturgy preserved under the curious title of *Church History* remains dubious. The commentary was translated into Latin by ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS. In his genuine works Germanos is revealed as an experienced rhetorician: he created new composite words, such as *theobastaktos* (PG 98:321A, 324D, 368A) or *axiozographistos* (PG 98:336CD), used symmetrical structure of clauses (e.g., the *chairetismoi* so typical of the poetry of Romanos the Melode), and exquisite puns such as *korakes* and *kerykes* (PG 98:265CD). Especially interesting is his dialogue between Gabriel and Mary in the sermon on the Annunciation in which the protagonists converse on different stylistic levels, the archangel being majestic and the Virgin simple and naive. He was a hymnographer who wrote *kanones*; the AKA-THISTOS HYMN has been attributed to him by some scholars. The anonymous vita of Germanos is legendary; it was written not in the 8th (Beck, *Kirche* 506) or 9th C. (Garton-Westerink, *infra*, p.v, n.1) but in the 11th C.

ED. PG 98:39-454. *On Predestined Terms of Life*, ed. C. Garton, L. Westerink (Buffalo, N.Y., 1979). *Il commentario*

*liturgico*, ed. N. Borgia (Grottaferrata 1912). P. Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel* (Würzburg 1975). J. List, *Studien zur Homiletik Germanos I. von Konstantinopel und seiner Zeit* (Athens 1939). P. Speck, "Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels," *REB* 44 (1986) 209-27. J. Darrouzès, "Deux textes inédits du patriarche Germain," *REB* 45 (1987) 5-13. —A.K.

**GERMANOS II**, patriarch of Constantinople (4 Jan. 1223-June 1240 [V. Laurent, *REB* 27 (1969) 136f]); born Anaplous second half of the 12th C., died Nicaea. Germanos was a deacon at Hagia Sophia when Constantinople fell to the Latins in 1204; he fled to a monastery at Achyraous. In 1223 JOHN III VATATZES selected him as patriarch-in-exile at Nicaea (A. Karpozilos, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 227-49). He was a strong proponent of the Nicene claim to be the sole legitimate Byz. successor state and emphasized his own authority as ecumenical patriarch; he censured Demetrios CHOMATENOS for crowning THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS as *basileus* in Thessalonike (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 21-64). By 1232 he had regained control over the dissident church of EPIROS, even visiting Arta to establish his jurisdiction (1238). In 1235, however, he acknowledged the limited autocephalous status of the church of BULGARIA and recognized the archbishop of TŪRNOVO as patriarch. Germanos was noted as an opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES, esp. at the synod of Nicaea-Nymphaion (1234). He wrote several anti-Latin treatises (on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, azymes, purgatory, and baptism), produced numerous homilies, and was also a poet, composing *kanones* on the seven ecumenical councils and political verses on repentance. Only a small portion of his oeuvre has been edited.

ED. S.N. Lagopates, *Germanos ho B' patriarches Konstantinoupoleos-Nikaias* (Tripolis 1913). For complete list of works, see Beck, *Kirche* 667f.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1233-1304. A. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217-1233)* (Thessalonike 1973) 68-93. —A.M.T.

**GERMANY**, kingdom that succeeded that of the Eastern FRANKS; the term *Germania* was applied to it in Latin texts of the 10th C. The Greeks called its population Alamanoi (ALEMANNI), FRANKOI, GERMANOI, and, in official documents, Nemitzoi. The coronation of OTTO I THE GREAT in

962 as emperor of the so-called Roman Empire created the problem of "two empires," Byz. at first denying the imperial title to the German king, then acknowledging him as the king or even *basileus* of the FRANKOI. The situation in Italy made the problem even more complicated: Otto I tried to subdue it, and Nikephoros II Phokas supported minor Lombard rulers against Germany. A temporary alliance with Germany was reached by John I Tzimiskes, who married his relative THEOPHANO to OTTO II; as a result their son, the half-Greek OTTO III, came to ascend the German throne. The political alliance was accompanied by the intensification of economic and cultural links. Despite some frictions, relations between the two empires remained tolerable through the reign of CONRAD III, when Manuel I married BERTHA OF SULZBACH. Theological contacts were evident on the eve of the Constantinople local council of 1166-67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) (P. Classen, *BZ* 48 [1955] 339-68).

A serious conflict developed when FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA sought to retain control of Italy, and Manuel I sent money and armies to support the resistance of Italian cities. Byz. lost the struggle and capitulated to HENRY VI. PHILIP OF SWABIA used his conjugal connections to intervene in the domestic strife in Constantinople at the time of the Fourth Crusade, while FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN cherished the expectations of an alliance with John III Vatatzes and a successful war against the infidels. In the 14th and 15th C., Germany, which was in political decline, remained aloof from active involvement in Eastern politics, although emperor Sigismund (1433-37) negotiated with Manuel II; his assistance, however, was not effective.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1979). *Byzanz in der europäischen Staatenwelt*, ed. J. Dummer, J. Immscher (Berlin 1963). R. Manselli, "Il Sacro Romano Impero di fronte all'Impero Romano d'Oriente e all'Oriente musulmano," in *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 125-34. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900-1250* (London 1982) 103-37. W. Ullmann, "Reflections on the Medieval Empire," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14<sup>5</sup> (1964) 89-108. —R.B.H., A.K.

**GERMIA** (Γέρμια, now Yörme), a city in western GALATIA below Mt. Dindymon. It was famed for its healing spring whose fish, with the aid of the archangel Michael, were said to effect cures. When Stoudios, consul in 454, was healed there, he



restored the Church of St. Michael and built homes for the sick and aged. Germia, under its alternative name Myriangeloi ("10,000 Angels"), became a bishopric by 553 and received a visit from Justinian I in 554, which may have occasioned its promotion to autocephalous archbishopric, a rank it maintained through the Byz. period. THEODORE OF SYKEON visited Germia in the late 6th C. and was said to have worked miracles there. It fell to the Turks after the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. The site contains a five-aisled basilica of ashlar masonry with much sculptured decoration; probably built by Stoudios, it is the largest surviving church in Galatia. Justinian and Theodora extensively restored it. The site is frequently confused with the nearby Colonia Germa.

LIT. *TIB* 4:166–68, 247. K. Belke, "Germia und Eudoxias," in *Byzantios* 1–11. C. Mango, "The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 117–32. —C.F.

**GERMIYAN** (Κερμυανός), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. Its name probably derives from a Turkoman tribe that appears, in the Greek form "Karmianoi," in an account of the miracles of St. EUGENIOS worked as early as 1223 (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii Trapezundskoi imperii* [St. Petersburg 1897] 131.12). Around 1239 a Turk named Germiyan, established in the Melitene region, was in the service of the Seljuk sultan; ca.1277 the Germiyan-oğlu Husam al-din ibn Alishir founded an emirate with Kütahya (see KOTYAIION) as its capital. Byz. authors seem to give the dynastic founder's name, Alishir, to any Germiyan-oğlu. According to PACHYMERES (ed. Bekker, 2:426.16), Germiyan was the most powerful Turkish state in the early 14th C. Its emirs were apparently the overlords of the Turkish emirs of the Aegean regions; they attacked PHILADELPHIA repeatedly and extracted poll-tax (*jizye*) from the inhabitants before 1314. According to the 14th-C. Egyptian encyclopedist al-'Umarī (*Notices et extraits* 13 [1838] 355), they also extracted tribute from the Byz. The emirate produced alum in Gediz (the ancient Kadoi), which was sold in the ports of Ephesus (Theologos) and Miletos (Palatia). In 1381 the Ottoman prince BAYEZID I married a girl of the Germiyan dynasty and received some territories as dowry. The emirate was annexed by the OTTOMANS temporarily (from 1390 to 1402) and finally in 1428/9.

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 55–67. I. Mélikoff, *ET* 2:989f. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:62f, 154, 158. M.C. Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları tarihi (1300–1429)* (Ankara 1974). Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin* 27–29, 107f.

—E.A.Z.

**GEROKOMEION** (γηροκομείον), or *gerotropheion*, home for the destitute elderly, under the direction of a GEROKOMOS. As part of their tradition of PHILANTHROPY, the Byz. built special homes for elderly people who could not be cared for by their families. According to the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *gerokomeia* were founded in Constantinople as early as the 4th C. At least 27 *gerokomeia* are recorded as having existed at one time or another in the capital, many of them imperial foundations; the best known was the facility at the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY for 24 elderly men who were no longer able to work because of infirmity or illness (Typikon, 109.1347–111.1389). The residents received an allocation of food, oil, firewood, and a cash allotment for clothes and incidentals, and were entitled to two baths per month. In case of severe illness they were admitted to the monastery HOSPITAL. Other monastic *gerokomeia* were those associated with the provincial monasteries of PETRITZOS and Kosmosoteira at BERA and the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. George of MANGANA. In the mid-10th C. *gerokomeia* were specifically included in Nikephoros II Phokas's law forbidding the construction of new monasteries and affiliated charitable institutions in order to curtail their rapid increase and permitting only the restoration of existing institutions (*Reg* 1, no.699.). This legislation was soon revoked, however, by Basil II.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 552–57, 565. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 222–40. A.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 278. —A.M.T.

**GEROKOMOS** (γηροκόμος), director of a GEROKOMEION, or old-age home. Justinian's novel 7.12 names the *gerontokomos* as an ecclesiastical official along with OIKONOMOS, XENODOCHOS, ORPHANOTROPHOS, and others. Several seals are preserved that belonged to ecclesiastical *gerokomoi*, such as the priest Theophylaktos and Epiphanius, "*gerokomos* of [the monastery?] of St. Kyros," both of the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2543, 3102). It is unclear whether Constantine, *apo eparchon* and

*gerokomos* (seal of the 7th C., *ibid.*, no.1800), was an ecclesiastical or secular official. That the *gerokomos* could be a former high-ranking official is seen in a later addition to the 7th-C. Life of St. Spyridon (P. van den Ven, *La légende de S. Spyridon* [Louvain 1953] 91f, n.), speaking of a *patrikios* John, who was *gerokomos* and later bishop of Trimithous in Cyprus. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *gerokomos* together with the *xenodochos* appears as a secular functionary in the department of the SAKELLION. His functions are not specified. A *xenodochos* and *gerokomos* of Nicaea is known from a seal of ca.900 (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.263); enigmatic is the undated seal of Constantine *primikerios* and *gerokomos* of the Constantinopolitan (?) monastery in Psamathia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.426). In the lists of functionaries of the 11th C. another official with the similar name of *gerotrophos* appears in the same clause as *orphanotrophos* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 46; cf. Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.487). In the 11th C. a patriarchal official who fulfilled the same functions preserved the old name of *gerokomos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.134).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 239f.

—A.K.

**GESTA EPISCOPORUM NEAPOLITANORUM.** See JOHN OF NAPLES.

**GESTA FRANCORUM ET ALIORUM HIERSOLIMITANORUM** (Deeds of the Franks and other Jerusalem Pilgrims), earliest account of the First Crusade from May 1095 to 12 Aug. 1099, by an eyewitness participant, who, to judge from his simple Latin and expert observation of military matters, was a professional soldier in the contingent of BOHEMUND I, probably from Apulia. The work may have been completed by 1099 and seems to be mentioned in 1101; it was used by a number of later historians of the Crusade like ALBERT OF AACHEN and FULCHER OF CHARTRES. The author, who may have known a little Greek (ch.20, p.46), supplies detailed evidence on relations of the Crusaders, esp. Bohemund, with Byz. and their passage through the empire (chs. 2–9, pp. 2–21; ch.27, p.65; ch.30, p.72). Although extremely hostile to Emp. Alexios I, the author admits instances of Byz. assistance and shows no religious animosity. He even implicitly recognizes Byz. logistical skills and admires

the TOURKOPOULOI (ch.8, p.16) as well as the Turks (ch.9, p.21).

ED. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London 1962), with Eng. tr.

LIT. B. Skoulatos, "L'auteur anonyme des *Gesta* et le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 504–32. Karayan-nopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:416. —M.McC.

**GESTURE**, a movement of the body as an element in a comprehensive system of communication. Human gesticulation can be divided into two categories: "natural" movement (BODY LANGUAGE) expressing various EMOTIONS, and gestures based on deliberate cultural, legal, political, and religious conventions. Both archaic Roman law and barbarian *leges* provided for special gestures to reinforce CONTRACTS or the statements of WITNESSES; Byz. law infrequently applied such procedures, although there is mention of solemn processions that testified to or revised boundaries between two properties. Conventional gestures were used in a broad range of state ceremonies with PROSKYNESIS as the extreme expression of self-submission and including ACCLAMATIONS, expressions of power and triumph, and the granting of titles and/or offices. The submission of conquered cities could take the form of conventional processions. Gestures accompanied acts of secular and ecclesiastical investiture (e.g., CHEIROTANIA and CHEIROTHESIA), formed an integral part of LITURGY and PRAYER, and were used for HEALING of specific (esp. mental) diseases. Birth festivities, weddings, and funeral ceremonies also involved conventional language of gesture based on actual or feigned emotions.

The largely formulaic contexts in which gesture was used and the immobility and FRONTALITY of the human figure lent added importance to signals of the head, arm, and hand. Prokopios's record of the gesture made by the Justinian I statue in the AUGUSTAION and Paul Silentiarios's description (Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreibung*, lines 776–77) read more into Christ's preaching hand than is immediately apparent from artistic expressions of the period. Nonetheless Roman motions of address, triumph, supplication, concord, and meditation endured and were applied to such themes as the acclamation of Christ, blessing, angelic salutes, the Visitation, and EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. To these were added more dramatic, natural movements, for example, a hand covering

the mouth, the cheek or, *in extremis*, the whole face to express grief. Such physical vocabulary was freely transferred from one scene to another. In and after the 12th C., the number and intensity of gestures multiplied as part of a process in which ICONOGRAPHY was enriched esp. with pathetic imagery. At its most sophisticated, gesture carried not only emotional connotations but also ideological significance: according to the sermons of GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA, Mary's embrace of the dead Christ emphasized his humanity and thus the reality of the INCARNATION.

LIT. M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge 1987) 1–14. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:766–83. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." R. Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1978) 11–30. H. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände* (Stuttgart 1984).

—A.C., A.K.

**GHASSĀNIDS**, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 6th C. Their most illustrious rulers were ARETHAS, his son ALAMUNDARUS, and his grandson NAMAAN. The Ghassānids fought for Byz. against the Arabs of the Peninsula, the LAKHMIDS of Hīra, and the Persians. They were Monophysites, and this set the emperors against them, Tiberios I and Maurice esp. seeking to weaken their power. The Ghassānids, however, did not disappear in the reigns of Phokas and Herakleios and continued to play an important role in the wars of Byz. The "Saracens" singled out for honorable mention in the bulletin issued by Herakleios after his victory over the Persians in 628 are most probably the Ghassānids. In 636 they appear in the Arab sources as the principal Arab federates of Byz. at the battle of YARMUK. After that defeat, those Ghassānids still loyal to Byz. settled in central Anatolia, in Charisianon, and Cappadocia. According to al-ṬABARĪ, Emp. Nikephoros I was a Ghassānid. The Ghassānids were great builders of churches, monasteries, palaces, and castles; their court was visited by the foremost poets of pre-Islamic Arabia who composed panegyrics for their kings.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 282–89. M.V. Krivov, "Poslednie Gassanidy mezhdu Vizantiĭ i Chalifatom," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 154–58.

—I.A.Sh.

**GHĀZĪ** (Γαζής), also called Amīr Ghāzī and Gümüştegin Ghāzī; DANIŞMENDID emir; died 1134.

Eldest son of Danişmend, in 1104 he inherited Sebasteia, Amaseia, Neocaesarea, and adjacent towns. Around 1120 he defeated and held for ransom Constantine GABRAS, *doux* of Chaldia (A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* [London 1980] pt.III [1970], 177.) About 1127 Ghāzī acquired Caesarea, Ankyra, Kastamon, and Gangra, becoming the leading Anatolian Muslim ruler. JOHN II took Kastamon in 1132, but Ghāzī recovered it the following year. On his deathbed, he received the title *malik* from the caliph.

LIT. I. Mélikoff, "Dānismendids," *El<sup>2</sup>* 2:110. Idem, *La geste de Melik Dānismend* (Paris 1960) 1:104–06, 123–25, 453–55.

—C.M.B.

**GHULĀM** (Ar. pl. *ghilmān*, lit. "pages"), a member of the armed forces of slave status utilized in the Arab caliphate from the 9th C. onward and developed by the SĀMĀNIDS. They formed a professional army; according to IBN AL-ATHĪR (8:157), "a soldier must be able to take with him everything he possesses, wherever he may go, and nothing must hold him back." These troops were manned primarily by young Turkish slaves bought or captured on the northeastern borders of the Sāmānid realm between the Islamic and Turkic worlds. A description of the *ghulām* system is found in the *Siyāsatnāma* of NIZĀM AL-MULK. It was this system, introduced into Anatolia by the Seljuks of Rūm and continued by the Anatolian *beyliks*, that would reach its most famous form in the Ottoman JANISSARY system.

LIT. D. Sourdel, C.E. Bosworth, *El<sup>2</sup>* 2:1079–84. D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam* (New Haven 1981). P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge 1980).

—S.V., A.K.

**GIDOS** (Γίδος), a family known in the second half of the 12th and in the 13th C. S. Papadimitriū (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 734; *VizVrem* 6 [1899] 169) considered the name to be the Greek rendering of the Italian name *Guido*; W. Hecht (*Aussenpolitik* 85, n.336), however, doubts that Gidoī of this period were still Latins.

The Gidoī of the 12th C. may have descended from the son of ROBERT GUISCARD named Guido, who deserted to Byz. and became Alexios I's military adviser; Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:51.10) relates that Alexios suggested to Guido a relationship by marriage. The legendary CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE (v.901, 1033) calls Guido (Guis) the

emperor's close friend and seneschal but not his nephew, as Chalandon (*Comnène* 1:92) says. Thomas of Toscana (MGH SS 22:498) preserved a legend that William, Guiscard's son, married Alexios's daughter and became the lord of his empire, but died without descendants.

Under Andronikos I, Alexios Gidos was *megas domestikos* of the Orient; he retained his high position after Andronikos's downfall and in 1194 still commanded the eastern troops sent against the Bulgarians. Andronikos Gidos was Theodore I Laskaris's general; in 1206 he defeated the Italian allies of David Komnenos. It is hypothesized that he is to be identified with the Andronikos Gidos who ruled Trebizond from 1222 to 1235 (Miller, *Trebizond* 19).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:408f.

—A.K.

**GILDO**, Moorish prince and Roman official in Africa; died on the river Ardalio, near THEVESTE, 31 July 398. A son of Nubel, the king of Mauritania, Gildo was a client of the family of Theodosios I. In 373, when his own brother Firmus rebelled, he helped Theodosios the Elder put down the revolt. He was appointed *comes* of Africa in 387/8 (S.I. Oost, *ClPhil* 57 [1962] 29) or 385 (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 179). He probably preserved hostile neutrality during the revolt of EUGENIUS. In 397 he broke with the Western court and declared allegiance to the government in Constantinople; he withheld the customary grain shipments from Africa to Rome. In Africa Gildo incited the hostility of the urban population by vast land confiscations and by his favoritism toward the Donatists. Stilicho mounted an expedition against Gildo, and Gildo's brother Mascezel (whose children Gildo had murdered) was entrusted with the campaign. The Eastern court offered no assistance. Gildo retreated inland, far from the urban centers. Easily defeated, he was killed. The estates he acquired by confiscations formed a special area in North Africa, the *Gildoniacum patrimonium*.

LIT. H.J. Diesner, "Gildos Herrschaft und die Niederlage bei Theuste (Tebessa)," *Klio* 40 (1962) 178–86. T. Kotula, "Der Aufstand des Afrikaners Gildo und seine Nachwirkungen," *Altertum* 18 (1972) 167–76. Bury, *LRE* 1:121–25. *PLRE* 1:395f.

—T.E.G.

**GIRDLE**. See BELT.

**GIUSTINIANI LONGO, GIOVANNI**, Genoese hero of the final siege of Constantinople (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF); died Galata or Chios early June 1453. Giustiniani, a member of a distinguished Genoese trading family based on Chios, arrived in Constantinople on 29 Jan. 1453 and offered his services to CONSTANTINE XI. He brought with him 700 soldiers and two ships. The emperor gave him the title *protostrator* and promised him the island of Lemnos. Since Giustiniani was experienced in siegecraft, he was placed in charge of the defense and repair of the land walls. He fought valiantly against the Turks, inspiring loyalty and courage in both Greek and Italian soldiers. On 29 May, in the final hours of the siege, Giustiniani was wounded and abandoned his post; many Genoese troops then panicked and fled. The Ottoman janissaries took advantage of the ensuing confusion to make their final successful assault on Constantinople. Doukas stresses Giustiniani's bravery and the severity of his wound, whereas the "siege section" of the *Chronicon Maius* of pseudo-Sphrantzes (perhaps by Sphrantzes himself) accuses Giustiniani of cowardice and of using his wound as an excuse for flight (Sphr. 426.9–24). His wound must have been serious, since Giustiniani soon died, either in Galata (pseudo-Sphrantzes) or Chios (Doukas).

SOURCES. Douk. 331, 343, 347, 353–57, 371. Kritob. 40f, 48–50, 57, 67–70.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople: 1453* (Cambridge 1965) 83f, 91f.

—A.M.T.

**GLABAS** (Γλαβᾶς, fem. Γλαβᾶινα), a family name probably of Slavic origin (*glava*, "head"): Manuel Philes (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller 2:107, no.57.74–75) clearly recognized the Slavic etymology of the name. From the late 10th C. the Glabades were active in Macedonia: the first, Basil, an *illoustrios* in Adrianople, suspected of pro-Bulgarian leanings, was arrested by Basil II and imprisoned for three years. Another Glabas conspired against Constantine VIII and was blinded. In 1047 men "from the kin of the Glabades" (Skyl. 442.74–75) supported the rebellion of Leo TORNİKIOS in Macedonia. Nonetheless the family remained in Byz. military service: ca. 1050 Niketas Glabas, *topoteretes* of the *tagma* of the *scholae*, was sent from Adrianople against the Pechenegs. Another (?) Niketas Glabas is named *strategos* on a seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 667). They did not play any significant role

under the Komnenian dynasty, remaining provincial landowners: in the mid-13th C. they still lived in Kastoria (Akrop. 1:90.18-19). The *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas was governor of Thrace under Andronikos II (see GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES). Another Glabas served in the 1330s as a high-ranking civil functionary—*megas dioiketes* and judge (PLP, no.4215). Some Glabades occupied high ecclesiastical positions, for example, Ignatios, metropolitan of Thessalonike (PLP, no.4222), and another metropolitan, Isidore Glabas (see GLABAS, ISIDORE). Women of the family were active as well: Maria Glabaina, known only from her 11th- or 12th-C. seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1336), possessed a *charistikion* and probably founded a monastery of St. Stephen; after 1310 another Glabaina, *protostratorissa* (perhaps the wife of the *protostrator* Glabas?), founded a convent (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 297-305). The Glabades were apparently closely connected with the TARCHANEIOTES family.

LIT. PLP, nos. 4200-28.

-A.K.

**GLABAS, ISIDORE**, metropolitan of Thessalonike (25 May 1380-Sept. 1384 and Mar. 1386-11 Jan. 1396); baptismal name John; born Thessalonike? 1341/2, died Thessalonike 11 Jan. 1396. He became the monk Isidore in Apr. 1375. His first years as metropolitan coincided with the future emperor Manuel II's defense of Thessalonike against the Turks (1383-87). Although Glabas urged the citizens to respect and support Manuel, he himself left his see during the siege, was temporarily deposed, and resided for a while in Constantinople. After the capture of Thessalonike (1387), he traveled to Asia Minor to negotiate with the Turks; this perilous trip is described in the monody of Constantine Ivankos (PLP, no.7973) on Glabas. By 1393 he had returned to his see. His sermons (many unpublished) and letters provide evidence for conditions in Thessalonike during the Turkish siege and during the occupation of 1387 to 1403 (A.E. Bakalopoulos, *Makedonika* 4 [1955-60] 20-34). He reported that even under the Turkish yoke some Byz. officials remained in their positions. Glabas complained of heavy Ottoman taxation; a sermon of 1395 (ed. B. Laourdas in *Prosphora eis Stilpona P. Kyriakiden* [= *Hellenika*, supp. 4, 1953] 389-

98) is one of the first Byz. sources to refer to the Ottoman *devshirme*, the dreaded "child levy" (S. Vryonis, *Speculum* 31 [1956] 433-43). Glabas argued that the fall of the city was divine punishment for the decadence of priests and monks, and the moral decline of its citizens.

ED. PG 139:11-164. *Homiliai eis tas heortas tou Hagiou Demetriou*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonike 1954). "Okto epistolai anakdotoi," ed. S.P. Lampros, *NE* 9 (1912) 343-414. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "Symbole eis ten historian Thessalonikes. Dyo anakdotoi homiliai Isidorou archiepiskopou Thessalonikes," *Theologia* 42 (1971) 548-81. Eng. tr. idem, *PBR* 1 (1982) 184-210; 2 (1983) 65-83.

LIT. R.-J. Loenertz, "Isidore Glabas, métropolitte de Thessalonique (1380-1396)," *REB* 6 (1948) 181-87, with add. V. Laurent, 187-90. PLP, no.4223. -A.M.T.

**GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES** (or Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes), *protostrator*; born ca.1235, died after 1304. Glabas is first mentioned in 1260 as the Byz. official assigned to regain Mesembria from the Bulgarian rebel Miko. He held a series of government posts, *megas papias*, *kouropalates*, *pinkernes*, and *megas konostaulos*, culminating sometime after 1297 in the dignity of *protostrator*. He waged successful campaigns against the Bulgarians in 1263 and 1278 and fought the Angevins in Albania ca. 1284. In 1297, as governor of the western part of the empire, he was entrusted with defending Macedonia against the Serbs and built or restored 15 fortresses in Thrace. He died soon after his campaign of 1304.

Glabas and his wife, Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina, were wealthy patrons of the arts. In 1303 they sponsored the restoration of the Chapel of St. EUTHYMIOUS THE GREAT, attached to the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168-83). Glabas also restored the monastery of PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople; he was buried there in the *parekklesion* constructed by his widow, who became the nun Martha. Glabas had become a monk before his death and, as an inscription about the apse mosaic records, the chapel was intended as a pledge for his salvation. His military exploits were commemorated in a (now lost) fresco cycle, probably at the Pammakaristos, known from the description in a poem by Manuel PHILES.

LIT. G. Theodorides, "Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes," *EEPhSPT* 7 (1957) 183-206. Belting et al., *Pammakaristos* 11-23. -A.M.T., A.C.

**GLAGOLITIC**, the earliest alphabet for the writing of CHURCH SLAVONIC, probably invented by St. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER in the mid-9th C. It consisted of 40 letters, apparently derived partly from Greek MINUSCULE, partly from adaptations of Semitic letters, and partly from characters devised by Constantine the Philosopher himself. Among the Orthodox SLAVS, Glagolitic was almost completely supplanted by Cyrillic by the beginning of the 11th C., although in Serbia and parts of Macedonia it survived until the 13th C. The Catholic Slavs of Croatia used it until the late 18th C.

LIT. A. Vaillant, "L'alphabet vieux-slave," *RES* 32 (1955) 7-31. T. Eckhardt, "Theorien über den Ursprung der Glagolica," *Slovo* 13 (1963) 87-118. -S.C.F.

**GLASS, PRODUCTION OF.** The term for glassmaker, *hyalopsos* (and variants), is known from papyri, early hagiographic texts, and epistolography (Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 86). John Chrysostom (PG 61:142.24-26) was astonished by the glassmakers who transformed sand into a cohesive and transparent substance. The vita of Symeon of Emesa describes the workshop of a Jewish glassmaker in Emesa in which the needy found warmth at the furnace and watched the blowing of vessels that at times burst; Moschos mentions a *hyalopsos* who was blinded by the flame (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 149f) and a Jew in Constantinople who was a glassmaker (*hyalourgos*) by profession (E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 93.25). They are relatively seldom mentioned in later texts: thus, in the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS (*Annales* 506.7) speaks of a Jewish *hyelepsos*, but this glassmaker lived in the days of Justin II. There is neither a glassmakers' guild in the *Book of the Eparch* nor any evidence that the monks of the Stoudios produced glass, unless we surmise that the *phlaskopoios* in this monastery (Dobroklonskij, *Teodor* 143) blew glass bottles. In the 15th C. some glass wares were imported from Italy (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 104).

Nevertheless, later Byz. objects of glass are well known: vessels (bottles, goblets, cups), often of blue or green glass, sometimes with marvered-in decorations; bracelets; mosaic cubes; window panes; etc. An inventory of 1142 lists glass lamps (*Pantel.*, no.7.25). Literary sources mention cham-

ber pots made of glass (Koukoules, *Bios* 2:76, n.11). Some late Roman glass workshops were found in Sardis (A. von Saldern, *Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1980]), Galilee (G. Davidson Weinberg, *Museum Haaretz Bulletin* 10 [1968] 49f), and other locations. In Corinth two glass factories of the 11th-12th C. were excavated and it is plausible that glass was produced in Constantinople and Paphos. Byz. glass was exported (e.g., several Byz. vessels have been found in Byelorussian Novogrudok and in Ani); Romanos I, when dispatching an envoy to Italy, sent with him 17 glass vessels together with a luxurious garment (*De cer.* 661.13-16).

Technological analysis of Corinth glass suggests that it belonged to the same type as the Roman and Egyptian wares (and probably the glass from Cherson and Belaja Veža-Sarkel), but the Byz. glassmakers learned by the 11th C. to proportion their materials better and to produce more durable glass (F. Matson, *AJA* 44 [1940] 325-27). Some fragments of Byz. stained glass have been found in Istanbul (see GLASS, STAINED).

LIT. J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie* (Bologna 1970). M.A. Bezborodov, *Steklodeliie v Drevnej Rusi* (Minsk 1956). G. Davidson Weinberg, "The Importance of Greece in Byzantine Glass Manufacture," 15 *CEB* 2B (Athens 1981) 915-19. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 107, n.91. -A.K.

**GLASS, STAINED.** Although certainly not as prominent a part of 10th-12th-C. Byz. church decoration as MOSAICS and FRESCOES, stained glass nevertheless had an important role. This is clear from the discovery of the window fragments from the south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. Datable to shortly after 1125, they attest to a mature stained-glass tradition, generally similar to that of the West in style and technique, but clearly not dependent on it. Indeed, this monument's early date suggests that the influence was the other way around. Highly ornamental in effect, Byz. stained glass had more in common with enamelwork than with monumental painting, although large figures dominated each panel. Characterized by large areas of blue and a dark purple-red, it was cast in rectangular pans, unlike Western glass, which was blown. Indeed, the Western monk Theophilus (ca.1110-40) indicates that blue, a color achieved only with



difficulty in the West, was a Greek specialty; he calls it *saphirus graecus*.

LIT. A.H.S. McGaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963) 349–64. J. Lafond, "Découverte de vitraux historiés du moyen âge à Constantinople," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 231–38. —G.V.

**GLASS CRUETS**, a common type of mold-blown vessels decorated with Christian and Jewish symbols (primarily crosses and menorahs). Distinguished by a squat hexagonal or, more rarely, octagonal body, with intaglio decoration on its side, this vessel type is known in two main variants: "bottles," with short necks (and, occasionally, handles), and "jugs," with long necks, spouts, and handles. Most are of brown glass and nearly all examples are between 8 and 16 cm in height. Findspots and provenance, which point toward Palestine and Syria, suggest sepulchral use. Their remarkable uniformity speaks for a single workshop, whose activity can be dated to the 6th and early 7th C. on the basis of similarities between certain cross types employed and those appearing on coins. A ritual function is beyond doubt, but the often-repeated suggestion that they are pilgrims' flasks is supported neither by inscriptional evidence nor texts and is difficult to reconcile with the interchangeability of Christian and Jewish symbols that is characteristic of the type. There is also no evidence to support the theory that certain of the crosses replicate the jeweled cross then standing on Golgotha in JERUSALEM.

LIT. D. Barag, "Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem," *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 35–63; 13 (1971) 45–63. —G.V.

**GLASS PASTE CAMEOS**, a popular genre of devotional medallion, produced in Venice from the later 12th to the early 14th C. Typically oval, 2–6 cm high, they are most often opaque red to reddish brown, with dark striations, although examples in clear green, yellow, and blue also survive. Made of molten glass with reusable dies, more than 200 surviving examples reflect about 60 mold types. About one-third bear images of Christ or the Virgin; the Crucifixion and Nativity are the most popular scenic representations. Most bear inscriptions in Latin or Greek. This amalgam is paralleled in the choice of subject: some, such as Sts. Francis, Christopher, and James of Com-

postella, are distinctively Western; others, such as Sts. Theophano, Sophia, and Demetrios as well as scenes of the DORMITION, are more characteristically Byz. These cast-glass medallions were inexpensive, "mass-produced" imitations of Byz. hard-stone CAMEOS made to suit a broad, mobile clientele. Authenticated findspots range over the entire Mediterranean basin, through the Balkans and western Europe, to points as far away as Moscow and Sweden. Patron saints of land and sea travel (Christopher and Nicholas) and pilgrims (James) appear frequently, as do MILITARY SAINTS, who held special appeal for Crusaders.

LIT. H. Wentzel, "Das Medaillon mit dem Hl. Theodor und die venezianischen Glaspasten im byzantinischen Stil," in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, 29. Oktober 1957 (Hamburg 1959) 50–67. —G.V.

**GLASS PENDANTS** are small (approximately 2 cm diam.) disks of colored glass—usually blue, yellow, or green—with a suspension loop and a die impression on one surface. Similar in appearance to GLASS WEIGHTS, they were manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, Syria, Palestine) until the 7th C., perpetuating a traditional, inexpensive type of jewelry current among pagans and Jews of the Roman period. Clearly amuletic in function, glass pendants typically bear scenes of protection (the Good Shepherd) or deliverance (the Sacrifice of Isaac); the cross or CHRISTOGRAM also appears, as do representations of one of the Sts. SYMEON THE STYLITE.

LIT. J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie (Ve–XVIe siècle)* (Bologna 1970) 37f. —G.V.

**GLASS WEIGHTS**, small disks (diam. approximately 1.7–2.5 cm) of colored glass—mostly yellow, green, or blue—used as EXAGIA. Their derived weights correspond to the SOLIDUS, SEMISSIS, and TREMISSIS; they would have been used either with COIN SCALES or BALANCE SCALES. Issued by the EPARCH OF THE CITY, glass weights may be either figural or nonfigural. Figural specimens most often show the eparch, identified by inscription and usually with a MAPPA in his raised hand. More rarely, the emperor is shown, either alone or with simply the MONOGRAM of the eparch. Sometimes one or two eparchs are shown with the emperor or with Christ above (in this case with one eparch only); again, a monogram iden-

tifies the issuing official. Nonfigural glass weights usually bear a single monogram (either cruciform or block-shaped). Rare specimens also include numerical weight designations (e.g., KA for 21 *siliquae*). Closely related to bronze flat WEIGHTS, glass weights were issued in substantial quantities throughout the 6th C. and into the 7th. From Constantinople they made their way via commercial routes to points throughout the Mediterranean basin. Many duplicates are known.

LIT. Vikar-Nesbitt, *Security* 36f. —G.V.

**GLEB.** See BORIS AND GLEB.

**GLOBOS.** See SPHAIRA.

**GLORIOSUS**, or *gloriosissimus* (ἐνδοξότατος), the highest title of SENATORS in the 6th C. As the old senatorial titles lost their éclat, the state tried to introduce new distinctions. In the mid-5th C. the ILLUSTRES were renamed *magnifici*, later *excelsi*, and in the 6th C. *gloriosi*. The title was awarded to prefects, MAGISTRI MILITUM, MAGISTRI OFFICIORUM, QUAESTORES, and PRAEPOSITI SACRI CUBICULI, whereas *comites* (see COMES) received the title of *magnificentissimus*. The title of *gloriosus* was also granted to some barbarian kings, such as the Ostrogoth THEODORIC THE GREAT.

LIT. C. Jullian in C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* (Paris 1899) 3.1:388f. —A.K.

**GLOSSAE**, glosses and commentary on legal texts and terminology. In the adaptation of the Latin texts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS by the ANTECESSORS for a Greek-speaking population, most Latin technical terms were left untranslated. The Greek NOVELS of Justinian I and his immediate successors also included a great number of Latin expressions. The rapid decline in knowledge of the Latin language made it necessary to replace most of these words through *exhellenismos*, as the *prooimion* to the PROCHIRON calls it, or at least to comment on them in the MSS. Alphabetically arranged lists of glossae, called *lexeis rhomaikai*, soon appeared. Some of these lists can be attached to specific works of legal literature; some lists were enlarged or combined with others. Greek words were also adopted as lemmata; the glossae were mixed with

Latin-Greek glossae drawn from the works of JOHN LYDOS and with short independent commentaries on legal ACTIONS and similar concepts of Roman law.

LIT. L. Burgmann, "Byzantinische Rechtslexika," *FM* 2 (1977) 87–146. Idem, "Das Lexikon *adel*—ein Theophilusglossar," *FM* 6 (1984) 19–61. —L.B.

**GLOSSARIES, BILINGUAL**, lists of words either in Greek with Latin translations or in Latin with Greek translations produced by Carolingian scribes and preserved in MSS from the 9th C. onward. They are based on the so-called *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana* (3rd C.?) and various other sources, including ISIDORE OF SEVILLE and MACROBIUS. The texts are of different lengths. Thus the *Scholica Graecarum glossarum* contains about 450 Greek terms and definitions; other expanded glossaries are the so-called "Philoxenus" (Latin-Greek) and "Cyrillus" (Greek-Latin); many are short, limited to several words. The etymologies are often more fantastic than those found in Isidore, and explanations of Greek words can be completely wrong. The glossaries, however, can be indicative of Western interest in Byz. institutions; for example, the St. Gall *glossae* of the 9th C. include terms (with interpretations) for Byz. charitable institutions such as *xenodochium*, *ptochotrophium*, *nosochomium*, *orphanotrophium*, *gerontochomium*, and *brephotrophium*; the definitions are probably drawn from Julian the Antecessor, a Constantinopolitan jurist of the 6th C. (B. Kaczynski, *Speculum* 58 [1983] 1008–17).

ED. *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. 2, ed. G. Goetz, G. Gundermann (Leipzig 1888). "Glossaire Grec-Latin de la Bibliothèque de Laon," ed. M.E. Miller, *Notices et extraits* 29.2 (1880) 1–230. M.L.W. Laistner, "Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth Century Monastery Teacher," *Bull/RylandsLib* 7 (1922–23) 421–56.

LIT. J.J. Contreni, "Three Carolingian Texts Attributed to Laon: Reconsiderations," *StMed* 17.2 (1976) 802–08. W.M. Lindsay, "The Philoxenus Glossary," *CRev* 31 (1917) 158–63. —A.K.

**GLYKAS, MICHAEL**, 12th-C. writer; born first third of 12th C., perhaps on Kerkyra (cf. Krumbacher, *GBL* 381). As imperial *grammatikos*, Glykas (Γλυκάς) was involved in a plot against Manuel I; according to Kresten ("Styppeiotēs" 66–70), this scheme was connected with the conspiracy of Theodore STYPPEIOTES in 1159. Blinded (perhaps not totally), Glykas was imprisoned until at least

1164. His identification with Michael Sikidites (Kresten, *op. cit.* 90–92), who was charged ca. 1200 with heresy and magic, is not impossible. Politically Glykas was anti-Kommenian: in his chronicle (*Biblos chronike*) of events from the Creation to 1118, he followed ZONARAS in criticizing Alexios strongly. He also condemned Manuel I's astrological enthusiasm. Glykas's attitude toward antiquity was critical as well; he rejected all ancient philosophers save Aristotle. He rejected also the idea of *ananke*, "historical determinism"—his polemic against astrology was connected with this anteterministic approach to history. Both Glykas's chronicle and his letters, often on similar subjects, were overtly didactic. His substantial additions to the first part of the chronicle are borrowed from the PHYSIOLOGOS (F. Sbordone, *BZ* 29 [1929/30] 188–97) and demonstrate Christian moral principles. Proverbs which Glykas collected and abundantly inserted in his works also served didactic ends. His language is plain albeit scholarly, but in his *Verses from Prison* Glykas was one of the first to use the vernacular.

ED. *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836). *Eis tas aporias tes Theias Graphes kephalaia*, ed. S. Eustratiades, 2 vols. (Athens 1906, Alexandria 1912), rev. E. Kurtz, *BZ* 17 (1908) 166–72 (see also W. Lackner, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 127f). *Stichoi hous egrapse kath' hon kateschethe kairon*, ed. E. Th. Tsolakes (Thessalonike 1959).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:422–26. K. Krumbacher, "Michael Glykas," *SBAW* (1894) 391–460, rev. V. Vasil'evskij, *Viz-Vrem* 6 (1899) 524–37. H. Eideneier, "Zur Sprache des Michael Glykas," *BZ* 61 (1968) 5–9. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. —A.K.

**GNOME** (γνώμη, Lat. *sententia*), pithy saying or maxim. A *gnome* was a type of rhetorical ornamentation, similar to a PROVERB, that was supposedly familiar to the audience and accordingly would evoke predictable sentiments (Martin, *Rhetorik* 257f). Theoreticians of rhetoric, such as APHTHONIOS and NICHOLAS OF MYRA, treated the *gnome* as a kind of PROGYMNASMA and tried to distinguish it from the *chreia* (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:100f). Collections of *gnomai* (*gnomologia*) were made from ancient authors, both in prose (e.g., Democritus, Isocrates, Epictetus) and verse (e.g., Euripides, Menander of Athens), and were presented either thematically or alphabetically. The distinction between *gnomologium* and FLORILEGIUM is narrow and conventional. Though many scholars use the

terms interchangeably, *gnomologium* may be kept for works of predominantly secular content.

The *Eklogai* of STOBAIOS contained large numbers of ancient *gnomai* used by Byz. writers and by the later (mostly anonymous) compilers of *gnomologia*, of which the fullest is the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (Vat. gr. 743, 14th C.). Other examples include the *Gnomologium Democrito-Epictetum* (ed. C. Wachsmuth, *infra* 162–216), the *Gnomologium Parisinum* (Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 134, 13th C.—ed. Sternbach, *infra*), and that of John Georgides (10th C.; Paris, B.N. gr. 1166—ed. Odorico, *infra* 119–255). On the basis of various recensions Wachsmuth (*infra*) tried to reconstruct the text of a *Gnomologium Byzantinum* (i.e., the corpus of *gnomai* in circulation in Byz.). To the genre of *gnomologia* also belonged works of more developed character (KEKAUMENOS, SPANEAS, etc.), in which *gnomai* are elaborated in short stories or didactic digressions. Greek *gnomai* were translated into Syriac and Arabic.

ED. *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, ed. L. Sternbach, *WS* 9 (1887) 175–206; 10 (1888) 1–49; 11 (1889) 43–64, 192–242; rp. Berlin 1963. *Il Prato e l'Ape: Il Sapere Sentenzioso del Monaco Giovanni*, ed. P. Odorico (Vienna 1986).

LIT. K. Horna, K. von Fritz, *RE*, suppl. 6 (1935) 74–90. C. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin 1882; rp. Amsterdam 1971). P. Odorico, "Lo *Gnomologium Byzantinum* e la recensione del Cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen 1070," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 41–70. D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation* (New Haven, Conn., 1975).

—E.M.J., A.K.

**GNOSTICISM** (from γνῶσις, "knowledge"), a loose-knit and variable system of belief based on DUALISM and the premise that the full revelation of God is given only to a select few. It flourished esp. in the 2nd C. The works of Gnostics were condemned and destroyed so that until fairly recently their teachings were known only through the Christian polemic directed against them; the discovery of the NAG HAMMADI texts, however, makes Gnostic writings directly available. Gnostics ranged from the Valentinians, who taught an elaborate and decidedly non-Christian mythology, to Marcion (died ca. 160), who was a Christian heretic with dualist tendencies. Gnostics associated the God of the Old Testament with Satan, and their Christology was docetic; it was an early rival of Christianity, and much of Orthodox theology was developed to answer its challenge. By the 3rd C., however, Gnosticism was no longer a

threat, surviving in an institutionalized form only among the MANDAEANS. Nevertheless, Gnostic ideas continued to be influential in the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, esp. in the writings of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, and EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. Some scholars have seen Gnostic influence in the PAULICIANS and BOGOMILS, but this is unlikely except in the most general sense.

LIT. K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (New York 1983). G. Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1981). E.H. Paegels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York 1979). H.A. Green, *The Economic and Social Origins of Gnosticism* (Atlanta 1985). M.K. Trofimova, "Gnosticism," *PSb* 26 (1978) 103–27. —T.E.G.

**GOATS** (αἰγίδια). Goats are often mentioned in combination with SHEEP as *aigidoprobata* (*Lavra* 2, no. 109.361) or may be listed separately (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no. 38.36). A household might keep as many as 100 goats (*Lavra* 2, no. 109.854), and a monastery a flock of 2,000 sheep and goats.

The Byz. kept goats for milk, CHEESE, MEAT, and wool. The term *aigeiometaxa* ("goat silk"), used by PROCHOPRODROMOS (3:77), indicates that their wool was considered a high-quality material. On the other hand, the rough cloak of a holy man could also be made of goat wool (PG 120:45B). The GEOPONIKA (bk. 18.9–10) devotes less space to goats than to sheep, but otherwise there are no data to establish the relative proportions of the two species. According to the *Geoponika*, goats were pastured on mountains; the vita of Paul of Latros (ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 11 [1892] 44f) also tells of a peasant (*georgos*) who lived with his goats in the mountains, but returned home at harvest time. —A.K., J.W.N.

**GOD** (Θεός). Of five known ancient etymologies of the word *theos* the church fathers retained at least three: from *theo*, "run"; *theoreo*, "observe"; and *tithemi*, "set" (I. Opelt, *StP* 5 [1962] 532–40). The Christian concept of God originated as a middle way between the pagan idea of gods as "older brothers" of humans, immortal but vulnerable to human passions, and the Eastern concept of the transcendent God, fully distinguished from mankind. Dissatisfied with the pagan idea and esp. hostile to the concept of the divine emperor, church fathers tried to preserve the monotheistic principle of the Old Testament without

disrupting the ties between God and mankind, thus making possible the "divinization" or SALVATION of man.

According to Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:932C), God is unknowable in his essence; thus, the church fathers, using apophatic THEOLOGY, define God primarily with negative epithets, commencing with the negative prefix *a(n)* ("without"): thus *anarchos* (without beginning), *aperinoetos* (unintelligible), etc. (e.g., John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 2.10–12, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:8f). However, the concepts of OIKONOMIA and INCARNATION make it possible to bridge the gap between God and man. The incomprehensibility of God created an epistemological problem—how can we learn about God? John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 3.4–5, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:10) solved it by arguing (see ANALOGY) that our belief in God is natural (*physikos*).

Other qualities of God emphasized his omnipotence and omniscience (usually beginning with *pan-* ["all"], e.g., PANTOKRATOR) or his justice and PHILANTHROPY toward men. In the political sphere God was considered the guarantor and guardian of the Byz. Empire and of its ruler in particular.

LIT. G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London 1952). W. Schoedel, "Enclosing, not Enclosed: The Early Christian Doctrine of God," in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition* (Paris 1979) 75–86. R.M. Hübnér, *Der Gott der Kirchenväter* (Munich 1979). F.M. Young, "Insight or Incoherence? The Greek Fathers on God and Evil," *JEH* 24 (1973) 113–26. B.A. Mastin, "The Imperial Cult and the Ascription of the Title *theos* to Jesus (John XX, 28)," *Studia Evangelica* 6 (Berlin 1973) 352–65.

—G.P., A.K.

**GODFREY OF BOUILLON**, duke of Lower Lorraine; born ca. 1060, died Jerusalem 18 July 1100. Leading the Lotharingian contingent of the First Crusade, Godfrey (Γουτοφρέ) peacefully traversed the Balkans until, at Selymbria, he learned that HUGH OF VERMANDOIS was captive in Constantinople, whereupon he devastated the region. Mollified by Alexios I, he pacified his troops and reached the outskirts of Constantinople on 23 Dec. 1096. Alternating peace and conflict between Godfrey and the Byz. culminated in a serious battle outside Constantinople on 2 Apr. 1097. Anna Komnene says he was attacking the city; pillaging of the suburbs followed. Only after further skirmishes did Godfrey agree to enter Constantinople and swear fealty to Alexios (5 Apr. 1097). Thereafter he mediated between BOHE-

MUND and the emperor. Godfrey played a leading role in the Crusade. After the conquest of JERUSALEM he may have become *advocatus sancti sepulchri*. Anna Komnene calls him wealthy and arrogant and emphasizes his rapid changes of attitude toward Alexios.

LIT. J.C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington [1947]; rp. Freeport, N.Y., 1972). Pryor, "Oaths" 111-41. —C.M.B.

**GODPARENT** (ἀνάδοχος), a sponsor at the sacrament of BAPTISM, one who "stands as a surety," receiving the baptized infant or adult from the "waters of rebirth." All Orthodox Christians, except monks and nuns, could stand as godparents. Some imperial and aristocratic offspring had more than one godparent; other children had only one. Usually the same person served as godparent for all the children of a marriage. Baptism established a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP between godparent and godchild and created a tie between godparent and natural parents, "coparenthood" (*synteknia*), which manifested itself in gift-giving, social contact, and joint business ventures. Godparents were chosen from among friends and relatives. According to the church fathers, it was the godparent's duty to give moral and religious instruction to his godchildren. A few cases show that godparents sometimes took in orphaned godchildren, raised them, and provided for their education and marriage. MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS among spiritual relations increased from the 6th C., when godparent and godchild were forbidden to marry, until by the 12th C. the prohibitions were considered to be the same as those for blood relations. Godparenthood has elements in common with ADOPTION.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:43-69. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XII (1978), 625-36. R. Macrides, "The Byzantine Godfather," *BMGS* 12 (1987) 139-62. —R.J.M.

**GOLD** (χρυσός) was considered the most precious metal in Byz. As with other metals, the location and exploitation of gold sources and MINES between the 4th and 15th C. is somewhat a matter of speculation. It was used (sometimes alloyed with SILVER or copper as billon and electrum) for manufacturing COINS, MEDALLIONS, ENAMEL plaques, luxurious domestic PLATE and LITURGICAL VESSELS, and JEWELRY. Gold foil was used for gilding architectural details (Asterios of Amaseia

[PG 40:209B] inveighs against those who dwell beneath "roofs overlaid with gold") and metal objects. It was also used in "gold glass," MOSAIC tesserae, book illumination, and icon painting, and even woven into textiles and used in embroidery.

Much gold was reserved for imperial use, even if Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 189.57-62) ridicules it as "the color of bile" that has ominous significance when worn during battle. Only the emperor issued CHRYSOBULLS and dined on golden dishes; gilded AUTOMATA occupied a place of honor in imperial ritual. Theologians interpreted gold as condensed light, as the symbol of incorruptibility, truth, glory, and of the sun.

Many recorded "gold" objects and furniture (such as those mentioned by Constantine VII [*De cer.* 580.5, 8-9; 587.9-10; 593.6]) were probably gilded silver, like the Byz. objects of the 10th-11th C. preserved in San Marco. Very few vessels made of gold survive from the 4th-15th C. Most of a selection of gold jewelry (dated from 350 to 1000) analyzed in 1986 was found to be 86-96 percent pure, that is, more debased than gold solidi of the same period; later jewelry (11th-13th C.) was 80-89 percent pure. Gold for jewelry was worked in repoussé, filigree, and granulation techniques and drawn out as wire and in the form of straps.

LIT. Hunger, *Reich* 89-95. S. Averincev, "L'or dans le système des symboles de la culture protobyzantine," *StMed* 3 20 (1979) 47-67. Vryonis, *Byzantium*, pt.VI (1962), 5-10. M.E. Frazer, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith Work," in *Treasury S. Marco* 109-78. A. Oddy, S. La Niece, "Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery: A Study of Gold Contents," *Gold Bulletin* 19 (1986) 19-27. B. Brenk, "Early Gold Mosaics in Christian Art," *Palette* 38 (1972) 16-25. —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

**GOLDEN GATE** (Χρυσαὶ Πύλαι, Χρυσεία Πύλη), monumental gate situated at the south end of the land walls of Constantinople, used for imperial triumphs and other state occasions (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). It was constructed under Theodosios, most probably Theodosios II. Built of marble blocks, it consists of three arched openings flanked by square towers. A Latin inscription in metal letters placed on the central arch refers to the gilding of the gate (i.e., of its valves) after the defeat of a usurper (Ioannes, executed at Ravenna in 425). The gate was dec-

orated with various statues. The complex was protected by an outer wall, pierced by a single gate, on either side of which were placed antique mythological reliefs. The latter survived until the 17th C. A fort, built here by John V in 1389/90, was immediately dismantled by order of Sultan Bayezid I. The gate was incorporated into the Castle of the Seven Towers (Turk. Yedikule) erected by Sultan Mehmed II in 1457/8.

There were Golden Gates in some other cities as well, such as Antioch (also called the Gates of Daphne, end of the 4th C.) and Thessalonike (also called the Gates of Vardar). In the 11th C. a golden gate was erected in Kiev.

LIT. T. Macridy, S. Casson, "Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople," *Archaeologia* 81 (1931) 63-84. B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943) 39-62. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 297-300. —C.M.

**GOLDEN HORDE.** See MONGOLS; TATARS.

**GOLDEN HORN.** See CONSTANTINOPLE.

**GOLDSMITH.** See JEWELER.

**GOLGOTHA.** See SEPULCHRE, HOLY.

**GONIKON** (γονικόν), a category of land ownership. F. Uspenskij (in *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju, sostavlennyj i izdannij učenicami V. I. Laman-skogo* [St. Petersburg 1883] 4) contrasted *gonikon* and PRONOIA as hereditary patrimony versus a conditional grant. As a term denoting the origin of property ("parental"), *gonikon* also distinguished patrimonial land from property received through *paradosis* (conferred upon a *paroikos* by his landlord or the state), EXALEIMMA, dowry, and purchase (*Chil.*, no.92) as well as from other relatives. *Paroikoi* who held *gonikon* could be called *gonikarioi* (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 184). In an extended application complementing the term's literal sense as a *titulus acquirendi*, imperial grants to religious institutions (e.g., *Chil.*, no.24.14) and laymen often state that property or revenue was henceforth to be regarded as if it were or had become *gonikon* (*hos gonikon . . . ktema* [Binon, *Xéropotamou*, no.20.2], *kata logon gonikotetos* [Guillou, *Ménécée* no.6.6]). In these cases, *gonikon* im-

plied an intensified degree of tenure over the property but not necessarily the right to bequeath or to alienate. Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 134) suggests that at minimum it included the right to profit fully from improvements to a property and could be applied to certain kinds of conditional grants. On the other hand, in an act of 1432 from Trebizond, *gonikon* is distinguished from property held in simple possession (*he diapherousa nome kai gonikeia*—ed. V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 18 [1953] 263.79, 264.85-86).

The very rare verb *gonikeuomai* means "to make hereditary"; thus, in 1307 Andronikos II Palaiologos granted Alexios Diplovatatzes' request that a property already within his *oikonomia* be "hereditized" (*gonikeuthe*) so that he could hold it "as *gonikon*" (*katechein . . . hos goniken*—Guillou, *Ménécée*, nos. 2.3, 9-10); and in 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos granted land in hereditary tenure (*eis charin gonikeutheises*) to the Thelematarioi. The fluidity and imprecision in the use of the word is also seen in Frankish Greece; the *Chronicle of the Morea* employs *igonika*, *pronoia*, and, in the French version, *héritaige* as equivalents of "fief" (Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI [1967], 430-32).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 219-21. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 219-20. —M.B.

**GOOD FRIDAY** (μεγάλη [ἀγία] Παρασκευή), the day of the CRUCIFIXION, the Friday before EASTER, from at least the 2nd C. a day of FASTING. Originally Good Friday had no special liturgical services since it was considered, with Holy Saturday and the Easter VIGIL, an integral part of the paschal triduum (three concluding days of HOLY WEEK). By the end of the 4th C. it had become a feast in its own right, celebrated at Jerusalem with a lengthy vigil Thursday night and on Friday with the veneration of the relic of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) and an office oflections on the PASSION of Christ, services that soon spread to Constantinople and elsewhere. The *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:76-83) describes a vigil at Hagia Sophia with reading of the Twelve Passion Gospels (see EVANGELION), followed by the veneration of the Passion RELICS, esp. the Sacred Lance, a service that drew huge crowds and lasted until noon. After the HOURS of terce-sext, the patriarch held a service for the catechumens at the Church of St. Irene. The day concluded with



the liturgy of the PRESANCTIFIED at Hagia Sophia. The emperor participated in the veneration of the lance, the service of terce-sext, and the catechesis at St. Irene. The introduction of Jerusalem Holy Week customs at Constantinople from the 9th C. led to the demise of these services. According to ANTONY of Novgorod, in Constantinople by ca. 1200, only in the Anastasia church in the Portico of Domninos was there a service to venerate "the Lord's nail and blood" (ed. Ch. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 29). The other churches were merely washed and strewn with blossoms in preparation for Easter.

LIT. S. Janeras, *Le Vendredi-saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine* (Rome 1988). —R.F.T.

**GOOD SHEPHERD** (καλὸς ποιμὴν [Jn 10:11], *agathos poimen*; cf. also Lk 15:3–7), a Christian symbol borrowed from pagan images of a *kriophoros* (ram-bearer): Christ was perceived by early Christians as both the LAMB OF GOD and the shepherd who cares for his flock. The date of the origin of the Good Shepherd's representation in art is debatable. Klauser (*infra*) denied its existence at the time of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian; he likewise rejected the interpretation of *kriophoroi* on early sarcophagi as representations of the Good Shepherd. This figure, however, was a favorite image of Christ in the catacombs of the 3rd–4th C. and in small-scale sculpture (K. Weitzmann, *DOCat* 3, nos. 3, 5). The theme of the shepherd and his flock occurs in early baptisteries and in the baptismal ritual of Eastern churches. The shepherd was depicted standing with the sheep slung over his shoulder or seated among his flock, protecting his lambs, playing a flute, or carrying a milk pail; he is usually a beardless youth wearing a tunic. In the 5th-C. mausoleum of GALLA PLACIDIA in Ravenna the figure is royal, clad in gold and purple robes, and holding a cross-staff instead of a crook. The Good Shepherd does not occur as an independent image after the 6th C.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 13:2272–2390. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst I," *JbAChr* 1 (1958) 20–51. J. Quasten, "Das Bild des guten Hirten in der altchristlichen Baptisterien und in den Tauf-liturgien des Ostens und Westens," in *Pisciculi, Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums* (Münster/Westf. 1939) 220–44. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1051–54. —A.K., N.P.S.

**GÖREME**, a valley in CAPPADOCIA, the site of a number of medieval ROCK-CUT refectories, mills, cells, and painted chapels attesting to a thriving monastic enclave for which there is no textual documentation. Churches with elaborate figural decorations include Kılıçlar Kilise, a cross-in-square structure (early 10th C.?); El Nazar, a domed-cruciform church (early 10th C.?); the COLUMN CHURCHES; and the Yılanlı Group, a series of relatively crudely carved and simply decorated monuments probably dating from the period of SELJUK occupation after 1071. Tokalı Kilise, a complex of three churches, retains the most elaborate carving and decoration in the valley. The Old Church may be ascribed to the early 10th C. on the basis of its close stylistic relation to Ayvalı Kilise in GÜLLÜ DERE. Images in the Pigeon House in ÇAVUŞIN (963–69) were derived from those in the New Church, thus providing it with a *terminus ante quem*. The extremely rich narrative cycles of the New Church are lavishly rendered in a classicizing style with quantities of ultramarine (see FRESCO TECHNIQUE) and gold and silver foil; the cycle is unique within the empire for high-quality monumental painting of the mid-10th C.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 1:2:95–497. G.P. Schiemenz, "Felskapellen im Göreme-Tal, Kappadokien: Die Yılanlı-Group und Saklı Kilise," *IstMitt* 30 (1980) 291–319. A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth Century Metropolitan Art in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986). L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985) 48–56, 160–83. —A.J.W.

**GORTYNA** (Γόρτυνα, also Gortys), capital of CRETE in late antiquity, located in the south of the island. Gortyna remained the capital until the Arab conquest and the establishment of CHANDAX ca. 824–27. An earthquake ca. 670 caused much destruction and early Arab attacks prevented substantial rebuilding. Byz. sources speak of the destruction of Gortyna by the Arabs and the martyrdom of its bishop Cyril, although both accounts are probably fictitious (Christides, *Crete* 92–94) and the city—much reduced—continued to exist after the conquest. The bishop of Gortyna, always a metropolitan, was frequently listed simply as metropolitan of Crete; in the later 10th C. he held the 10th rank in the empire, above that of Corinth, Sicily, and Thessalonike.

The governor's palace (*praetorium*) was rebuilt

in 381–83 and continued in use into the Arab period, after which it was apparently transformed into a monastery (Sanders, *infra* 80). The acropolis was fortified, perhaps in the 7th–8th C. The Church of St. Titos, probably built in the early 7th C., is a domed three-aisled basilica with three apses and side aisles terminating in apses; the sanctuary is a triconch with flanking pastophoria. It was probably rebuilt in the 10th C. Another church was constructed in the remains of the temple of Apollo; it may have served as the cathedral until construction of St. Titos.

LIT. I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 110–13. D. and L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 786–811. A. DiVita, *Gortina I* (Rome 1988). —T.E.G.

**GOSPEL BOOK**. The *tetraevangelion* (Τετραεὐαγγέλιον), not to be confused with the EVANGELION, contains the complete text of the four Gospels, arranged exactly as they are in the New Testament, but with the beginning and end of each passage to be read indicated in the margin, and numbered.

The illustration of Gospel books is a subject of major interest. From before the 8th C., only two illustrated Greek Gospel books—the ROSSANO GOSPELS and Sinope Gospels (Paris, B.N. gr. suppl. 1286)—survive, but the Syriac RABBULA GOSPELS is also preserved. Following Iconoclasm, the typical Gospel book was written in MINUSCULE script. Containing prefaces and liturgical aids, it was decorated with CANON TABLES, HEADPIECES, INITIALS, and EVANGELIST PORTRAITS and was sometimes produced in diminutive format in combination with the Psalter to form a devotional book. Only rarely did it receive extensive narrative illustration (e.g., the two FRIEZE GOSPELS). Its prefaces prompted certain subjects, such as EVANGELIST SYMBOLS, figures inspiring the evangelists, and the MAJESTAS DOMINI. Its devotional and liturgical character occasioned preliminary iconic images and miniatures of nonbiblical events that pertain to the text's liturgical context, for example, the DORMITION of the Virgin or the ANASTASIS. The most innovative MSS were produced in the 11th and 12th C., and many MSS in the DECORATIVE STYLE (e.g., Karahisar Gospels) survive. In the Palaiologan period, the illustrated Gospel book remained popular, but its decoration

was generally restricted to headpieces and evangelist portraits with occasional iconic miniatures.

LIT. R. Deshman in *Illuminated Greek MSS* 40–44. R.S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York 1980). A.W. Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980) 130–61. —R.S.N.

**GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS**. See NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF.

**GOSPELS** (Εὐαγγέλιον, lit. "good message"). The canonical Gospels are Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John, an evangelical canon established by the end of the 2nd C.; other gospels were proclaimed to be APOCRYPHA. The most ancient papyrus fragments of the Gospels belong to the 2nd C.; from the 4th C. onward complete MSS are known that contain both the Old and New Testament; separate MSS of the Gospels are preserved from the 4th–5th C. (the Freer Gospels from Egypt). The text is preserved in the form of the GOSPEL BOOK (*tetraevangelion*) and the Gospel lectionary or EVANGELION.

EXEGESIS of the Gospels created difficulties that the church fathers sought to explain: the four versions of the Gospels differ and sometimes even contradict each other. ORIGEN endeavored to resolve the contradictions by applying allegorical interpretation. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, on the other hand, avoided allegorical assimilation of contradictory stories and treated the Gospels as the memoirs of apostles with differing recollections. In the West, Augustine collected parallel, but inconsistent, passages without trying to reconcile them artificially. Although original exegesis did not continue after the 6th C., the matter of discrepancies between the Gospels arose time and again. JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike, tried to establish in his homily on the Myrophoroi a concordance of Gospel evidence for Christ's resurrection. Euthymios ZIGABENOS and esp. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid produced voluminous commentaries on the Gospels.

The plain style of the Gospels also created difficulties for the Byz., who were fond of exquisite rhetoric. Some authors, such as John CHORTASMENOS, defended this stylistic simplicity against the fashionable ATTICISM.

LIT. H. Merkel, *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien* (Tübingen 1971). R.G. Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," *JThSt* n.s. 6 (1955) 1–16. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katechumenen* (Münster 1941). —J.L. A.K.

**GOTHIS** (Γότθοι), a Germanic people who, according to JORDANES, migrated from the Vistula region to Oium, between the Dniester and the Don. Archaeological remains of the ČERNJACHOVO culture have been tentatively identified with them. From 238 onward, the Goths harried the Danubian provinces, Greece, and Asia Minor, and ca.273 Emp. Aurelian yielded DACIA to them. At this time they probably formed two groups, VISIGOTHS and OSTROGOTHS, which moved westward in the 4th C. They played an ambivalent role in relation to the late Roman Empire—as attackers and plunderers, and as FOEDERATI. In any case, the archaeological record in the DANUBE provinces does not suggest an economic crisis during the 4th C. when the Goths were settling this area. Some Gothic generals (GAINAS, TRIBIGILD, Fravitas, etc.) became influential at the court in Constantinople. Their leading position in the army incited envy and hostility both among aristocratic intellectuals (such as SYNESIOS of Cyrene) and the population of Constantinople whose spokesman was John Chrysostom, a hostility exacerbated by the Arian creed that had been spread among the Goths by ULFILAS. On 11/12 July 400 a massacre of Gothic soldiers took place in Constantinople. Gainas soon fled and perished, Fravitas was executed, and the Gothic impact diminished. The hordes of ALARIC were turned toward Italy, and the empire was deprived of valuable warriors in the face of the Hunnic invasions.

Both the Visigothic and Ostrogothic kingdoms in the West at times offered formal allegiance to Constantinople. In the 6th C. Justinian I reconquered Italy and a part of Spain, but his success was of short duration: the Goths who were ready to accept the Roman way of life and to form an alliance with the empire were replaced by the much more innovative LOMBARDS. Some Goths remained in Byz. where in the 8th–9th C. the district of Gothograikia existed in northwestern Asia Minor (Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:414–16); they also continued to be found in neighboring areas such as DORY in the Crimea.

LIT. H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley 1987). H. von Petrikovits in *Studien zur Ethnogenese* (Opladen 1985)

112–22. E. Chrysos, *To Byzantion kai hoi Gotthoi* (Thessalonike 1972). V. Budanova, "Goty v sisteme predstavlenij rimskich i vizantijskich avtorov o varvaskich narodach," *VizVrem* 41 (1980) 141–52. S. Teillet, *Des Goths à la nation gothique* (Paris 1984). —O.P.

**GOUDELES** (Γουδέλης, fem. Γουδελίνα), a noble Byz. family. The first Goudeles, perhaps of Slavic origin, was blinded by CONSTANTINE VIII for his role in a plot organized by Presianos (see AARONIOS) and other Slavs. The 11th-C. Goudelai were influential magnates in Asia Minor (Christopher Goudeles was *magistros* and *strategos*) who took part in aristocratic plots and rebellions of 1034 and 1078. Although related to the noble lineage of TZIKANDELES, the position of the Goudelai declined by the 12th C. They reappeared in the 13th C. as military commanders and landowners: the will of the imperial *doulos* Goudeles Tyrannos of 1294 is a useful description of an estate in the Smyrna region (MM 4:285–87). Some Goudelai were important functionaries, esp. ca.1400–53: George Goudeles, *mesazon* of Manuel II; his son John Goudeles; Nicholas Goudeles, an envoy to Russia in 1436 (with ISIDORE OF KIEV) and to Ferrara in 1438 and a defender of Constantinople in 1453. For this Nicholas, or some earlier scion of the family, his widow, the nun Theodoule Palaiologina Goudelina, had a 12th-C. lectionary (Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. inf. 2.7) bound in leather and stamped with the Palaiologan EAGLE. She presented it, as an undated entry on folio 357v notes, for the salvation of Nicholas's soul (Hutter, *CBM* 1:72 [no.42]).

LIT. S. Lampros, "Ho Byzantiakos oikos Goudele," *NE* 13 (1916) 211–21. *PLP*, nos. 4330–43. —A.K.

**GOURIAS, SAMONAS, AND ABIBAS** (Γουρίας, Σαμωνάς, Ἀβιβος; Syriac Gurjā, Šmona, and Habib), martyrs and confessors, saints; feastdays 15 Nov. and 2 Dec. According to legend, Gourias of Sargai, an ascetic, and Samonas of Ganada, his companion, were brought to trial under Diocletian by Mysianos, governor (*hegemon*) of Edessa, and executed, after severe tortures, on the hill of Bēth-alāh-qīqlā, north of Edessa. Abibas, a deacon from the village of Tel Sehe, was judged by Lysanias (or Ausonios), governor of Edessa under Licinius, and burned in a cemetery near Edessa. Syriac, Armenian, Greek, Georgian, Arabic, and Latin versions of the legends survive; most schol-

ars assume that the original was in Syriac, although different from the preserved Syriac versions, and probably similar to the Armenian and one of the Greek texts. The author of Abibas's *passio*, Theophilus, claims to have been an eyewitness, but errors in chronology suggest that the legends are later works.

The three martyrs appear together in the story of Euphemia and the Goth, as protectors of a young woman married to a barbarian, taken from Edessa, mistreated, and her baby poisoned; the martyrs miraculously brought her home, and eventually the Goth was executed—on the initiative of Eulogios, bishop of Edessa (378–87). This legend is known in Greek and Syriac; Burkitt (*infra*) tried unsuccessfully to prove that the original was in Syriac. EPHREM THE SYRIAN dedicated a strophe to Gourias, Samonas, and Abibas; JACOB OF SARUG wrote another hymn. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included the legends in his collection; ARETHAS OF CAESAREA wrote a *laudatio* of the martyrs.

**Representation in Art.** The three saints together reflect the three ages of man: Abibas is depicted as a young deacon, the other two as princely martyrs in tunic and *chlamys*, with Gourias generally elderly and Samonas middle-aged. The Euphemia miracle is sometimes treated as an independent text, but no illustrations of it survive. In the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.183), Gourias and Samonas are about to be beheaded, while Abibas is being burned alive in a furnace; in another contemporary *menologion*, there is a scene of the translation of their relics (Athos, Vatop. 456, fol.253r, Weitzmann, *Studies* fig.224).

SOURCES. *Die Akten der edessenischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibas*, ed. O. von Gebhardt, E. von Dobschütz (Leipzig 1911), rev. H. Delehay, *AB* 31 (1912) 332–34. F.C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth* (London 1913), rev. P. Peeters, *AB* 33 (1914) 68–70.

LIT. *BHG* 731–740m. J.-M. Sauget, "Gurias, Samonas et Habib," *DHGE* 22 (1988) 1193f. F. Halkin, "Translation du chef de S. Abibus, un des trois confesseurs d'Edesse," *BHG* 740m, *AB* 104 (1986) 287–97. K.G. Kaster, *LCL* 6:465f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**GRAČANICA**, a monastery and the seat of the bishops of Lipljan, near Priština (Yugoslavia). The present Church of the Dormition (originally Annunciation) was begun ca.1311, under the auspices of the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, on the site of a destroyed 13th-C. church and

a 5th–6th-C. basilica. Milutin's church is in all likelihood the work of builders from Thessalonike and, possibly, from Arta; in quality, Gračanica exceeds contemporary achievements in these two centers. The church consists of a domed cross-in-square naos, enveloped by a bema flanked by two domed lateral chapels, north and south ambulatory wings, and an inner narthex. Two additional domes cover the corner bays of the inner narthex. The characteristic five-domed scheme at Gračanica is marked by an unusually well-balanced composition and elongated proportions. The exterior displays high-quality cloisonné construction and a restrained application of decorative brickwork. Painted before 1321, the frescoes represent a fairly standard version of the CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION of the Palaiologan era, including Old Testament PREFIGURATIONS and liturgical subjects in the bema. Milutin's charter for the monastery and the death of a Serbian bishop are depicted in the south chapel; portraits of the Nemanjid dynasty arranged in a family tree borrowed from the TREE OF JESSE appear in the inner narthex. The painters developed the style of MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, displaying some interest in human anatomy and employing both original and reverse perspective. Gračanica may have been at first intended to serve as Milutin's mausoleum church, but this idea was subsequently abandoned. The church continued to function as a mausoleum for local bishops and eminent individuals.

LIT. S. Čurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, Pa.—London 1979). S. Čurčić, B. Todić, *Gračanica*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1988). —S.Č., G.B.

**GRACE** (χάρις, lit. "gift") is a free and unmerited favor of God. Christianity contrasted itself, as a religion of grace, with Mosaic religion based on the Law. The source of grace is God acting through Christ or the Holy Spirit, always in synergy with man (see SYNERGISM). The INCARNATION was the major vehicle of grace. Christ liberated man from the damnation of sin and opened for him the way of SALVATION and divinization. After the Incarnation the Church mediated grace through the SACRAMENTS. The relationship between grace and FREE WILL was seldom explicitly discussed in Byz. as it was in the West. And yet, the doctrines of gnosis (see GnosticISM), MANICHAISM, and fa-

talism as well as the philosophical presentation of the soul's similitude to God, present a clear distinction between the image (*eikon*) of God in man, which cannot be lost, and his likeness (*homoiosis*) to God, which can be realized only through ascetic labors. THEOSIS, or deification, is the work of the trinitarian ENERGY in which the Holy Spirit assimilates man to the Incarnate Son of God.

This strongly personal conception of divine activity was questioned from time to time through the conception of the multitude of uncreated energies in Palamism. The theological expression of grace is found also in the idea of the sonship (Cyril of Alexandria, PG 73:156CD) of those who believe and of participation in the divine nature through spiritual rebirth. Earlier mysticism used such phrases as "the presence of the Trinity in the soul" and "the illumination of man," which was the preferred way for speaking from the time of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and was embraced esp. by Palamite HESYCHASM (J. Meyendorff, *GregPal* 37 [1954] 19–31).

LIT. J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). H. Merki, *Homoiosis theō* (Freiburg 1952). E. Scholl, *Die Lehre des heiligen Basilus von der Gnade* (Freiburg 1881). S.I. Gošević, "He peri theias charitos didaskalia Ioannou tou Chrysostomou," *Theologia* 27 (1956) 206–39, 367–89. J. McW. Dewart, *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, D.C., 1971). J. Loosen, *Logos und Pneuma im begnadeten Menschen bei Maximus Confessor* (Münster 1940). —G.P.

**GRADO** (Γράδον), late Roman city and fortress (*castrum*) on an island south of AQUILEIA, probably serving as its harbor. The first churches seem to have been built here in the 4th C. In the 5th and 6th C. Grado was used as a place of refuge; in 568, after the Lombard conquest of his city, the bishop of Aquileia, Paulinus I, transferred the see and its treasures to Grado. Eventually, two rival dioceses were formed: *vetus Aquileia* and *Aquileia nova*, or Grado. While Aquileia severed its relations with Constantinople and Rome, forming an independent patriarchate under Lombard authority, Grado remained within the Byz. sphere. Its bishop Elias (Greek by origin) supported the principles of the Council of Chalcedon, however, against those of the Second Council of Constantinople of 553; he promoted the cult of St. Euphemia, dedicating the new cathedral to her in 579. The exarch of Ravenna exercised authority over the church of Grado. The patriarchate of

Grado was organized probably between 607 and 614 to counterbalance that of Aquileia, and the two sees pursued rival claims to metropolitan jurisdiction over the province of Venetia-Istria until the dispute was resolved in Aquileia's favor by Pope Alexander III in 1180. The city was in decline from the 11th C., and after 1156 the patriarchs of Grado moved to Venice. There was a Byz. garrison in Grado: inscriptions made by *milites* of two infantry *numeri* and a mounted "Perso-Justinianus" *numerus* have been found.

**Monuments of Grado.** The well-preserved Cathedral of S. Euphemia encloses a contemporary floor mosaic. The cathedral's baptistery and its mosaic pavement are older—from the second half of the 4th C. Ninth-century sources mention a throne of St. Mark sent by Emp. Herakleios to the bishop of Grado (ca.630). A group of ivory plaques dispersed in various museums was once commonly ascribed to this throne, but K. Weitzmann (*DOP* 29 [1972] 43–91) refuted the attribution. S. Tavano (*AntAa* 12 [1977] 445–89) has returned to the theory that they belonged to the throne. A second, alabaster reliquary throne, now in the Treasury of S. Marco in VENICE, is thought by some scholars (*Treasury S. Marco* 98–105) to have originated as another gift by Herakleios to Grado; but as M. Werner demonstrated (*Studies in Iconography* 10 [1984–86] 32, n.75), the iconography of its bas-reliefs suggests on the contrary that it may have been made in northern Italy.

LIT. S. Tramontin, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1024–29. S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste 1986). *Grado nella storia e nell'arte*, 2 vols. (Udine 1980). C.G. Mor, "Grado da Bisanzio a Venezia," in *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi* 59 (1979) 11–23. —A.K., D.K., A.C..

**GRAIN.** Wheat was the predominant grain in the empire. Two archaeological finds from Egypt demonstrate that the cultivation of hard wheat, which is easier to thresh and store than the soft wheat of Roman times, began there just before the Arab conquest of the 7th century (A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* [Cambridge 1983] 20). Hard wheat was also the major grain in the 10th-C. finds from Beycesultan in Anatolia (H. Helbaek, *AnatSt* 11 [1961] 90f). Barley was probably cultivated more in the Balkan peninsula, whereas wheat was common in Asia Minor. In the finds from Beycesultan, rye is attested in an insignificant amount, but it increased



GRAIN. Grinding grain. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript; lower portion (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

by the end of the 13th C.—a certain Skaranos, in his will of ca. 1270–74 (*Xerop.*, no.9.A44), stated that he had sown 31 *modioi* of wheat (*silarion*), 27 *modioi* of barley (*krithe*), and 45 *modioi* of rye (*briza*). Millet (*kenchros*) was cultivated (e.g., *Chil.*, no.27.48) and used for bread, as was bran (J. Darrouzès, *BS* 23 [1962] 280.63–64), but Symeon SETH (*Synagma de alimentarium facultatibus* 137.21–25) asserted that millet was injurious to the stomach. The cultivation of oats is reflected in the tax accounts of the castellany of Corinth (J. Longnon, P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris 1969] 158).

The Byz. cultivated both winter and summer crops: a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:346.21–24) observed both young grain (*galaktotrophoumenos*) and ripe grain in the fields at the same time, and Skaranos in his will related that he planted crops before 30 Nov. The season of heaviest rainfall

occurs during the winter, favoring the sowing of crops in the fall and their harvesting and THRESHING in the spring. Mirroring such a cycle of production, Michael Psellos admonishes, "The best time for sowing of wheat is thought to be the 11th and 13th of November. Thereafter come many rainy storms, soil and water combining to bring the sowings to fruition" (Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:242). Harvesting is a normal component of Old Testament illustration. In the OCTATEUCHS grain is shown being cut with sickles (Uspenskij, *Seral'skij kodeks*, no.284), but is more often gathered without implements (*ibid.*, nos. 205, 305).

The supply of grain evidently decreased in the 7th C., when Byz. lost Egypt and North Africa to the Arabs and the steppes of the northern shore of the Black Sea also ceased to be a granary for the empire. Moreover, Sicily was conquered by the Arabs in 902. This probably led to the declining consumption of BREAD in Byz., partly compensated by the growing role of LIVESTOCK.

LIT. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:254–74. Hendy, *Economy* 44–54. —J.W.N., A.K., A.C..

**GRAMMAR** (γραμματική). For DIONYSIOS THRAX grammar was "the practical knowledge of the language generally used by poets and prose writers" and was subdivided into topics such as ORTHOGRAPHY, prosody, MORPHOLOGY, mythology, and figures of speech (but not SYNTAX). It was thus a descriptive study of the language of Greek literature. Byz. teachers continued to use Dionysios's brief treatise and built round it a vast corpus of commentaries; in their hands, however, as the spoken language diverged more and more from the classicizing language of literature, grammar became prescriptive rather than descriptive, and laid down rules for correct spelling, inflection, meter, etc. The Byz. grammarian (ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ), responsible for the second stage in education, tended to concentrate on the study of classical Greek poetry, esp. Homer, leaving prose to the teacher of rhetoric (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:117C-D; Michael Psellos, in Sathas, *MB* 5:90–92). The principal textbooks used until the 12th C. were Dionysios Thrax with his Byz. commentaries (esp. that of George CHOIROBOSKOS), Theodosios's *Canons* and the commentaries on it, *On Orthography* by THEOGNOSTOS, EPIMERISMS on



Homer and on the Psalms, and a handbook attributed to Theodore Prodromos. From the 12th C. onward textbooks in the form of questions and answers (*erotemata*) tended to replace the older manuals. Anonymous *erotemata* occur in MSS as early as the 12th C., and others were later written by Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, and others.

LIT. L. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1974) 38–69. Wilson, *Scholars* 42f, 68–78. A. Pertusi, “*Erotemata*, Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa,” *IlMedU'm* 5 (1962) 321–51. I. Spatharakis, “An Illuminated Greek Grammar Manuscript in Jerusalem,” *JÖB* 35 (1985) 231–44. A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Brussels 1979).  
—R.B.

**GRAMMATIKOS** (γραμματικός). In addition to its ancient meaning of “scholar” or “teacher” often used as a sobriquet, the word came to signify scribe or secretary. In the 14th C., pseudo-KODINOS (185.23–24) simply equated *grammatikos* and NOTARY. An act of 1217 (*Reg* 3, no.1693) mentions Nicholas Kalotheos, *grammatikos* of the imperial *vestiarion* (MM 4:290.5–6); in 1258 George Probatas was *grammatikos* of the theme of the Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, “Smyrne” 160). Several seals of *grammatikoi*, primarily of the 11th–12th C., are known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:663–67). Dölger and Karayannopoulos (*Urkundenlehre* 64) suggest that the term *grammatikos* replaced that of ASEKRETIS under the Komnenoi. The term also appears in the acts of Athos of the 11th–12th C., probably only as a sobriquet but, at least from 1406 (and possibly already in the 11th C.), it could signify the secretary of a monastery (J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:218). Some patriarchs of Constantinople (John VII, Nicholas III) were called *Grammatikoi*.  
—A.K.

**GRAND KOMNENOS** (Μέγας Κομνηνός), title of the emperors of TREBIZOND. An unofficial epithet of members of the KOMNENOI in 12th-C. oratory, it was eventually applied to the Trapezuntine branch of the family, which descended from ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS. The first example is a MS note concerning the death of DAVID KOMNENOS (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 25 [1967] 141, n.67). The initials MK appeared on the coinage of Emp. George (1266–80) and by 1282 the title

was entrenched. B. Hemmerdinger’s hypothesis (*Byzantion* 40 [1970] 33–35) that the title was based on that of Hohenstaufen was refuted by O. Lampsides (*Byzantion* 40 [1970] 543–45). The purpose of this titulature was to emphasize the rights of the Trapezuntine rulers to the Komnenian heritage. Accordingly, it was only in Trebizond that the epithet *megas* was applied to the MESAZON. The Grand Komnenoi actively and deliberately emulated the emperors of Constantinople in the construction of fortifications and the patronage of monasteries. Thus ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS enclosed the lower city of Trebizond with a huge wall and fortified KERASOUS. He refounded the monastery of St. Eugenios at Trebizond, as Manuel I of Trebizond (1238–63) or his successor had built that of Hagia Sophia in the same city. On the model of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, portraits of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS

Grand Komnenoi and Emperors of Trebizond	
Ruler	Reign Dates
ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS	1204–1222
Andronikos I Gidos	1222–1235
John I Axouch	1235–1238
MANUEL I KOMNENOS	1238–1263
Andronikos II Komnenos	1263–1266
GEORGE KOMNENOS	1266–1280
JOHN II KOMNENOS	1280–1297
Theodora	1284–1285
ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS	1297–1330
Andronikos III Komnenos	1330–1332
Manuel II Komnenos	1332
Basil Komnenos	1332–1340
Irene Palaiologina	1340–1341
Anna Anachoutlou	17–30 July 1341
Michael Komnenos	30 July–7 Aug. 1341
Anna Anachoutlou	7 Aug. 1341–4 Sept. 1342
John III Komnenos	1342–1344
Michael Komnenos	1344–1349
ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS	1349–1390
MANUEL III KOMNENOS	1390–1416/17
ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS	1416/17–1429
JOHN IV KOMNENOS	1429–1458/60
DAVID I KOMNENOS	1459–1461

Source: Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 372, with modifications.

and his son JOHN IV KOMNENOS flank an image of the Virgin in the tower of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond. From JOHN II KOMNENOS onward, the Grand Komnenoi supported the monastery of SOUMELA. Even legends of these rulers aped those of the emperors of Constantinople: as Romanos I of Constantinople allegedly slew a lion, so Alexios II of Trebizond is said to have destroyed a dragon whose head was then publicly exhibited. (See table for a list of Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond.)

LIT. R. Macrides, “What’s in the Name ‘Megas Komnenos’?” *ArchPont* 35 (1979) 238–45. N. Oikonomides, “The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality,” *ArchPont* 35 (1979) 321–32. S. Karpov, “U istokov političeskoj ideologij Trapezundskoj imperii,” *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 101–05.  
—C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

**GRATIAN**, more fully Flavius Gratianus, Western Roman emperor (from 24 Aug. 367); born Sirmium 18 Apr. or 23 May 359, died Lyons 25 Aug. 383. The son of Valentinian I, in 374 he married Constantia, daughter of Constantius II. A pupil of Ausonius, Gratian followed his advice after he succeeded his father in Nov. 375 (with his half-brother, the minor Valentinian II, as co-ruler). Gratian expressed respect for the senate and traditional cultural values such as rhetorical education (S. Bonner, *AJPh* 86 [1965] 113–37) and promoted men such as SYMMACHUS, Petronius PROBUS, and Nicomachus FLAVIANUS.

The defeat of his uncle Valens at ADRIANOPE in 378 marked a radical change in Gratian’s policy. Shocked by the Goths’ victory, Gratian withdrew from Illyricum and interpreted the catastrophe as the result of God’s wrath against the people of the region because of their Arianism; under the growing influence of AMBROSE he became an ardent Christian and supporter of Orthodoxy. He had the ALTAR OF VICTORY removed from the senate of Rome, and in 379 or rather 383 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 58 [1968] 96–99) renounced the pagan title of *pontifex maximus*. He sought alliances with people like Theodosios I, whom he appointed ruler of the East in 379. The revolt of MAXIMUS in 383 provoked discontent in Gratian’s army. He was assassinated by his own *magister equitum*.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:183–85, 200–202. O. Seeck, *RE* 7 (1912) 1831–39. M. Fortina, *L'imperatore Graziano* (Turin

1953). G. Gottlieb, *Ambrosius von Mailand und Kaiser Gratian* (Göttingen 1973).  
—T.E.G.

**GRAVE-ROBBING** (τυμβωρυχία) belongs, like SACRILEGE (*hierosylia*), to which it is closely related, to crimes against religion. It included every kind of desecration of burial places, esp. the plundering of valuables, the theft of building material, and the unauthorized exhumation of corpses. The type of punishment varies accordingly, ranging from penalties for THEFT to capital punishment (*Basil.* 60.23; *Ecloga* 17.14; *Nov. Leo VI* 96; *Balsamon*, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:207–09, 325f). Ecclesiastical law, which assigns EPITIMIA to grave-robbers, recognizes comparable variations (*Basil the Great*, canon 66; Gregory of Nyssa, canon 7; and the Byz. commentaries, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:222, 326–28). Valuable grave goods increased the likelihood of grave-robbing; the desecration of imperial graves may also have been politically motivated. Grave-robbing (*klopophoresai to soma*, cf. vita of St. Peter of Athos, ed. K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* [Oxford 1909] 34.34f) is a relatively rare subject in hagiography: usually the saint is described as capable of protecting his own grave from desecration (e.g., GEORGE OF AMASTRIS, St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA in 809).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:190–93, 242f. Troianos, *Poinalios* 99–101.  
—L.B., A.K.

**GREAT CHURCH** (ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία), the original name of the Church of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople; according to a 5th-C. ecclesiastical historian (Sokr. *HE* 2.16), the emperor Constantius II “built the Great Church that is now called Sophia.” The edifice took this name no doubt because it was larger than any other church in Constantinople. Even after the church came to be called Hagia Sophia, it continued to bear concurrently the name Great Church (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.66). By the 8th C. the term was also applied to the patriarchate of Constantinople and by extension to the entire Orthodox Church. The seals of patriarchal officials frequently call them *oikonomos*, *chartouarios*, etc., “of the Great Church” (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 50–54, 66–71). The expression *megale ekklesia* or *megas naos* might also be applied to some larger provincial churches

such as Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike (S. Kaplanières, *Byzantiaka* 5 [1985] 84f). —A.M.T.

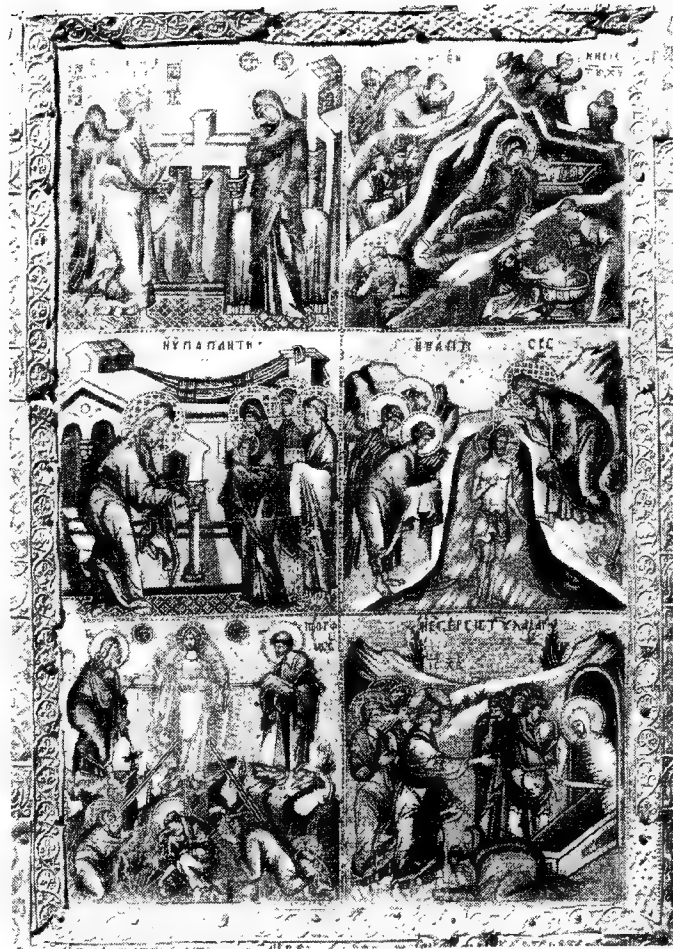
**GREAT ENTRANCE** (ἡ μεγάλη εἵσοδος), ritual procession that opens the second half of the LITURGY, the EUCHARIST, just as the LITTLE ENTRANCE opens the earlier part, the Liturgy of the Word. The deacon carries the paten with the eucharistic bread and the priest the chalice with the wine from the prothesis chamber (see PASTOPHORIA) into the nave of the church, then through the TEMPLON to the altar. The entrance of the bread and wine symbolizes Christ's coming in the sacrament of his body and blood.

The Great Entrance is a ritualization of the primitive transfer of the gifts offered by the congregation: these gifts were brought from the *skeuophylakion* or treasury to the altar by deacons. It is first attested at Constantinople in sources of the 6th C. (Eutychios of Constantinople—PG 86.2: 2400C–2401B), at which time the CHEROUBIKON chant was added to accompany it. Formerly called the “entrance of the holy mysteries” (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:693C) or simply the “preparatory procession of the deacons” (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par.37), it is first called the Great Entrance in the 12th–13th-C. DIATAXIS in Athens (Nat. Lib. gr. 662, P. Trempelas, *Hai treis leitourgiai kata tous en Athenais kodikas* [Athens 1935], p.9) to distinguish it from the Little Entrance.

Early COMMENTARIES interpreted the Great Entrance also as the angelic procession of the Celestial Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), later also as the triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (see PALM SUNDAY), as Jesus led to the cross, as his burial cortège, his entry into glory, the entrance of the saints and the just, etc. The Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia was esp. splendid on those days when the emperor participated in the liturgy, moving at the head of a vast procession of clergy and members of the court through the church to greet the patriarch at the doors of the templon.

LIT. R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (Rome 1975). —R.F.T.

**GREAT FEASTS** were originally distinguished from regular liturgical FEASTS on the basis of the special liturgical practices surrounding their celebration. In the TYPICON OF THE GREAT CHURCH only Easter, the Nativity, and Epiphany were distinguished as Great Feasts; they were preceded



GREAT FEASTS. Icon of the Great Feasts; mosaic, early 14th C. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Left half of a diptych showing six Great Feasts: the Annunciation, Nativity, Hypapante, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus.

by a forefeast in the form of a VIGIL the night before. The number of Great Feasts eventually increased to 12 (*dodekaorton*): nine fixed feasts (ANNUNCIATION, NATIVITY, EPIPHANY, HYPAPANTE, TRANSFIGURATION, BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN and the DORMITION, the Exaltation of the Cross) and three mobile (PALM SUNDAY, ASCENSION, PENTECOST). The “paschal triduum” (GOOD FRIDAY to EASTER) was so important as to be in a class by itself, beyond the category of Great Feasts.

Only the nine fixed feasts have both a forefeast (*proeortia*)—usually one day long but lasting five days at Christmas and four at Epiphany—and an afterfeast period (*metheorta*) of one to eight days, plus a closure (*apodosis*). These same nine feasts, as well as four others—Circumcision (1 Jan.), the Birth (24 June) and Beheading (29 Aug.) of JOHN

THE BAPTIST, and STS. PETER and PAUL (29 June)—were important enough to have at *orthros* a single *kanon*, that of the feast, as well as the Great DOXOLOGY; all have Great VESPERS, and a vigil that is usually an AGRYPNIA. Nativity and Epiphany have further festive material the preceding and following Saturday and SUNDAY and the older Constantinopolitan *paramone* as a vigil, instead of the monastic *agrypnia*, the eve of the feast—these being elements retained from the 10th-C. *Typikon*.

The manner and degree to which the emperor participated in the liturgy of these feasts was not always related to the solemnity of the feast itself. His involvement on Palm Sunday and Easter, for example, was actually less than on some other days.

The choice of what constituted a Great Feast did not in fact always have a purely liturgical basis, and in other contexts the list could be different. The illustrated *dodekaorton* cycles, which dominate Byz. art in all media from the 11th C. onward, comprise six fixed feasts (Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Hypapante, Transfiguration, Dormition) and six mobile (LAZARUS SATURDAY, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost).

Only the dominical Great Feasts totally displaced a Sunday office. Six Great Feasts were followed by a SYNAXIS or closely related special commemoration, to which should be added the commemoration of the Holy Spirit the Monday after Pentecost.

(For the artistic representation of Great Feasts, see NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION and entries on individual feasts.)

LIT. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Festal Menaion*<sup>2</sup> (London 1977). —R.F.T.

**GREAT LAVRA.** See LAVRA, GREAT.

**GREAT PALACE** (Μέγα παλάτιον), the imperial palace of Constantinople situated on a sloping site between the HIPPODROME and the sea walls. Built or begun by Constantine I, it remained the actual residence of the emperors until the reign of Alexios I, who moved his court to the BLACHERNAI palace, and continued as the official imperial residence until 1204. The Latin emperors also lived there.

The archaeological remains of the palace are meager. Apart from a system of artificial terraces (E. Mamboury, T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* [Berlin-Leipzig 1934]), they are limited to: (1) a seaward façade deployed along two re-entrant angles of the sea walls, overlooking the artificial harbor of Boukoleon; (2) a stretch of defensive wall, probably the one built by Nikephoros II Phokas, running north from the old lighthouse tower of the sea walls; and (3) remnants of an apsed hall preceded by a peristyle court (66 × 55 m), the latter decorated with a magnificent FLOOR MOSAIC. This complex, excavated in 1935–38 and 1952–54, appears to date no earlier than the reign of Justinian I and has not been convincingly identified with any of the palatine buildings known from the textual evidence.

The palace is best known to us as it was in the 9th–10th C. and should be visualized not as a symmetrically planned complex (although parts of it may have been) but as an irregular agglomeration of buildings of various dates separated by gardens and sporting grounds. The three principal texts that help us to recreate the layout of the palace are the DE CEREMONIIS; the description in *TheophCont* (139–43, 325f) of the buildings put up by the emperors Theophilos and Basil I; and the account by Nicholas MESARITES of the failed coup of John KOMNENOS the Fat in 1200. On the basis of these and other sources, repeated attempts have been made to reconstruct the palace on paper, the first by J. Labarte (1861). All are highly conjectural.

Of the earlier phase of the palace relatively little is known. It had a monumental vestibule called CHALKE opening on to the main street (MESE) to the southeast of HAGIA SOPHIA; an area occupied by the barracks of the palace guards (*scholariū, excubitores, candidati*); a “public” section, centered on a big court (called Iribunal or Delphax) with meeting rooms (Consistorium, Augusteus) and a dining room (the Hall of the 19 Couches) grouped around it; finally, a residential wing called Daphne, which communicated with the imperial box (KATHISMA) in the Hippodrome by means of a spiral staircase (*kochlias*). A chapel of St. Stephen was added by Pulcheria (ca.428) and another, of St. Michael, before the end of the 5th C. The palace had a harbor or other landing facilities and was certainly protected by a wall. A private sport-

ing ground called "the covered Hippodrome" may have dated from the same period.

The Chalke and guards' quarters were burned down in the Nika Revolt (532) and rebuilt by Justinian I. Justin II is credited with the CHRY-SOTRIKLINOS (Golden Hall), a domed octagon that was to become the throne room and ceremonial center of the palace. Tiberios I (soon after 578) remodeled the north section of the palace to provide new quarters for himself and his family. A further expansion was carried out by Justinian II, who strengthened the palace walls and built a big reception hall called Ioustinianos or the TRIKLI-NOS OF JUSTINIAN. The next important building phase was initiated by Theophilos, who erected a two-story complex (the Trikonchos, the Sigma, and several pavilions). Next, Basil I put up residential rooms (the Kainourgion and the PENTA-KOUBOUKLON), the NEA EKKLESIA, and several chapels and laid out a polo ground (TZYKANIS-TERION).

Judging the defenses of the palace to be inadequate, Nikephoros II surrounded what was then the central part of it, i.e., the part overlooking the palatine harbor of Boukoleon, with a strong wall. No further building activity is recorded until the mid-12th C., when Manuel I erected a hall called Manouelites decorated with mosaics depicting his victories (P. Magdalino, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 101-14) and probably another, in the Seljuk style, called Mouchroutas, directly to the west of the Chrysotriklinos. During the Palaiologan period the palace gradually fell into decay; except for the Nea Ekklesia, little of it had survived by the time of the Turkish conquest.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910). J.B. Bury, "The Great Palace," *BZ* 21 (1912) 210-25. *Great Palace, 1st Report. Great Palace, 2nd Report.* Mango, *Brazen House*. Guiland, *Topographie* 1:3-367. S. Miranda, *Étude de topographie du Palais Sacré de Byzance*<sup>2</sup> (Mexico City 1976). W. Jobst, "Der Kaiserpalast Konstantinopel und seine Mosaiken," *Antike Welt* 18.3 (1987) 2-22. J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople," *DOP* 43 (1989) 27-72. —C.M.

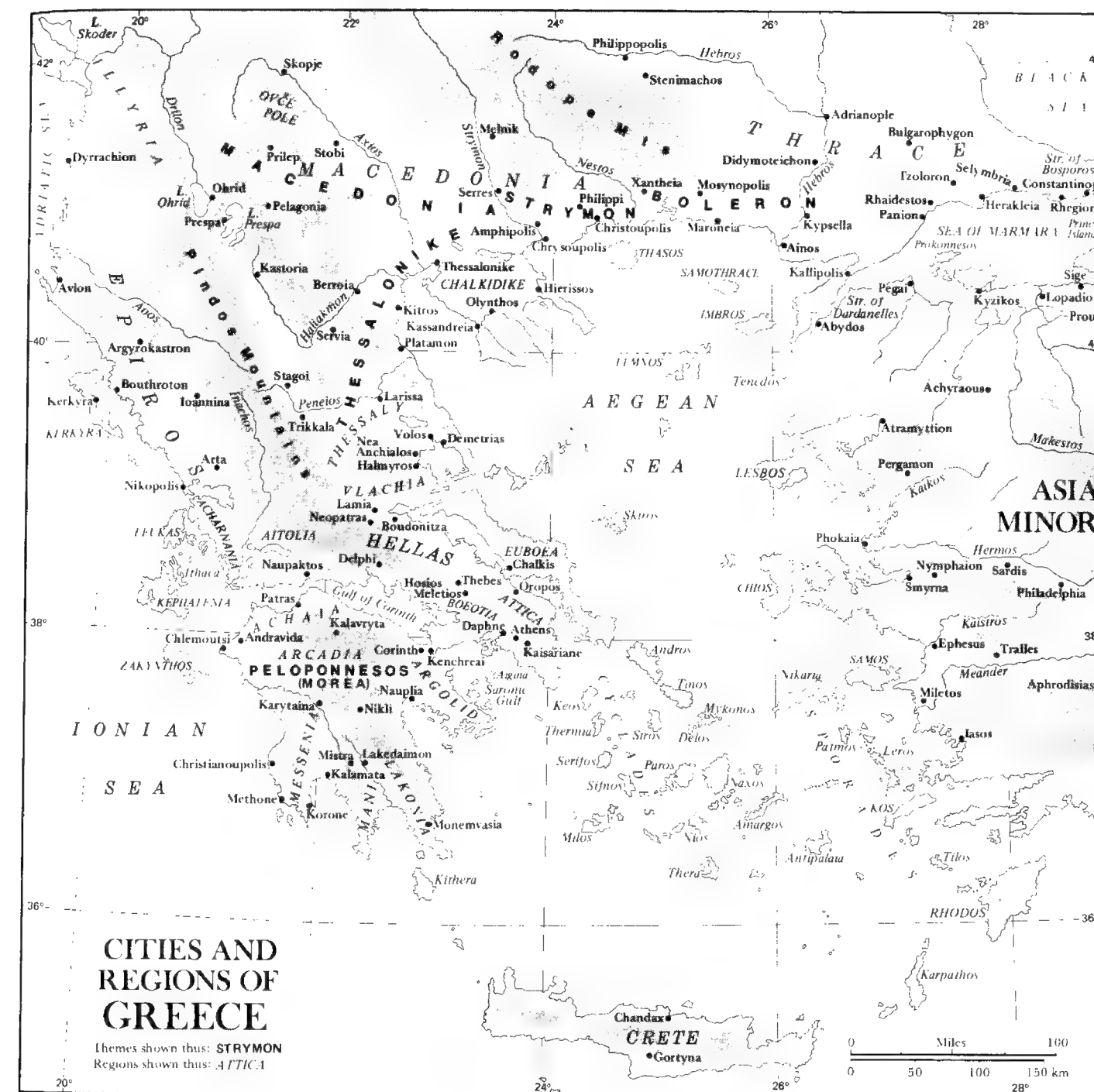
**GREECE**, the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, encompassing the PELOPONNESOS, Central Greece (ATTICA, BOEOTIA, Akarnania, AITOLIA), Northern Greece (THESSALY, MACEDONIA, EPIROS), and the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas. The traditional concept of an economic de-

cline of Greece during the late Roman period needs substantial revision: even though the destinies of individual cities differed (THESSALONIKE flourished, while ATHENS stagnated), classical urban civilization prevailed in the 4th-6th C. and was able to overcome the attacks of the Goths and Huns. The antique city pattern remained despite active construction of churches (T. Gregory in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* [New York 1982] 43-73). The situation changed drastically in the 7th C.; it remains under discussion whether it was the result of an internal economic and political crisis (the mechanism of which escapes us) or was caused by the invasion of the Avars and Slavs (whose impact, however, could not have been greater than that of the Goths and Huns). The ancient cities disappeared or were ruralized, construction work ceased almost entirely, and new settlers penetrated down to the southern parts of the Peloponnesos.

The old administrative system (Greece belonged to the prefecture of ILLYRICUM), forming the provinces of ACHAIA, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epiros, dissolved, since Constantinople retained control essentially over only a narrow strip along the sea coast with cities such as Thessalonike and CORINTH, whereas in the interior independent principalities (see SKLAVINIA), tribal units, and semi-independent grand possessions (like those of the widow DANIELIS) became established.

Ecclesiastical administration also underwent changes by the end of the 7th C.: many bishoprics ceased to exist—at the Council of 680 only the bishops of Lakadaimon, Athens, Corinth, and Argos were present as well as a handful of Macedonian representatives: Thessalonike, Selymbria, Herakleia, Mesembria, Bizye, Ainos, Philippi, Amphipolis, Edessa, Uzusa, Dyrrachion, Stobi (Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 107-09); in the *Notitia* of pseudo-Epiphanius 27 metropolitans from Asia Minor are listed and only five from Greece, predominantly from northern regions (Thrace, Rhodope, Haimimontos [see HAIMOS]). A part of Greece stood under the jurisdiction of Rome until the mid-8th C.

The Byz. reconquest of Greece began at the end of the 8th C. and, though in some districts Slavic villages survived through the 14th C., the country was deeply hellenized by the 10th C. (J. Herrin, *BSA* 68 [1973] 113-26). In the 11th and 12th C. Greece witnessed an economic revival



greater than Asia Minor: the larger cities such as Thessalonike, Corinth, and Thebes successfully competed with Constantinople as trade and manufacturing centers, and splendid churches were erected throughout Greece. Some writers (e.g., Michael Choniates) deplored the cultural decline of ancient cities such as Athens, but probably this attitude itself indicates the increasing self-consciousness of provincial intellectuals who accused

Constantinople of grasping the lion's share of wealth and glory. At any rate, many first-rate literati dwelt in Greek towns and actively participated in local administrative and ecclesiastical life.

Administrative units of HELLAS and Thrace were formed in Greece from which gradually other themes separated: Peloponnesos, Nikopolis, Dyrrachion, Thessalonike, Macedonia, Strymon, Boleron; other themes encompassed the islands of



the Aegean Sea. Rome lost its jurisdiction over East Illyricum. A notitia of the 8th–9th C. reflects the growing role of Greece in church organization: there are listed 27 metropolitans from Asia Minor compared with ten metropolitans from Greece, including southern sites—Patras, Athens, and Larissa.

After the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204, Greece was relatively easily conquered by the Franks, in contrast to Asia Minor where they met a stubborn resistance. Boniface of Montferrat established himself as the king of Thessalonike, then the following Frankish states were created: the principality of ACHAIA (Morea), and the duchy of the Archipelago (both under the direct suzerainty of the Latin emperor of Constantinople); the lordship of Athens and Thebes standing in a vassal relationship to the king of Thessalonike; Euboea (NEGROPONTE), which was dependent on Thessalonike and Venice; and the county of Kephallenia, in theory held by Venice but actually autonomous.

The centers of Byz. resistance in Greece were the despotate of EPIROS and MONEMVASIA as well as some mountainous areas of Taygetos that escaped subjugation to Achaia. By 1248 Monemvasia had to surrender, but by that time the empire of Nicaea became a factor; in 1259 at the battle of PELAGONIA it showed itself as the strongest power in the Balkans, and in 1261 a Nicaean general was able to reconquer Constantinople. In 1262 Achaia ceded three strongholds (MISTRA, Monemvasia, and MAINA) to the Byz. emperor, thus opening the way for the Greek recovery of a part of the Peloponnesos; Michael VIII also attacked Thessaly and Euboea and then penetrated as far as Avlon and Dyrrachion. The Byz. reconquest of Greece, however, was short-lived: first the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, then the Serbian offense under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, and finally the Turkish invasion eliminated the successes achieved by the Greeks in the second half of the 13th C.

In the 14th and 15th C. Greece was divided into various independent and semi-independent seigneuries, of which Epiros, the despotate of MOREA, and Kephallenia seem to have been the most stable and militarily active; these seigneuries engaged in constant internecine warfare, and also fought against the Turks, Serbs, Albanians, invaders from Italy, and not infrequently Constanti-

nople. Nevertheless, the country prospered economically; population density grew; and trade relations with Venice, Dubrovnik, and Sicily flourished. The relations between the Franks and the Greeks were not strictly determined; the Byz. ruling class found a *modus vivendi*, strengthened by intermarriages; the ordinary Greeks, however, felt oppressed by both Latin knights and Italian merchants, and Orthodoxy, in opposition to the idea of subordination to the pope, served as an expression of ethnic and social hatred.

The Turkish occupation of the Greek mainland was accomplished by 1460 (the conquest of Morea); it put an end to the existence of the multinational agglomeration created in Greece during the 13th–15th C. Some islands continued their independent status for a while longer, partly under Venetian protection.

LIT. A. Philipson, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a.M. 1950–52). D. Zakythenos, *He byzantine Hellas* (Athens 1965). N. Cheetham, *Mediaeval Greece* (New Haven–London 1981). J.M. Spieser, “La ville en Grèce du IIIe au VIIe siècle,” in *Villes et peuplement dans l’Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 315–40. P. Charanis, “On the Demography of Medieval Greece: A Problem Solved,” *BalkSt* 20 (1979) 193–218. A. Vasiliev, “Slavjane v Grecii,” *VizVrem* 5 (1898) 404–38, 626–70. —A.K.

**GREEK.** See LANGUAGE.

**GREEK ANTHOLOGY**, conventional title for two collections of ancient and Byz. epigrams.

1. *Anthologia Palatina*, the name given to a collection of about 3,700 EPIGRAMS contained in a unique MS, now divided between Heidelberg (Palat. gr. 23) and Paris (B.N., suppl. gr. 384). The MS is usually dated to the 10th C. (A.D.E. Cameron, *GRBS* 11 [1970] 339–50), but an 11th-C. date has been proposed by R. Aubreton (*REA* 70 [1968] 32–82; *AntCl* 38 [1969] 459f). Presenting complex codicological problems, the MS—in which several hands can be distinguished—also includes revisions and late insertions. Created by an unknown compiler, who probably drew on the 10th-C. KEPHALAS anthology of pagan classical and late antique epigrams and funerary inscriptions, the *Anthologia Palatina* is set out in 15 books. Of these, books 3–7, 9–12, and probably 13–14 represent the core taken from Kephala's collection. Books 1 (Christian epigrams, largely from inscriptions in churches), 8 (funerary epigrams by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS), and 15 (a miscellaneous

group, concluding with poems by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, IGNATIUS THE DEACON, and Kometas as well as inscriptions from the HIPPODROME) are 10th-C. additions. Book 2 is made up of the *ekphrasis* by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPROS on the statues in the ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople. A representative work of 10th-C. ENCYCLOPEDIISM, the *Anthologia Palatina* is an invaluable witness, without which the work of many poets (e.g., PALLADAS or those in the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS) would have been completely lost.

2. *Anthologia Planudea*, a collection of some 2,400 epigrams made by MAXIMOS PLANOUDS and surviving in an autograph MS (Venice, Marc. gr. 481, dated 1299) and two apographa, revised in 1300 or 1305 under Planoudes' supervision; of these, one (London, BM Add. 16409; D.C.C. Young, *ParPass* 10 [1955] 197–214) is a preliminary revision and the other, now fragmentary (Paris, B.N. gr. 2744; R. Aubreton, *Scriptorium* 23 [1969] 69–87), is his final version; the latter was used for Laskaris's edition of the *Greek Anthology* in 1494. The epigrams in Marc. gr. 481 are set out in two blocks, the second being additions to be incorporated into the first; from this it appears that Planoudes had access to two ANTHOLOGIES of epigrams, both of which resembled the *Anthologia Palatina*, and also a version of the anthology of Kephala (R. Aubreton, *REA* 70 [1968] 32–82). Planoudes expurgated his sources and rearranged his selection into seven books: epideictic epigrams, satiric, funerary, ekphrastic, the *ekphrasis* of Christodoros of Koptos, votive, and amatory. Within each book the epigrams were arranged alphabetically by theme. Some 388 epigrams in the *Anthologia Planudea* are not found in the *Anthologia Palatina*; these are conventionally but somewhat misleadingly printed as book 16, the “Appendix Planudea,” in modern editions of the *Greek Anthology*. Demetrios TRIKLINIOS prepared a revised edition of the *Anthologia Planudea*.

ED. H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*<sup>2</sup>, 4 vols. (Munich 1965), with Germ. tr. W.R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols. (London–New York 1925–27), with Eng. tr. *Anthologie grecque*, ed. P. Waltz et al., 13 vols. (Paris 1928–80), with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Bauer, “Zu den christlichen Gedichten der *Anthologia Graeca*,” *JÖB* 9 (1960) 31–40; 10 (1961) 31–37. —E.M.J.

**GREEK-CROSS DOMED OCTAGON.** See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

**GREEK FIRE** (*ὕψρον πῦρ*, lit. “liquid flame”). KALLINIKOS was said to be the inventor of the liquid fire that saved Constantinople from the Arabs in 678 and from the Rus' in 941. Its exact composition and means of propulsion are still uncertain, esp. since the term “Greek fire” was used to refer to various types of incendiary weapons. Although some scholars prefer to understand Greek fire as an explosive compound triggered by saltpeter (E. Pászthory, *Antike Welt* 17.2 [1986] 27–37), the most likely ingredients included crude oil (obtained from regions east of the Azov Sea [TMUTOROKAN, ZICHIA] or from wells east of Armenia listed in *De adm. imp.* 53.483–511) mixed with resin and sulphur, which was then heated and propelled by a pump (*siphon*) through a bronze tube (*strepton*). The liquid jet was ignited either as it left the tube or by flaming projectiles fired after it. The Byz. were careful never to divulge details on the composition or propulsion of Greek fire (*De adm. imp.* 13.73–103); thus even when the Bulgars captured a great supply of the mixture and firing tubes (Theoph. 499.13–14) they were unable to use them.

The use of Greek fire in sea battles is frequently mentioned in the sources, but it was also used in siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY). The Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr describes the terrible effect of flame-throwing tubes during the Byz. attack on Duin in 927, a danger the Arabs were able to avert only by killing the operator (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:150). The remains of a medieval workshop that produced Greek fire “grenades” were discovered in Hama-EPIPHANEA (P. Pentz, *Antiquity* 62, no.234 [1988] 89–93).

LIT. J.F. Haldon, M. Byrne, “A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire,” *BZ* 70 (1977) 91–99. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 1–41. A. & N. Vasojević, “Naphtha,” *Philologus* 128 (1984) 208–29. Th.K. Korres, *Hygron pyr* (Thessalonike 1985). —E.M.

**GREEK OUTSIDE THE EMPIRE** long remained in use as a VERNACULAR or as a learned language. In Syria and Palestine some monasteries, esp. the Lavra of St. SABAS, preserved Greek learning after the Arab conquest and produced famous authors such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS; the revival of Greek hagiography started in this area at the end of the 8th C., and Arabic translations (e.g., by Hunayn ibn Ishaq) bear witness to familiarity with Greek

culture. This knowledge apparently declined after the 9th C. in this region, except in and around Antioch. Greek was well known in Armenia, Georgia, and Alania, and in use as a liturgical and administrative language in NUBIA. Also in Egypt after the Arab conquest Greek persisted in administration and theology for over a century and still survives in parts of the Coptic liturgy. In the Balkans some PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS are in Greek characters, and later Bulgaria played an important part in conveying the knowledge of Greek to the Rus', who received their Greek also via Timutorokan, Cherson, and Mt. Athos. Greek liturgical chants were sung in Russian churches, and as late as the 14th C. the minutes of church councils were written in Greek. In Sicily and southern Italy Greek continued to be spoken after the end of Byz. rule: documents in Greek survive, and Greek poetry and hagiography still flourished in the 12th C. In Rome, Greek exiles, concentrated in the Forum Boarium, kept their language alive in the 7th-10th C. Farther afield the knowledge of Greek was limited and sporadic—in England and Ireland it died out soon after BEDE and Johannes Scotus Eriugena; thanks to intermarriages, there was some knowledge of Greek at the court of the Ottonians. After the Crusades an interest in Greek was revived; among others, the Englishman Robert GROSSETESTE and the Fleming WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated works of Aristotle. (See also TRANSLATION.)

LIT. W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Berne-Munich 1980). H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–498. E. Delaruelle, "La connaissance du grec en Occident du Ve au IXe siècle," *Mélanges de la Société Toulousaine d'Études Classiques* 1 (1946) 207–26. K.M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *PAPhS* 100 (1956) 1–76. J. Kubińska, *Faras IV: Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* (Warsaw 1974), rev. T. Hägg, *Orientalia Suecana* 25–26 (1976–77) 144–150. P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecs en Occident*<sup>3</sup> (Paris 1948). —R.B., A.K.

**GREENS.** See FACTIONS.

**GREGENTIOS** (Γρηγόριος), archbishop of Zafār, in South Arabia, and saint, fl. mid-6th C. His biography is based mainly on haphazard and legendary information (R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 [1986] 1385f). According to the vita (*BHG* 705d) by Palladios, bishop of Najrān, also preserved in a Slavonic translation, Gregentios was born in the late 5th C. in Moesia. After journeying to north

and central Italy, he sailed to Alexandria; from there, soon after the martyrdom of Christians at NAJRĀN and the Axumite intervention of 525 that ended with the defeat of the Jewish Himyarite king DHŪ NUWĀS, the patriarch of Alexandria, called Proterios in the vita (but actually Timothy III), sent him as bishop to the land of HIMYAR (V. Christides, *Annales d'Éthiopie* 9 [1972] 115–46). Having consecrated several churches together with the Axumite king Kālēb 'Ella 'Aṣbehā (ELESBOAM), Gregentios remained in Zafār at the side of ABRAHĀ, the newly appointed Axumite viceroy of Himyar, to reestablish Christian Orthodoxy. He died some thirty years later, on 19 Dec., and was inscribed on this day in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 328–30; G. Fiaccadori, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3 [1980] 314, n.79).

With the name of the saint are also connected the so-called *Laws for the Himyarites* (*BHG* 706h–i), and the *Conversation with Herban the Jew* (*BHG* 706d); ostensibly forming an integral part of the vita, both are, in different measure, subsequent compilations. The whole dossier was assembled not before the 10th C., although the *Laws for the Himyarites* shares some points with legal inscriptions from pre-Islamic South Arabia (A.K. Irvine, *BSOAS* 30 [1967] 290f), and the *Conversation*, a cento of passages from various texts, may reflect the drastic efforts of the saint to convert the local Jews.

Gregentios is called Gregory in one MS of the vita (*BHG* 705a). The latter name (a *lectio facilior*) appears constantly in the Slavonic tradition and is also found in the inscription on a Cypriot fresco of 1110–18 that portrays the saint (C. Mango, E. Hawkins, *DOP* 18 [1964] 339 and fig.44).

SOURCES. A.A. Vasiliev, "Žitje sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskogo," *VizVrem* 14 (1907–09) 23–67. PG 86:568–784.

LIT. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XIII (1964), 579–602. I. Shahīd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 23–94. G. Fiaccadori, "Yemen nestoriano," in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, ed. S.F. Bondi et al. (Pisa, n.d. [1985]) 198f, 210f. —G.F.

**GREGORAS, NIKEPHOROS**, polymath and historian; born Herakleia Pontike ca.1290/1 (V. Grecu, *BSHAcRoum* 27 [1946] 56–61) or 1293/4 (H.-V. Beyer, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 129f), died Constantinople between 1358 and 1361. Orphaned as a child, Gregoras (Γρηγόρας) was initially educated by his uncle John, metropolitan of Herakleia. Circa 1314/

15 he went to Constantinople to study logic and rhetoric with the future Patr. JOHN XIII GLYKYS, and philosophy and astronomy with Theodore METOCHITES. He supported ANDRONIKOS II in the civil war of 1321–28, but later also found favor with ANDRONIKOS III. Gregoras was a partisan of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47; from 1347, however, when Gregoras succeeded AKINDYNOS as leader of the anti-Palamate party, his fortunes declined. Shortly after taking monastic vows, he was condemned and anathematized by the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) and placed under house arrest. After his death his corpse was dragged through the streets of the capital.

Gregoras was one of the most versatile scholars of the 14th C. Based at the CHORA monastery, where he ran a school and had access to the library of Metochites, he wrote hagiography (including Lives of MICHAEL SYNKELLOS; THEOPHANO, wife of Leo VI; and John of Herakleia), rhetorical works, and theological treatises (antirrhetics against Gregory PALAMAS). His dialogue *Phlorentios*, or *On Wisdom*, a discussion between Gregoras and Barlaam of Calabria, is a successful imitation of a Platonic dialogue. He also maintained an extensive correspondence, wrote treatises on the construction of the astrolabe, and calculated ECLIPSES; his proposals for calendar reform and for the calculation of the date of EASTER were not adopted, but presaged the Gregorian reform of 1582.

The most important work of Gregoras was his *Rhomaïke Historia*, in 37 books. It covered the period 1204–1359, and he imposed a strict analistic structure on his material. He emphasized the events of his own lifetime, with particular attention to theological controversy. Gregoras rejected a determinist explanation of historical events, arguing that God is not responsible for men's evil actions, but that he does foresee the future (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 320, 324f). Although the history was composed over many years and never properly edited or revised by Gregoras, it is an extremely valuable source for the first half of the 14th C. and as a complement to the memoirs of Kantakouzenos.

ED. *Byzantina Historia*, eds. L. Schopen, I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn 1829–1855). Germ. tr. J.L. van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–88). *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone, 2 vols. (Ma-

tino 1982–83). *Nikephoros Gregoras Antirrhētika I*, ed. H.-V. Beyer (Vienna 1976), with Germ. tr. *Fiorenzo o intorno alla sapienza*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1975), with Ital. tr. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 299–302.

LIT. R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris 1926). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:453–65; 2:191f, 249f. *PLP*, no.4443. H.-V. Beyer, "Nikephoros Gregoras als Theologe und sein erstes Auftreten gegen die Hesychasten," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 171–88. E. Moutsopoulos, "La notion de 'kairicité' historique chez Nicéphore Grégoras," *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 205–13. O.G. Zakrzęvska, "Konceptja patriotizma Nikifora Grigory," *ADSV* (1977) 85–95. —A.M.T.

**GREGORY** (Γρηγόριος), exarch of Carthage and relative of Herakleios; died Sufetula 647. A supporter of the anti-Monothelite position of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the "most pious *patrikios*" Gregory was already exarch by July 645, when he attended the disputation in Carthage between Maximos and Patr. PYRRHOS and reportedly helped reconcile them (PG 91:287A). In late 646 or early 647, Gregory and "the Africans" rebelled against Constans II. Gregory's action is partly explained by African estrangement from Constantinople over MONOTHELETISM: local support was strong for Pope Theodore and Maximos (both later accused in Constantinople of inciting Gregory), and during 645/6 various African synods denounced the "heresy." The more immediate cause was probably anxiety about the Arabs' conquest of Egypt. In 647 Abdallah invaded western TRIPOLITANIA and marched on Byzacena. Gregory, who had marshalled his forces at SUFETULA, confronted him in the nearby plains and was defeated. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 343.25–27) and some Syriac sources record that Gregory fled to Constantinople, but most scholars accept Arab reports that he was killed in battle.

LIT. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896) 554–59. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:60–71. Pringle, *Defence* 1:46–47. R. Guéry, "Le pseudo-monnayage de l'usurpateur Grégoire, patrice d'Afrique," *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* (1981) 66–68. —P.A.H.

**GREGORY I THE GREAT**, in Greek known as *ho Dialogos*; pope (from Sept. 590); born Rome ca.540, died Rome 12 Mar. 604. Born to an aristocratic family (related to AGAPETUS I), Gregory was urban prefect in 572 and 573. Although he was papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople from 579 to 586, Gregory claimed ignorance of Greek. Once elected pope, he dedicated his efforts to the economic and political strengthening of his diocese:

he made a truce with the LOMBARDS who threatened Rome in 592 and 593 and reorganized the utilization of church *patrimonia*, esp. in Sicily (V. Recchia, *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* [Rome 1978]). Gregory recognized not only the secular authority of the emperor, but also his authority in ecclesiastical matters, provided the emperor did not violate the canons. Gregory did not actively interfere in the domain of the patriarch of Constantinople, although in 595 he examined an appeal from two priests condemned in the Byz. capital. He recognized the see of Constantinople as the first among the Eastern patriarchates but rejected the claim of JOHN IV NESTUTES to the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. He was opposed to MAURICE and his court and welcomed the usurpation of PHOKAS, displaying the portraits of the new imperial couple on the Palatine Hill.

Gregory is generally believed to have been the author of the *Dialogues*, although this attribution has recently been challenged by Clark (*infra*). These *Dialogues*, which were miraculous stories about 6th-C. saints and deliberations on the immortality of the soul, were translated into Greek by Pope ZACHARIAS, and were popular in Byz. Short anecdotes about Gregory, probably known to John MOSCHOS, as well as pieces in *synaxaria* and *menologia* (F. Halkin, *OrChrP* 21 [1955] 109–14), formed the core of Gregory's Greek vita.

LIT. BHG 1445y–1448b. R. Gillet, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1387–1420. J. Richards, *Consul of God: the Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London 1980). J. Fontaine et al., *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris 1986). C. Dagens, "Grégoire le Grand et le monde oriental," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 17 (1981) 243–52. E.H. Fischer, "Gregor der Grosse und Byzanz," *ZSavKan* 67 (1950) 15–144. G.R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge 1986). F. Clark, *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1987). —A.K.

**GREGORY II**, pope (from 19 May 715); born Rome 669, died Rome 11 Feb. 731. As deacon, Gregory accompanied Pope Constantine I to Constantinople and participated in discussions concerning the decisions of the Council in TRULLO. As pope, Gregory resisted Byz. economic and religious policy in Italy. He rejected Emp. Leo III's demands for increased taxation in Sicily and opposed his new policy of ICONOCLASM. Two letters in Gregory's name addressed to Leo III and preserved only in Greek have sparked considerable debate concerning their authenticity. They seem to have been compiled not in Constantinople

but in Italy, though not necessarily by the pope himself. The gist of these letters is a denial of the emperor's right to define dogma. Gregory's resistance led to attempts on his life but the people of Rome caught some of the assailants and forced others to flee. The exarch Paul's effort to control the situation incited a riot, and he was killed. A new imperial army under the *patrikios* exarch EUTYCHIOS was sent to Naples to restore order, but Gregory managed to gain the support of the Lombard king Liutprand and to coerce Eutychios into reconciliation. Thereafter Gregory remained loyal to Eutychios and even sent a Roman detachment to assist him against the rebellious Tiberius Petasius.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: Le témoignage de Grégoire II?" *TM* 3 (1968) 243–307. E. Caspar, "Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit," *ZKirch* 52 (1933) 29–70. H. Grotz, "Beobachtungen zu den zwei Briefen Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III.," *ArchHistPont* 18 (1980) 9–40 and add. *ibid.* 24 (1986) 365–75. H. Michels, "Zur Echtheit der Briefe Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leon III.," *ZKirch* 99 (1988) 376–91. D.H. Miller, "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century," *MedSt* 36 (1974) 101–11. —A.K.

**GREGORY II OF CYPRUS**, patriarch of Constantinople (28 Mar. 1283–June 1289); born Cyprus ca. 1241, died Constantinople 1290. He was educated in Cyprus, Nicaea, and Constantinople, where he studied under George AKROPOLITES (*Autobiography* 177–87). He then joined the ranks of the palace clergy. In 1283 he was elevated to the patriarchate. Although under MICHAEL VIII he supported the negotiations with the West for UNION OF THE CHURCHES, Gregory was disillusioned by its apologists, the "Latinophrones," and with Rome's unyielding demands for submission. His patriarchate was thus marked by the restoration of Orthodoxy and the formal rejection of the union of LYONS at the local council of Constantinople of 1285 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Eventually, however, the complex ecclesiastical crisis provoked by the ARSENITES, conservative bishops, and unionists opposed both to his rule and to the Tomos of 1285, forced his conditional resignation (1289).

Gregory played a prominent part in the intellectual revival of the late 13th C., as his correspondence, proverb collection, *enkomia*, declamations, and Lives of the saints indicate. His *Autobiography*—possibly inspired by the autobio-

graphical reflections of Nikephoros BLEMMEDES—is a brief yet precious account of the cultural and "academic" background of his youth in Nicaea and Constantinople. His correspondence, too, in an elegant Attic style, contains material evidence for social and economic history (M. Bibikov, *ZRVI* 17 [1976] 93–99).

ED. PG 142:1–470. Correspondence—ed. S. Eustratiades, *EkkliPhar* 1–5 (1908–10). *Autobiography*, ed. with Fr. tr. W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre* (Brussels-Rome 1937) 176–91. See also lists in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 302f, and Beck, *Kirche* 686.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1460–1548. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* —A.P.

**GREGORY III**, pope (18 Mar. 731–28 Nov. 741) and saint. Of Syrian origin, Gregory was elected unexpectedly after the demise of GREGORY II and inherited his predecessor's conflict with Byz. At the council convened in Rome on 1 Nov. 731, Italian bishops condemned ICONOCLASM. Gregory sent messengers to Emp. LEO III, but they either tarried from fear or were detained and arrested. To quell the pope's resistance, Leo dispatched to Italy a fleet, which was destroyed in a storm in the Adriatic Sea. Then Leo ordered the tenants of the papal *patrimonia* in Sicily and Calabria to pay their taxes not to Rome, but to the fisc (A. Guillou, *ZRVI* 19 [1980] 74–78); he also transferred ILLYRICUM to the jurisdiction of Constantinople. In this precarious situation Gregory vacillated between alliance with the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto, on the one side, and with the Lombard king Liutprand, on the other; he even endeavored in 740 to attract Charles Martel as Rome's protector. Gregory did not disrupt political ties with Byz., however, and urged the Venetians and the archbishop of Grado to support exarch EUTYCHIOS when the Lombards forced him to flee Ravenna in 737.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 223–26. P. Moncelle, *DTC* 6 (1947) 1785–90 and add. R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1421f. —A.K.

**GREGORY V** (baptismal name Bruno), pope (3 May 996–18 Feb. 999); great-grandson of OTTO I THE GREAT. The first pope of German origin, Gregory sought collaboration with OTTO III. He found a rival in John Philagathos, the archbishop of Piacenza, a man of Greek ancestry who was close to THEOPHANO, the Byz. mother of Otto.

Basil II supported the claims of Philagathos: when the latter arrived in Constantinople for diplomatic negotiations, the emperor sent him back with the Byz. emissary LEO OF SYNADA. Philagathos was proclaimed pope in Rome in Feb. 997 (as John XVI), but in Feb. 998 Otto III reinstalled Gregory and severely punished the pope's adversaries.

LIT. T.E. Mochs, *Gregorius V* (Stuttgart 1972). T. DeLuca, "Giovanni Filagato," *Almanacco calabrese* (Rome 1955) 81–92. —A.K.

**GREGORY VII** (Hildebrand), pope (from 22 Apr. 1073); born Tuscany between 1020 and 1025, died Salerno 25 May 1085. Continuing the policy of LEO IX, Gregory worked to establish a strong papacy supported by a reformed clergy. At the beginning of his pontificate Gregory was involved in military actions against the Norman ROBERT GUISCARD. He assembled certain southern Italian princes and was even in touch with North African Christians (C. Courtois, *RH* 195 [1945] 220–25) in expectation of an alliance against the Normans. Gregory also strove for an accommodation with Byz. He corresponded with Emp. Michael VII and dreamed of organizing a "crusade" to alleviate the plight of Byz. (Cowdrey *infra*). Everything changed in 1080; as a result of Guiscard's military success and the conflict with Henry IV of Germany, Gregory accepted Guiscard's homage on 29 June and recognized his occupation of Amalfi, Salerno, and Fermo. When Guiscard waged war against Byz., Gregory insisted that the Venetians who opposed the Norman penetration into the Adriatic would not support the "excommunicated" (Greeks), and he sent his congratulations to Guiscard after his victory over Alexios I. Sources concerning Gregory's relations with Armenia, Kiev, and southern Slavs are vague. Matthew of Edessa even relates that the Armenian *katholikos* Gregory II traveled to Rome in 1075; the pope Gregory attempted to mediate the conflict between Poland and Rus' and urged ZVONIMIR to recognize his vassalage to Rome.

LIT. J. Choux, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1424–33. J. Gauss, *Ost und West in der Kirchen- und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich 1967) 39–68. G. Hofmann, "Papst Gregor VII. und der christliche Osten," *StGreg* 1 (1947) 169–81. J. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen* (Cologne 1972) 51–136. W. Wühr, *Studien zu Gregor VII. Kirchenreform und Weltpolitik* (Munich 1930). H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," in *Outremer* 27–40. —A.K.



**GREGORY IX** (Hugo, count of Segni), pope (from 19 Mar. 1227); born Anagni ca.1170 (R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 ([1986] 1437), died Rome 22 Aug. 1241. He was the nephew of INNOCENT IV. Gregory spent his pontificate primarily in the struggle with FREDERICK II. At the same time he endeavored to strengthen the Latins' position both in Palestine and in Constantinople. He collected money for the organization of new crusades and developed a new system of punishing heretics by sending them to Constantinople for several years (P. Segl, *DA* 32 [1976] 209–20). Gregory insisted that Frederick lead a crusade to Palestine—the pope wanted him to help the Latins and at the same time to divert Frederick from Italy, where he had been attacking papal territory. Gregory tried to increase the power of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople by making him a papal legate, whereas Innocent III had sent an independent legate to check the power of the patriarch (R.L. Wolff, *DOP* 8 [1954] 285–90). Gregory initiated negotiations with the Greek patriarch GERMANOS II; Germanos's letters of 1232 to Gregory and the cardinals (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1256–57) emphasize readiness for Union of the Churches on the basis of papal PRIMACY but complain about the injustice perpetrated by the Latins, esp. on Cyprus. In 1233 Gregory dispatched Haymo of Faversham to Nicaea, but negotiations failed.

LIT. J. Felten, *Papst Gregor IX*. (Freiburg 1886). J. van den Gheyn, "Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'empire Latin de Constantinople," *ROL* 9 (1902) 230–34. V. Grumel, "L'authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Pape Grégoire IX," *EO* 29 (1930) 450–58. R. Spence, "Gregory IX's Attempted Expeditions to the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *JMedHist* 5 (1979) 163–76.

—A.K.

**GREGORY X** (Tedaldo Visconti), pope (from 1 Sept. 1271); born Piacenza 1210, died Arezzo 10 Jan. 1276. Gregory encouraged the organization of a new crusade to protect endangered Latin possessions in Palestine; he also planned to rid himself of CHARLES I OF ANJOU (who threatened papal lands) by having him lead the crusade. The newly restored Byz. Empire under Michael VIII was to play an essential role in the pope's scheme: by recognizing Michael's right to Constantinople Gregory planned to make him sign a truce with Latin princes in the Peloponnesos and promise free passage for the Crusaders' army and its sup-

ply. The plan, in its general form, was announced at the Council of LYONS in 1274. Michael was interested in the project—both in diverting Charles I of Anjou and in restoring Byz. power in Asia Minor, then in the hands of the Turks and the Mongols. To continue negotiations, George METCHITES was sent to Gregory in 1275, and it was agreed that at Easter of 1276 the emperor and the pontiff would meet either in Brindisi or in Valona. Anti-Unionist sentiments in Byz., however, and the lack of means and energy in the West foiled the pope's plans.

LIT. L. Gatto, *Il pontificato di Gregorio X* (Rome 1959). V. Laurent, "Grégoire X (1271–1276) et le projet d'une ligue antiturque," *EO* 37 (1938) 257–73. Idem, "La croisade et la question d'Orient sous le pontificat de Grégoire X," *RHSEE* 22 (1945) 105–37. C. Giannelli, "Le récit d'une mission diplomatique de Georges le Métochite," *ST* 129 (1947) 419–43.

—A.K.

**GREGORY XI** (Pierre Roger de Beaufort), pope (from 1370); born Limousin 1329, died Rome 27 Mar. 1378. He was the last of the Avignon popes. His principal aim was to return the curia to Rome, a goal that he achieved in 1377 after an expensive war against Florence. Gregory devoted many words—but little money—to the East, where the position of the Christians was seriously threatened, esp. after the Turkish victory at MARICA in 1371. The pope subsidized the garrison in SMYRNA but was unable to summon a new crusade since only the HOSPITALLERS were ready to offer money and manpower: Venice was at war with Genoa, while other Western states (including Hungary and Aragon) were indifferent or suspicious of the papal project.

LIT. A. Luttrell, "Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370–1378," *OrChrP* 46 (1980) 391–417. G. Mollat, "Grégoire XI et sa légende," *RHE* 49 (1954) 873–77.

—A.K.

**GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ**, Syriac scholar; known as Bar Hebraeus in the West, a sobriquet that translates the name by which he is usually called in Syriac and Arabic texts; baptismal name John; born Melitene 1225, died Maragha, Azerbaijan 30 July 1286. The son of a physician named Aaron, he took the name Gregory when he became a bishop in the Monophysite community. After occupying several episcopal sees, in 1264 Gregory became the bishop of Tagrit, and thus the ma-

phrian or primate of the Monophysite community in the former Persian territories, with his official residence at the monastery of Mar Mattai, near present-day Mosul. Gregory was a polymath whose career and accomplishments represent the full flowering of intellectual life in the Syriac-speaking community in the 13th C. He composed major works in theology, philosophy, mysticism, law, and Syriac grammar.

For the Byzantinist, however, his most relevant work is the *Chronicle*, a universal history that Gregory composed on the basis of the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN. Gregory's *Chronicle* presents secular and ecclesiastical history in two separate sections, often called the *Chronicon syriacum* and the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, respectively. The secular chronicle covers the period from Adam to the Mongol invasions; the ecclesiastical chronicle begins with Aaron, the Israelite priest, and continues in the Christian period following the succession of the patriarchs of Antioch, listing only the Monophysite holders of the office after the time of SEVEROS of Antioch. In a second section of the ecclesiastical chronicle, however, Gregory also presents the history of the church in the Persian world, from the time of the apostle Thomas onward, on the basis of Nestorian sources. Gregory worked on the ecclesiastical chronicle until his death in 1286. His brother, Bar Šauma, brought it up to 1288. A later writer included a record of events to the year 1496. Gregory's *Chronicle* is esp. valuable for the years after 1193, where the chronicle of Michael the Syrian ended, and for the period of the Mongol invasions, which Gregory witnessed.

ED. *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris 1890); Eng. tr. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols. (Oxford 1932). *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.B. Abbeloos, T.J. Lamy, 3 vols. (Louvain 1872–77).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 312–20. W. Hage in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (1985) 158–64. J.-M. Fiey, "Esquisse d'une bibliographie de Bar Hebraeus (+1286)," *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986) 279–312. S.R. Todt, "Die syrische und die arabische Weltgeschichte des Bar Hebraeus—ein Vergleich," *Der Islam* 65 (1988) 60–80. N.I. Serikov, "O putjach proniknovenija vizantijskoj duchovnoj kul'tury na musul'manskij Vostok: Grigorij Ioann Abu-l-Faradž ibn al-Ibri (Bar Ebrej) i vizantijskaja istoriografičeskaja tradicija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 230–41.

—S.H.G.

**GREGORY DEGHA PAHLAVUNI**. See GREGORY TŁAY.

**GREGORY MAGISTROS**, prince of the Pahlavuni family, lord of Bjni in the valley of the Hrazdan River; born Bjni (near Ani) ca.990, died Tarōn ca.1058. He was important in the political and intellectual life of Armenia. After Constantine IX occupied ANI in 1045 (ending the BAGRATID kingdom), Gregory went to live in Constantinople. He joined a Greek campaign against the Turks in 1048 and was appointed *magistros* and *doux* of Mesopotamia. Thereafter he resided at his estates in Tarōn, devoted to literary studies and the repression of the TONDRAKITES. His son Vahram became *katholikos* (1065–1105) as Gregory III V kayaser ("martyrophile"); his descendants included NERSĒS ŠNORHALI and NERSĒS OF LAMBRON.

Widely read in Greek literature, Gregory translated Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* and part of Euclid's *Geometry* and composed various theological works. His most notable legacy is a collection of 88 letters written on public and private matters in a recondite style full of classical allusions. They are unique in Armenian as conscious imitations of Byz. EPISTOLOGRAPHY.

ED. *Grigor Magistrosi l'here*, ed. K'. Kostaneanc' (Alexandropol 1910). *Tatasac' ul' iwnk'* (Venice 1868).

LIT. M. Leroy, "Grégoire Magistros et les traductions arméniennes d'auteurs grecs," *ALPHOS* 3 (1935) 263–94. B. Tchukasizian, "Echos de légendes épiques iraniennes dans les 'Lettres' de Grigor Magistros," *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 321–29. G.H. Grigorjan, "Gregory Magistros as Philosopher," *IFŽ* (1982) no.1, 28–38. A.K. Sanjian, A. Terian, "An Enigmatic Letter of Gregory Magistros," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 2 (1985/6) 85–95.

—R.T.

**GREGORY OF AKRAGAS**, exegete, bishop of Akragas, and saint; fl. ca.700?; feastday 24 Nov. Under his name is preserved a commentary on the *Ecclesiastes* of SOLOMON (G.H. Ettinger, *StP* 18.1 [1986] 317–20). Gregory's biography, written by a certain Leontios, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome, is confusing; it makes Gregory a contemporary of Justinian II and eye-witness to the struggle against the Monotheletes and at the same time a deacon under Patr. Makarios II of Jerusalem (552, 563/4–ca.575). The focal point of the vita of Leontios is Gregory's arrest in Akragas and Justinian's intervention with an unnamed pope to release him; the Sicilian bishops are presented as supporting Gregory against the pope. The anti-Roman tendency of

Leontios (was he really a *hegoumenos* in Rome?) also reveals itself when he gives the list of Gregory's works, one of which was dedicated to St. ANDREW who is titled the "chief (*koryphaios*) of the apostles," an epithet usually reserved for the "Roman" apostles Peter and Paul.

ED. PG 98:741–1181.

SOURCE. Vita—PG 98:549–716.

LIT. BHG 707–708f. G. Stramondo, *Gregorio d'Agrigento* (Catania 1952). A. Christophilopoulos, "Pote ezesen ho Gregorios Akragantos?" *EEBS* 19 (1949) 158–61. I. Croce, "Per la cronologia della vita di S. Gregorio Agrigentino," *BollBadGr* 4 (1950) 189–207, 5 (1951) 77–91. —A.K.

**GREGORY OF CORINTH.** See PARDOS, GREGORY.

**GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS**, saint; born Eirenopolis, Isaurian Dekapolis, before 797, died 20 Nov. 842 (Dvornik), 841, or even earlier (Mango). After finishing elementary school Gregory stayed 14 years in a monastery, whose archimandrite was Symeon, Gregory's maternal uncle. Thereafter he started his wanderings: he spent a winter in Ephesus, then set off for Constantinople, but landed in the Prokonnesos, passed through Ainos, Christoupolis, Thessalonike, and sailed to Sicily via Corinth; he stayed three months in a cell in Rome, lived as a recluse in Syracuse, and returned to Thessalonike, from where he visited Mt. Olympos and Constantinople.

Gregory's vita, written soon after 842/3, is assigned by three MSS to IGNATIUS THE DEACON; this attribution was questioned by W. Wolska-Conus (*TM* 4 [1970] 340) but supported by Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 123). Gregory lived through the second period of Iconoclasm but did not himself suffer from persecution: the hagiographer accordingly calls him "a martyr without weals" (Dvornik, *infra* 70.3–4). Gregory enjoyed the vision of divine light and worked miracles (a Saracen tried to kill Gregory, but his hand immediately withered). The Life contains only vague information about a revolt of the *exarchon* of Sklavina, but provides much evidence on administrative and legal practice in Byz.: a conflict concerning the right of the "neighborhood" (*geitonema*—p.63.22–26), the *praktor* of the state treasury seizing property not bequeathed by will (p.55.20–24), etc. Images of Gregory, rare in MSS and even

rarer in monumental painting, show the saint as a monk with a trim round white beard.

SOURCE. F. Dvornik, *La vie de St. Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1926).

LIT. BHG 711. C. Mango, "On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite," *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 633–46. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:454–56. J. Longton, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1498f. C. Nicolescu, *LCI* 6:429f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS**, bishop of Constantinople (27 Nov. 380–381), bishop of Nazianzos (382–84), and saint; born 329/30 in Arianzos, near Nazianzos, died Arianzos ca.390; feastday 25 Jan. One of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, he was a close friend of BASIL THE GREAT, whose fellow-student he was in Cappadocian Caesarea and Athens. Like Basil, he entered monastic life after completing his education. His homonymous father, bishop of Nazianzos, consecrated a reluctant Gregory as priest in 362; he assisted his father until the latter's death in 374. In 379 Gregory went to Constantinople, where he was appointed as its bishop. A strong supporter of Nicene orthodoxy, he fought against the adherents of EUNOMIOS at the Council of Constantinople in 381, over which he presided. He then abdicated and returned home where he died after some last years of writing and contemplation.

Gregory was a prolific author, who wrote poetry, including 254 epigrams collected as book 8 of the *Greek Anthology*, orations, and many letters, to such friends as Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Among his letters are attacks on the heresy of APOLLINARIS, the so-called *Theological Letters*. His homilies include sermons on specific feastdays, funeral orations for family and friends, a treatise (or.2) on the burden and duties of priesthood, a diatribe (or.20) against the mania at Constantinople for dogmatic controversy, and two gloating accounts of the death of JULIAN.

The authors of his vitae, the 7th-C. Gregory the Priest (PG 35:243–304) and NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (ed. and tr. J. Rizzo, *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian* [Brussels 1976]), stress his role in the dogmatic struggle of the period; at the Council of Chalcedon he was granted the official epithet "the Theologian." Unlike Basil and other contemporary dogmatists, however, Gregory was foremost a rhetorician and poet (H. Musurillo, *Thought* 45 [1970] 45–55) who considered poetic vocation a prophetic activity



GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Portrait of Gregory writing. Frontispiece of a manuscript of the liturgical homilies of Gregory (Sinai gr. 339, fol.4v); 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. The manuscript was commissioned by Joseph Hagioglykerites, *hegoumenos* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople.

and his works as a sacrifice for God's altar (S. Costanza in *Lirica greca de Archiloco a Elitis* [Padua 1984] 235). If Basil's asceticism was communal and monastic, Gregory's centered on his own experience as reflected in his poetic *Autobiography*; his vision of the world was personal and aristocratic and he stressed his distance from the "crowd" (B. Lorenz, *VigChr* 33 [1979] 240). Although his observations were personal and individual, he often used conventional situations; for example, although he never married and had no son, he lamented in one of his moral poems the untimely death of a bridegroom and the grief of the parents. He had a sincere belief in the afterlife and Christianity gave him solace against death, so that Gregory treated the Christian *paideia* primarily as a preparation for the end of earthly existence. To express his experience Gregory often used antiquated meters, albeit with certain modifications

(D. Sykes, *BZ* 72 [1979] 6–15), and exquisite vocabulary. His verses, full of classical themes and images (M. Kertsch, *Bildersprache bei Gregor von Nazianz*<sup>2</sup> [Graz 1980]), were not suited for liturgical purposes; nevertheless, his poems were popular among later literati: they were commented upon by KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER and imitated by PRODROMOS, among others.

**Illustration of the Homilies of Gregory.** Numerous illustrated copies of his homilies attest to Gregory's significance in later periods. Beyond the PARIS GREGORY a smaller selection of 16 homilies became popular in the 11th C. Arranged in the order of reading during the church year, this "liturgical edition" was illustrated with images appropriate to the individual feastdays. Among the more elaborate versions is Sinai gr. 339, a mid-12th-C. MS commissioned by the *hegoumenos* Joseph Hagioglykerites of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople; its ornament is related to MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS (J.C. Anderson, *ArtB* 61 [1979] 167–85).

**Representation in Art.** Gregory, as one of the three most important church fathers, was invariably included in the procession of bishops adorning church apses, near the figures of John Chrysostom and Basil the Great; he is distinguished by his balding head, healthy face, and squarish beard. The inclusion of Gregory the Priest's biography of the saint into the Paris Gregory MS inspired a whole page of illustrations depicting events from his life (fol.452r), while the autobiographical references contained in various of Gregory's sermons prompted the inclusion of narrative compositions (Gregory teaching, attending funerals and councils, etc.) into many MSS of the liturgical edition of these sermons. Several of these latter MSS contain an author PORTRAIT of Gregory seated at his desk like an EVANGELIST.

ED. PG 35–38. *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres*, ed. P. Gallay, 2 vols. (Paris 1964–67), with Fr. tr. *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres théologiques*, ed. P. Gallay (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours*, ed. J. Mossay et al., 6 vols. (Paris 1978–85), with Fr. tr. *Gregor von Nazianz: De vita sua*, ed. C. Jungck (Heidelberg 1974), with Germ. tr. *Gregory of Nazianzus: Three Poems*, tr. D.M. Meehan (Washington, D.C., 1987). *The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus*, tr. A.J. Mason (Cambridge 1899).

LIT. R. Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford 1969). J. Mossay, *La mort et l'au-delà dans saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Louvain 1966). II. *Symposium Nazianzenum*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981, ed. J. Mossay (Paderborn 1983). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii*,



vol. 1 (Moscow 1984) 302–06. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton 1969). U. Knoen, *LCl* 6:444–50. H. Buchthal, "Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture," *GBA* 62 (1963) 81–90. F. Trisoglio, *San Gregorio di Nazianzo in un quarantennio di studio (1925–1965)* (Turin 1974).

—B.B., A.K., R.S.N., N.P.S.

**GREGORY OF NYSSA**, theologian, the youngest of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, and saint; born in the region of Neokaisareia between 335 and 340, died after 394; feastday 10 Jan. He was one of nine children, including an older brother BASIL THE GREAT and a sister, Makrina, whose vita he later wrote. *Anagnostes* by the age of 20, Gregory unexpectedly renounced his post, married a certain Theosebeia, and turned to the study of rhetoric. When his brother Basil received the metropolitan see of Caesarea, he ordained Gregory (ca. 371) as bishop of Nyssa. Gregory, however, did not meet his brother's expectations: Basil accused him of "simplicity" and "lack of experience" in church administration (Basil, ep. 100.27–29, 215.16–17, ed. Y. Courtonne [Paris 1957–61]). Gregory became involved in a conflict with the civil government and was forced to leave his see temporarily (376–378); during his absence the pro-Arian party took the upper hand. He returned to Nyssa after the death of Valens. During Basil's life Gregory felt restrained and wrote little (e.g., his essay *On Virginity*), but after his brother died in 379 Gregory's political and literary activity flourished: he attended the synod of Antioch in 379, served briefly as bishop of Sebasteia, supported Gregory of Nazianzos at the Council of Constantinople in 381, delivered funeral orations for members of the imperial family in 383 and 385, wrote his major works (*Against Eunomios*, the *Great Catechesis*, *On the Making of Man*, homilies on the *Song of Songs*, etc.), and participated in the synod convoked by Patr. NEKTARIOS in 394.

Well read in classical literature, Gregory highly valued Plato and had more respect for Origen than did Basil. He was much interested in scientific problems, and often touched upon physical, physiological, and medical topics. He became involved in the Trinitarian discussions which dominated his era and followed in his brother's footsteps, refining the views of Athanasios of Alexandria and polemicizing with the Arians. His personal interests, however, lay in the spheres of

ANTHROPOLOGY and ESCHATOLOGY; he was esp. concerned with the problem of man's perception of God (*theognosia*—PG 44:773A); the contemplation of divine beauty, which is the most sublime end of our desires, is made possible by God's creation of man according to His image, "in order that the similar (*homoios*) might see the similar" (PG 46:176A). At the same time man is a sensual being and therefore is in danger of substituting valuable material objects for the sublime principle. Gregory saw in the Holy Writ and in the "tradition given to us by the fathers" the vehicle of discriminating between the divine and the material. Unlike Eunomios, who affirmed that a complete perception of God was possible through logical operations, Gregory asserted that our knowledge of God was restricted and could be achieved primarily through an ecstasy, "a sober inebriation" (PG 44:992A).

Gregory was respected by the Byz. and called "the father of fathers" at the Council of Nicaea in 787, but he always remained in the shadow of the two more prominent Cappadocian fathers. Some works of other theologians (e.g., Severos of Antioch—see M. Kugener, *ROC* 3 [1898] 435–51, or Anastasios of Sinai—Beck, *Kirche* 445) were ascribed to him; in the 14th C. Gregory's concept that all beings, save God, had been created provoked a heated discussion between Neilos Kabisilas and John Kyparissiotis; his statement was interpreted respectively as being a doctrine in support of or in opposition to Hesychasm.

**Representation in Art.** Gregory's association with Gregory of Nazianzos means that his portrait is included in illustrated MSS of the latter's homilies (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 46–48, 53–58, 183–85). A dark-haired bishop with a pointed beard, Gregory of Nyssa is commonly included in the procession of bishops adorning church apses.

ED. CPG, nos. 3135–3226. PG 44–46. *Opera*, ed. W. Jaeger et al., 10 vols. in 13 pts. (Berlin 1921, Leiden 1952–90). *Ascetical Works*, tr. V.W. Callahan (Washington, D.C., 1967). *The Easter Sermons of Gregory of Nyssa*, ed. A. Spira, C. Klock (Cambridge, Mass.—Philadelphia 1981). *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, tr. C. McCambley (Brookline, Mass., 1987). *The Life of Moses*, tr. A.J. Malherbe, E. Ferguson (New York 1978).

LIT. H.V. von Balthasar, *Présence et pensée: essai sur la philosophie religieuse de Grégoire de Nyse* (Paris 1988). M. Canévet, *Grégoire de Nyse et l'herméneutique biblique* (Paris 1983). J. Daniélou, *L'être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nyse* (Leiden 1970). M. Altenburger, F. Mann, *Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden–New York 1988). A.M. Ritter, *LCl* 6:450f.

—A.K., B.B., N.P.S.

**GREGORY OF TOURS**, bishop of Tours (from 573); born Clermont-Ferrand ca. 540, died 17 Nov. 593 or 594. An aristocrat of senatorial background and adviser to Merovingian kings, Gregory was the most important historian of Merovingian France. His gift of lively narrative in late Latin produced two works significant for Byz. The *Historiarum libri X*, or *Histories in Ten Books*, describes the rising power of the FRANKS from the 5th C. down to Gregory's own time. For the early period Gregory used written sources (including valuable extracts from lost Gaulish historians on the usurper MAXIMUS and general AETIUS) and oral traditions of debated value. For Gregory, Byz. was simply *res publica* (bk.2, ch.3) and its activities in the West appear in connection with this main theme, from the alliance of ANASTASIOS I with Clovis (2.37–38—M. McCormick in E. Chrysos, *Das Reich und die Barbaren* [Vienna–Cologne 1989] 155–80), DIPLOMACY (6.2), and Byz. complicity in a Frankish usurpation (6.24, 26–28) to the Franks' role in Byz.'s war against the LOMBARDS (10.2, EPISTOLAE AUSTRASICAЕ) and the activities of Byz. merchants in Gaul (7.31). The *Histories* also provides independent evidence on the accessions of Tiberios I (5.30—cf. Av. Cameron, *JThSt* n.s. 26 [1975] 421–26) and Maurice (6.30); Gregory's information on Justin II, the Persian pillage of a suburb of Antioch, and the defection of Persarmenia (4.40) probably came from Monophysite circles in Constantinople.

The *Libri VIII miraculorum*, or *Miracles in Eight Books* (M. Heinzelmann in *Hagiographie—cultures et sociétés* [Paris 1981] 235–57), includes stories reported by travelers, e.g., on Justin II and Empress SOPHIA (1.5), PATRAS (1.30), the building of St. POLYEUKTOS in Constantinople (1.102), and Byz. Italy (*Virtutes S. Martini* 1.13–16) as well as the development of the cult of icons (R.A. Markus, *JThSt* n.s. 29 [1978] 151–57). Gregory also wrote the *Miracles of St. Andrew* (*BHL* 430) and, with the help of a Syrian named John, a Latin translation of the account of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus (B. Krusch, *AB* 12 [1893] 371–87).

ED. B. Krusch, W. Levison, MGH SRM<sup>2</sup> 1.1 (1951). Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2.

TR. *The History of the Franks*, tr. O.M. Dalton (Oxford 1927). *Life of the Fathers*, tr. E. James (Liverpool 1985).

LIT. A. Carrière, "Sur un chapitre de Grégoire de Tours relatif à l'histoire d'Orient," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études* (1898) 5–23. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 1:99–107. —M.McC.

**GREGORY SINAITES**, hesychast monk and writer; born Koukoulos, near Klazomenai, ca. 1255 or 1265?, died Paroria 27 Nov. after 1337 (the traditional date of 1346 cannot be confirmed). The exact chronology of his career is uncertain. Born to wealthy parents, Gregory was captured in his youth by Turks. After his release he fled to Cyprus, where he became a monk, and then went to Mt. SINAI. He left Sinai after disputes with other monks and made his way to Athos, via Jerusalem and Crete, where he studied with the monk Arsenios and learned the "Jesus prayer," the repetition of the phrase "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me." On Athos he reportedly introduced this "prayer of the heart," a continuous and imageless form of prayer combined with control of the breathing (K.T. Ware, *EChR* 4 [1972] 3–22), and was a forerunner of HESYCHASM. Turkish raids forced Gregory to flee from Athos and eventually to settle at PARORIA in Thrace. Here ca. 1330 he founded a monastery on Mt. Katakekryomene, which attracted both Greek and Slavic monks and received financial support from the Bulgarian tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. Gregory's disciples included ROMYLOS of Vidin, THEODOSIOS OF TŪRNOVO (died 1363), and the future patriarch KALLISTOS, who composed his biography.

His principal work was the *Most Beneficial Chapters [Kephalaia] in Acrostic*, 137 short essays on the contemplative life (see VITA CONTEMPLATIVA). Other CHAPTERS treat the hesychastic method of prayer and breathing. Gregory's *Discourse on the Transfiguration* identifies the light perceived by mystics with the light on Mt. TABOR.

ED. PG 150:1240–1345. Partial Fr. tr. J. Gouillard in *Petite Philocalie de la prière du coeur*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1968) 177–97. *Discourse on the Transfiguration*, ed. D. Balfour (Athens 1982), with Eng. tr.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Kallistos—ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *ZapIsk-FilFakSPetUniv* 35 (1896) 1–64.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 694f. *PLP*, nos. 601. A. E.N. Tachian, "Gregory Sinaites' Legacy to the Slavs," *Cyrrilomethodianum* 7 (1983) 113–65. A.I. Jacimirskij, "Iz kritiko-literaturnykh nabljudenij nad žitiem Grigorija Sinaita," *VizVrem* 15 (1908) 300–31. D. Balfour, "Saint Gregory of Sinai's Life Story and Spiritual Profile," *Theologia* 53 (1982) 30–62.

—A.M.T.

**GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR** (Γρηγόριος τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, lit. "Gregory of Great Armenia"), considered the founder of the ARMENIAN CHURCH and its first bishop; saint; fl. first half of



the 4th C.; Byz. feastday 30 Sept. The two main recensions of his vita (A and V) differ in a number of details and each survives in several versions (Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Georgian, etc.). According to the "received tradition" found in recension A (by AGATHANGELOS), Gregory was of Parthian origin and the son of the murderer of the Armenian king Xosrov I. Saved from the massacre that befell his family, he was educated as a Christian at Caesarea in Cappadocia. On his return to Armenia, he miraculously survived torture for his beliefs by King TRDAT THE GREAT. Gregory preached the new faith to the king and his court and baptized them. He was consecrated bishop of Armenia at Caesarea. Though still occasionally disputed, P. Ananian's proposed date of 314 for the conversion of Armenia now seems incontrovertible (*Muséon* 74 [1961] 43–73, 317–60). Gregory sent missionaries to the neighboring lands of GEORGIA and Caucasian ALBANIA. Near the end of his life, he consecrated his son Aristakes as his successor and sent him to attend the First Council of NICAIA. Gregory is said to have then retired to a hermitage where he died, though accounts of the end of his life remain unclear. His mission marks the beginning of hellenizing influence in the Armenian church as opposed to the earlier Syrian influence found in the southern part of the country.

**Representation in Art.** The earliest known Byz. portrait of Gregory is the mosaic (now destroyed) on the south tympanum of the nave of Hagia Sophia, perhaps connected with Emp. Basil I's claims of Armenian ancestry (Mango, *Materials*, figs. 57–59). Gregory is depicted as an elderly bishop in many later church programs and in *MENOLOGIA*, where he may appear in the company of the virgin martyrs Hrip'simē and Gayanē. The scene of his beheading in a *menologion* (B.L. Add. 11870, fol.242v) is without textual basis. Miniatures in the THEODORE PSALTER show him being released from the pit and converting King Trdat (fol.48r). His life was depicted in one of the churches dedicated to him at ANI (1215).

LIT. M. van Esbroeck, "Témoignages littéraires sur les sépultures de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur," *AB* 89 (1971) 387–417. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 375f. S. Der Nersessian, "Les portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans l'art byzantin," *Byzantion* 36 (1966) 386–96. —N.G.G., N.P.S.

**GREGORY TŁAY** ("youth"), a nephew of NERSĒS ŠNORHALI of the Pahlavuni family; *katholikos* in

Armenian Cilicia (1173–93); born 1133, died 1193. Gregory pursued discussions with the Byz. authorities concerning union of the Greek and Armenian churches. In 1179 he called a synod at Hrom-klay, the patriarchal see, where NERSĒS OF LAMBRON made an *Oration* in favor of compromise, but bishops from Greater Armenia were opposed. When Emp. Manuel I died in 1180, negotiations ended. Gregory also sought closer relations with the Syrian and Roman churches, and corresponded with Pope Lucius III (1181–85).

ED. *Namakani Grigori Kaf'olikosi* (Venice 1865). E. Dulaurier, "Élégie sur la prise de Jérusalem," *RHC Arm.* 1:269–307 (with Fr. tr.).

LIT. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 35–54.

—R.T.

**GRIFFIN** (γρύψ, γρίφος), mythological creature with the body of a lion, head of an eagle, winged, and sometimes having a serpent for its tail; Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De cer.* 581.1) interpreted it as a hybrid of lion and vulture. Legend placed griffins in the land of the Scythians and Hyperboreans. Late Roman poets (Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris) connected the griffin with Apollo, as did Servius, the 4th-C. commentator on Vergil, who lists three symbols of Apollo: the lyre, griffin, and arrows. Sidonius Apollinaris describes the chariot of Dionysos as pulled by griffins. According to NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 48:382–83), a griffin, "a bird of vengeance," winged and four-legged, flew round the throne of Nemesis. In the *Alexander Romance* the hero flies on griffins. Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:246.3–4) speaks with irony of writers who made Alexander yoke griffins and fly up from the earth. Lexicographers (Hesychios, Photios) confused the griffin with the *hippalektryon* ("horse-rooster"), another fabulous animal with four legs, wings, and a hooked beak.

Associated in Rome with the light-bringing Apollo, the heads and bodies of griffins formed Christian lamps in the 4th C. (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 560–61). But in Byz. the griffin's presence, where not purely ornamental, may depend on a more ancient, Oriental tradition that saw it as apotropaic. In this sense, perhaps, griffins flank the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE and decorate TEXTILES (as on the costume worn by Alexios V; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.99). Griffins are found frequently on enamels, on the ornamental pages of illuminated

MSS, and in a great variety of other media where they support the ascension of Alexander.

LIT. K. Ziegler, *RE* 7 (1912) 1918–24. C. Settis-Frugoni, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem* (Rome 1973). I. Michael, *Alexander's Flying Machine: The History of a Legend* (Southampton 1974). L. Bouras, *The Griffin through the Ages* (Athens 1983) 45–51. H. Brandenburg, *RAC* 12:977–95. —A.K., A.C.

**GROCER** (σαλδαμάριος; in inscriptions usually σαλγαμάριος). According to the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.13), grocers were purveyors of preserved meat and fish (smoked, salted, or dried), cheese, butter, olive oil, honey, and pulses of all kinds as well as raw pitch, gypsum, nails, and other goods sold by weight. They were restricted, however, to selling goods weighed with a STEELYARD rather than with BALANCE SCALES. Furthermore, they were not allowed to sell products that were the responsibility of other guilds, such as soap, perfume, wine, fresh meat, or linen. Their shops or *ergasteria* could be located anywhere in Constantinople, on squares and streets, "so that the provisions necessary for life were readily available." M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 4 [1951] 32) hypothesized that *saldamarioi* were businessmen owning sizable storehouses, but this cannot be proven. The POULOLOGOS (ed. S. Krawczynski, 110.445) accuses the crow of damaging both the grocer (*samardares/sardamares*) and the plowman, thus suggesting that the former displayed his wares in the open air. In 1419 the Athonite monastery of Xenophon possessed five *ergasteria sardamarika* in the Grand Stoa of Thessalonike (*Xenoph.*, no.32.8–9)—evidently they were not large stores. A chrysobull of 1342 notes that greengroceries (*lachanopoleia*) in Constantinople that had been recently acquired by the Lavra of St. Athanasios were transformed into two *ergasteria*—one for perfume (*myrepsikon*), the other a *sardamarikon* (*Lavra* 3, no.123.121–23).

LIT. Stockle, *Zunfte* 40f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 250f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 95. L. Robert, "Épithètes et acclamations byzantines à Corinthe," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 39–46. —A.K.

**GROSSETESTE, ROBERT**, bishop of Lincoln; English theologian, scholar, and statesman; born Stradbrook (Suffolk) ca.1168, died 9 Oct. 1253. An example of the new type of ecclesiastic trained in the universities, Grosseteste played an important role in the introduction of Aristotelian learning at Oxford. Profoundly learned in Greek, he

possibly knew some Hebrew as well. At Lincoln, he assembled a group of scholars (some from southern Italy) and with their assistance translated various Greek texts into Latin, including Aristotle's *On the Heavens*, with the commentary of Simplicios, and *Nicomachean Ethics*, with the commentaries of MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, EUSTRATIUS OF NICAIA, and others; the pseudo-Dionysios corpus, with the scholia of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR; *On the Orthodox Faith* by John of Damascus; *On the Passions*, attributed to Andronikos of Rhodes; and other theological texts.

ED. Pseudo-Andronicus de Rhodes "Peri pathon", ed. A. Glibert-Thirry (Leiden 1977). *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, ed. H. Mercken (Leiden 1973). For other works see Thomson.

LIT. S.H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge 1940). *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D.A. Callus (Oxford 1969). —M.W.T.

**GROSSOLANO, PETER**, sometimes called Chrysolanus, theologian, bishop of Savona, then archbishop of Milan (from 1101 on); died in the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome 6 Aug. 1117. Entangled in the struggle of local parties, Peter was twice forced to leave Milan (1103, 1112). In 1112, en route to Jerusalem, he stopped at Constantinople, where he engaged in discussions with Byz. theologians, including Niketas SEIDES, THEODORE OF SMYRNA, and others, the major topic being the PRIMACY of Rome. Alexios I, according to a note in a MS of Montecassino, was very supportive of Grossolano. When the latter read his pamphlet *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, the emperor exclaimed that now wisdom came from the Occident to the Orient and that Peter's treatise made the work of the Greek theologians superfluous (H. Block, *DOP* 3 [1946] 223f). It remains unclear whether Peter was on an official mission of Pope PASCHAL II or went to Constantinople as a private individual. After his return to Rome, Peter resigned at the Lateran synod of 1116.

ED. PG 127:911–19.

LIT. J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965) 51–59. V. Grumel, "Autour du voyage de Pierre Grossolanus archevêque de Milan, à Constantinople, en 1112," *EO* 32 (1933) 22–33. D. Masnovo, "Pier Grosolano e il suo epitafio," *Archivio storico lombardo* 5 (1922) 1–28. —A.K.

**GROTTAFERRATA**, site about 18 km southeast of Rome where the Greek monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata (τῆς Κρυπτοφerrάτης) was

founded in 1004 by NEILOS OF ROSSANO under the patronage of the counts of Tusculum. Though subject to the Holy See, the monastery followed the Byz. rite; therefore, in 1088, Pope Urban II considered its abbot, Nicholas, a suitable intermediary to send to Constantinople to discuss the question of the AZYMES. Most of the monks of Grottaferrata were of Calabrian origin. Some, following the example of their learned founder, were able scribes, hagiographers, and hymnographers, and the monastery still preserves an important collection of Greek MSS.

The monastery church, parts of which are 11th-C., was built and decorated according to Italian practice but with some use of Byz. iconography. Over the main entrance is a Deesis in mosaic of the early 12th C.; inside, on the apsidal arch, is a mosaic Pentecost that M. Andaloro (*Roma l'anno 1300* [Rome 1983] 253–73) and V. Pace (*BollBadGr* 41 [1987] 47–87) attribute to the time of INNOCENT III. Three registers of frescoes on the nave walls are recorded but have mostly disappeared. A 13th-C. Hodegetria on the altar shows traits of Cypriot painting. BESSARION was commendatory abbot of Grottaferrata from 1462 to 1472.

LIT. A. Rocchi, *De coenobio Cryptoferratensi eiusque bibliotheca et codicibus praesertim graecis commentarii* (Fuscolo 1893). G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna* 4 (Roma 1976) 282–338. E. Follieri, "Il crisobollo di Ruggero II re di Sicilia per la Badia di Grottaferrata (Aprile 1131)," *BollBadGr* 42 (1988) 49–81. —V.V.F., D.K.

**GUARDIANSHIP** (ἐπιτροπεία, also ἐπιτροπή). The prime duty of a guardian was to administer the ward's property and to arrange the child's marriage. In Roman law guardianship existed both for wards and for adult women, but imperial legislation later restricted it to wards. The guardianship for minor orphans could be either testamentary or statutory (guardians appointed from among relatives, male or female); in the absence of a statutory or testamentary guardian an official guardian could be appointed. A papyrus of 336 presents the petition of a bishop who wished to avoid the guardianship of some children (Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 162, n.25a). After the 8th-C. *Ecloga*, the term for guardian, *epitropos*, was replaced—although inconsistently—by *kourator* (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 162, n.501), whereas *epitropos* referred primarily to an official representative

and administrator (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.160.1–2). The termination of the guardianship of minors was established in Roman law at 25 (still in *Cod.Just.* V 30). Leo VI's novel 28 mentioned the age of 18 (for girls) and 20 (for boys) but allowed local functionaries to decide the question in every concrete case. His novels 26 and 27 extended to eunuchs and virgins the possibility of ADOPTION of children, and they thus became guardians. Sexual relationships between guardians and their charges were strictly prohibited.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 634–37. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 150, 152f. —A.K., J.H.

**GUERCIO, BALDOVINO** (Βαλδουίνος Γέρτζος), Genoese mercenary and ambassador; died before 1201. Guercio entered Byz. military service and fought for John II against the prince of Antioch, probably in 1142–43. Subsequently, he served Manuel I. Fighting Roger II of Sicily (1147–49), he was taken prisoner. He was released, possibly by William I of Sicily in 1158. Guercio became a LIZIOS of the empire and received a house and property that Genoese sources describe as a *feudum* ("fief"; A. Sanguineti, G. Bertolotto, *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 [1896–98] 471). In Genoa he pursued a distinguished career, while maintaining ties with Byz. In 1179 he escorted AGNES OF FRANCE to Constantinople. In 1188 Isaac II wrote Guercio about the approaching Third Crusade and recent negotiations with Genoa (*ibid.* 406f). Following the depredations of the Genoese Guglielmo Grasso, Guercio in 1193 successfully served as an envoy conveying the excuses of his fellow citizens (*ibid.* 456–59). Because of the piracies of the Genoese Gafforio (1197), Guercio's *feudum* was confiscated by the emperor. In May 1201 the Genoese envoy was directed to seek its restitution for Guercio and his heirs.

LIT. G. Day, "Genoese Involvement with Byzantium 1155–1204: A Diplomatic and Prosopographical Study" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Ill., 1978) 59, 69, 72. —C.M.B.

**GUIBERT OF NOGENT**, abbot of Nogent (from 1104), Latin theologian and historian; born between ca.1053 and 1064, died ca.1124. Guibert's works include a critique of relic cults (*On the Saints*

*and the Relics of Saints*, ca.1119) and an *Autobiography* (*De vita sua*, ed. E.R. Labande [Paris 1981]). His *History or God's Deeds Through the Franks* of ca.1108, an account of the First Crusade (1095–1104), draws on the GESTA FRANCORUM and FULCHER OF CHARTRES supplemented by oral sources. In its eight books of prose and verse (E. Burstein, *CahCM* 21 [1978] 247–63), Guibert's obsessions triumph over critical acumen where Byz. is concerned. He discusses John the Baptist's relics at Constantinople (*Historia*—bk.1, ch.5; cf. PL 156:624CD), paraphrases part of the controverted letter of Emp. Alexios I to ROBERT OF FLANDERS (*Reg* 2, no.1152), and criticizes Alexios ("that most filthy tyrant") as a usurper who vaunted the beauty of Byz. women to lure the French to Byz. Guibert calls Anna Dalassene a witch and claims Alexios's taxation required every Byz. family to prostitute one daughter and castrate one son, whence the shortage of virile Byz. soldiers (bk.1, ch.5). Books 2–3 describe the beginnings of the Crusade from Clermont through the crossing of the Byz. Empire, while the remainder refer frequently to Alexios's relations with the Crusaders.

ED. RHC Occid. 4 (1879) 117–263, including anon. continuation to 1112, pp. 261–63.

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:782f. *RepFontHist* 5:267–69. Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 70–77. —M.McC.

**GUILDS** (συστήματα, also SOMATEIA); organizations of craftsmen and merchants devoted to promoting the economic interests of their members. The late Roman state created various state workshops, *fabricae*, to satisfy the needs of the army, bureaucracy, and court, and imposed certain requirements on free *collegia*, or guilds. The degree of state requirements could differ with regard to different guilds: those *collegia* that dealt with the supply of Rome, Constantinople, and other major cities (BAKERS [*pistores*], *navicularii*, swinemongers, etc.) were subject to greater government control than guilds involved in more "private" activity. The state tried to implant the principle of hereditary professions, but there are serious doubts that it managed to achieve this aim—at least, Egyptian papyri contradict the principle (Fikhman, *Egipet* 64–68). Membership in the guild of bakers or swinemongers was considered an obstacle to social advancement. Compulsory association with a

profession and restriction to a place of origin is attested even by papyri. At the same time, the members of guilds possessed various economic privileges and often exercised political pressure. The direction of the development of the late Roman guild system is under dispute: F. de Robertis (*Orpheus* 2 [1955] 45–54) rejected the traditional view concerning the continual strengthening of the compulsory system in the late Roman Empire and surmised that coercion reached its peak under Theodosios II but ended by the reign of Justinian I.

The 10th-C. guilds as reflected in the *Book of the Eparch* were privileged corporations protected from the competition of both landowners involved in trade activity and artisans and/or merchants who were not guild members. Admission to the guild was sought by those for whom membership was not compulsory and expulsion from a guild was done as a punishment. Under the leadership of elders, guilds regulated—albeit under the supreme surveillance of the state—the quality and volume of production, prices of goods and salary of the MISTHIOI, and acquisition of wares from outside merchants. Direct services to the state existed but were insignificant. Guilds of 10th-C. Constantinople resembled Western medieval corporations (of the Parisian type) more than the compulsory *collegia* of the 4th C.

Corporate organizations existed in the 11th C. (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 51f), but the system seemed to become less rigid in the 12th C.: Nicholas of Methone (A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* [Leipzig 1866] 279.12–14) emphasized that the Byz. did not dictate the choice of living place or trade to people possessing the necessary skill; an ordinance of Manuel I (*Reg* 2, no.1384) permitted the sale of a money changer's shop freely to any "worthy" person. Documents of the 14th–15th C. mention the elders of various corporations (notaries, butchers, makers of perfume) in Constantinople. As for the *protomaistores* of construction workers in Constantinople and Thessalonike, they were, most likely, not the elders of guilds but leaders of teams of builders.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "Le associazioni professionali nel mondo Romano-Bizantino," *SettStu* 18.1 (1971) 59–193. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätrömischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt 1983). G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* (Helsingfors 1936) 198–235. E. Frances, "La disparition des corporations byzantines," 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Ohrid 1964) 93–101. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 108–14. —A.K.

**GUILLOCHE.** See INTERLACE.

**GÜLLÜ DERE**, valley in Cappadocia near ÇAVUŞIN. Among the ROCK-CUT CHURCHES found in this valley two are noteworthy. Güllü Dere III, a rectangular church with a single large apse, is often said to have been carved before the 8th C. because of the three large crosses in low relief on its ceiling. The apse is decorated with an elaborate MAJESTAS DOMINI ascribed on stylistic grounds to the 9th or early 10th C. Güllü Dere IV, also known as Ayvalı Kilise or the Church of St. John, is a small, double-naved complex with an elaborate fresco program. A donor's inscription mentioning the emperor Constantine should probably be dated to the sole reign of Constantine VII between 913 and 920; the name of the monument's principal patron has been obliterated. In addition to a rich Christological cycle, the LAMB OF GOD and a number of Old Testament scenes are depicted. Güllü Dere IV, the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise (see GÖREME), and the Church of the Holy Apostles at Sinassos appear to have been decorated by the same atelier (Thierry, *Bull-SocAntFr* [1971] 170–78).

LIT. N. Thierry, *Le haut Moyen-Age en Cappadoce*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983) 105–89. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2:592–94. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'église aux trois croix de Güllü dere en Cappadoce," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 175–207. N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise ou pigeonier de Güllü dere," *CahArch* 15 (1965) 97–154. —A.J.W.

**GUNTHER OF PAIRIS**, Latin poet, historian, and theologian; born ca.1150, died after 1208 or 1210. Gunther's epics show links with the court of FREDERICK I: the fragmentary Crusader poem *Solymarius* (ed. W. Wattenbach, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 [1881] 555–61) draws on Robert of St. Remy and is dedicated to Prince Conrad (died 1196); *Ligurinus* (ca.1186/7; ed. PL 212:327–476), based on OTTO OF FREISING, celebrates Frederick's exploits in Italy. Circa 1204 Gunther became a Cistercian monk at Pairis (Alsace), where he composed (25 June 1205–ca.June 1208) the *Historia Constantinopolitana*, a polished account of the Fourth Crusade that mixes prose and verse but is marred by tendentious omissions, such as the transport contract with Venice (ch.6, p.71) and the restoration of Isaac II Angelos (ch.12, p.88). He minimized the bloodshed during the capture of the Byz. capital and stated that Constantinople's sack

merely avenged Greek treatment of the Franks' putative Trojan ancestors (ch.18, pp. 102f); he also exaggerates (e.g., the power of the Byz. fleet; ch.17, p.98), particularly the role played by Martin, his abbot and informant (cf. Longnon, *Compagnons* 249f). Gunther seems fundamentally hostile to the Byz., whom he calls "the dregs of the dregs," ch.10, p.84), and focuses on Martin's theft of relics from the burial church of Irene, wife of John II Komnenos (ch.19, pp. 105f) and their translation to Pairis. Gunther may have written in part to defend Martin from charges levied by his order in 1206. Martin's booty included relics of Christ, Sts. John and James, etc. (ch.24, pp. 120–22) and a Crucifixion icon from the imperial insignia (ch.25, p.125).

ED. Riant, *Exuviae* 1:57–126. *Die Geschichte der Eroberung von Konstantinopel*, Germ. tr. E. Asseman (Weimar 1956).

LIT. F.R. Swietek, "Gunther of Pairis and the *Historia Constantinopolitana*," *Speculum* 53 (1978) 49–79. A.J. Andrea, "The *Historia Constantinopolitana*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1981) 269–302. F.P. Knapp in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1981) 316–25. —M.McC.

**GYNAIKEION** (γυναικεῖον, *gynaeceum*), in classical Greek, a part of the house reserved for the women; in the late Roman Empire, a type of imperial textile FACTORY. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*Etymol.* 15.6.3) explains the word as "a gathering of women [Greek *gyne* means "woman"] working with wool." The *gynaeciarii* of these workshops were men, however, not women (R.S. Lopez, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 6, n.3), and an edict of 365 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.3) regulates the status of a free woman who married a *gynaeciarius*. The *Notitia dignitatum* mentions *procuratores gynaecei* in Gallia as well as in the East (in the latter case without any precise localization). Constantine I's edict of 333 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.2) refers to *gynaecea* and dyers' workshops. Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 2.34.1) considers workers in *gynaikeia* and linen workshops the slaves of the treasury. Sozomenos (*Sozom. HE* 1.8.3) includes *gynaikeia* among places such as mines and linen workshops to which people were sent to do forced labor. The use of the term in papyri is unclear (Fikhman, *Egipet* 37, n.218).

In later centuries the word apparently disappeared and its meaning was forgotten. In the title of *Basil.* 54.16 the Latin term *procuratores gynaecei*

was rendered in Greek as "*prokouratores* of women," while in paragraph 9 of the same chapter the legislator introduced a reference to "the woman assigned to a *gynaikeion*" who was seduced or corrupted—whereas no woman had been mentioned in the original law of 385 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.9).

LIT. A. d'Ors, "P. Ryl. 654 y el 'anabolicum,'" in *Studi in onore di U.E. Paoli* (Florence 1956) 266f. M.A. Marzouk, *History of Textile Industry in Alexandria* (Alexandria 1955) 47–49. —A.K.

**GYPSIES** (Αἰγύπτιοι, mod. Gk. Γύφτοι, i.e., Egyptians), from 1300 onward also called *Katsibeloi*, "wanderers" (cf. Russ. *kočevnik*, "nomad"—R.Volk, *BZ* 79 [1986] 1–16). In Greek and Georgian sources from the 11th–12th C. onward gypsies were called *Athinganoi-Adsincani* even though they had nothing in common with the 8th-C. ATHINGANOL. According to a Georgian legend, the Adsincani were

invited by Constantine IX to destroy ferocious beasts that were devouring the game in an imperial hunting preserve. Balsamon describes the Athinganoi as magicians, snake charmers, and fortunetellers; the same characterization was given to them by later authors such as Patr. Athanasios I and Joseph Bryennios. They wandered in Crete (1323) as vagabonds, according to the Irish monk Symon Semeonis; in Corfu (1373) as refugees from Epiros; and in Nauplia (ca.1400) as an organized Feudum Acinganorum whose gypsy leader John had the title *drungarius Acinganorum*. MAZARIS satirized Aegyptioi as arrogant, beggars, liars, thieves, and practitioners of black magic. They were also sieve makers and blacksmiths. Numerous ruins in Greece are still popularly called (from the 14th C.) *Gyphtokastras*.

LIT. G.C. Soulis, "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *DOP* 15 (1961) 141–65. —S.B.B., A.K.



# H

**HADES**, ancient ruler of the underworld and brother to ZEUS and Poseidon. In Byz. literature Hades connotes both (1) the underworld, as an equivalent to Christian Hell, as well as more generally, in secular texts, the place where all the dead are, at least initially, congregated; and (2) the personification of Death as a symbol for the tyranny of human mortality. In hymns and homilies from the 4th–6th C. onward Hades (alongside Thanatos, or Death) is portrayed with ravenous jaws and an insatiable belly (cf. Andrew of Crete, PG 97:1048A), swallowing old and young alike, an elaboration of an idea found in the Old Testament (Is 5:14, Pr 27:20). In the Resurrection hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons [Paris 1967] 4:444, 462, 466, 476–80), Christ's redemption of Adam involves a physical combat with Hades, followed by humorous squabbling, as in EPHREM THE SYRIAN. References in 12th-C. secular literature are frequent, but mainly unspecific, suggesting the gradual replacement of Hades as personification/agent by Hades as place. The ferryman CHARON becomes a more concrete personification of death.

In art Hades is usually depicted in the guise of a venerable pagan god; though often dark-skinned, he is not caricatured. In scenes of the LAST JUDGMENT he sits in Hell, with a condemned soul on his knee as the antithesis of Abraham in paradise. He lies pierced in the stomach by the cross (on an ivory of the Crucifixion surely influenced by the hymns of Romanos the Melode, see M. Frazer, *MMJ* 9 [1974] 153–61), or fettered like a defeated barbarian king in the dark pit of Hell, or trampled by the triumphant Christ in scenes of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. M.B. Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in Vryonis, *Past* 221–36. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 206. E.G. Schwartz, "A New Source for the Byzantine Anastasis," *Marsyas* 16 (1972–3) 29–34. —M.B.A., N.P.S.

**HADRIAN I**, pope (1 Feb. 772–25 Dec. 795). Upon his election to the papacy Hadrian imme-

diately solidified his position by delivering potential opponents into imperial custody in Constantinople. The threat of the Lombard king Desiderius coincided with Constantine V's campaign against the Bulgarians and obliged Hadrian to appeal to CHARLEMAGNE for help. In 774 Desiderius capitulated to the Frankish army besieging Pavia, his son and co-ruler Adelgis fled to Constantinople, and the Franks took control of northern and central Italy. After long negotiations, Hadrian received considerable territory from Charlemagne. At first, Byz. countered the new Frankish regime by fostering the resistance of the Lombard duchies of Spoleto and BENEVENTO and the Lombard aristocracy in the north. Charlemagne reacted by crushing the revolt of the latter, while Hadrian destroyed Greek ships at Civitavecchia. In 778 Hadrian organized the papacy's first military offensive against the duchies of NAPLES and Benevento and the *patrikios* of Sicily. However, Hadrian's efforts to incite a Frankish assault on the southern Italian patrimonies confiscated by Emp. Leo III failed.

In 781, perhaps in connection with the revolt of Sicily, Constantinople came to terms with Charlemagne, and Constantine VI became engaged to his daughter. The ensuing peace allowed Hadrian to cooperate with Byz. by encouraging and sending legates to the Second Council of NICAIA in 787 to end ICONOCLASM. That same year, however, the marriage arrangement and the peace collapsed; in 788 Byz., wrongly expecting support from Benevento, attempted an invasion of Italy to restore Adelgis but was defeated. A few years later, however, Constantinople reestablished influence in Benevento by offering the duke the dignity of *patrikios* and marriage into the imperial family; the Franks then attacked him without success. In the context of this pattern of alliances, the Frankish court at first reacted violently against the Council of Nicaea, but Hadrian managed to temper the reaction. At some point in his reign, Hadrian ceased to recognize Byz. sovereignty over Rome.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf 1965) 537–608. J. Deér, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom (772–800)," *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, ed. G. Wolf (Darmstadt 1972) 30–115. —A.K., M.McC.

**HADRIAN II**, pope (from 14 Dec. 867); born Rome 792, died Rome Nov. or Dec. 872. Born to a noble family, Hadrian married before ordination. His election was a compromise between supporters and opponents of the policy of NICHOLAS I. Since Rome was under the protection of the Frankish ruler LOUIS II, Hadrian's pontificate experienced no serious internal crisis, and his disagreement with ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS was temporary. Although Hadrian had inherited from Nicholas a conflict with Byz., the Arab threat in southern Italy required an alliance involving Louis II, the pope, and the new Byz. emperor Basil I. Patr. PHOTIOS became the first victim of their concord, and at the council at Constantinople in 869/70 the papacy's position toward Photios was upheld. Hadrian supported new Slavic churches in Bulgaria and Moravia, however, against Byz., thus creating grounds for a new confrontation. In 870 Bulgaria recognized papal jurisdiction and was rewarded with the creation of an archbishopric. After the death of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER in Rome, Hadrian ordained METHODIOS archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, hoping to include this territory in the Roman sphere of influence. Byz. reacted only after Hadrian's demise: in the 870s Basil I pursued an active policy in the northern Balkans, and the council at Constantinople (879–80), although in an obscure form, retained Byz. claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria.

LIT. H. Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II (867–872) und seine Zeit* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1970). F. Dvorník, "Photius, Nicholas I and Hadrian II," *BS* 31 (1973) 33–50. —A.K.

**HADRIAN IV** (Nicholas Breakspear), pope (from 4 Dec. 1154); born Abbot's Langley, England, between 1110 and 1120, died Anagni 1 Sept. 1159. Hadrian was confronted with the plans of FREDERICK I to subdue Italy and the growth of Norman power in the south. In the spring of 1155 the barons of Apulia revolted against WILLIAM I of Sicily, and Frederick unexpectedly with-

drew his support; Emp. Manuel I Komnenos dispatched an army to aid the rebels. It is still not known whether Hadrian concluded a formal alliance with Byz. William of Tyre presents the pope as the soul of the rebellion, while Kinnamos asserts that Hadrian offered cooperation. The rebellion was a failure, and in 1153 Hadrian signed a treaty with William I in Benevento, followed in 1157 by a Byz.-Norman agreement. The growing tensions with Frederick, however, pushed Hadrian toward Constantinople; the pope's correspondence with BASIL OF OHRID reveals that both parties viewed rapprochement as possible.

LIT. W. Ullmann, "The Pontificate of Adrian IV," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1953–55) 233–52. J.G. Rowe, "Hadrian IV, the Byzantine Empire, and the Latin Orient," in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. Sandquist, M. Powicke (Toronto 1969) 3–16. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:149–236. —A.K.

**HAGIA SOPHIA** (Ἁγία Σοφία, lit. "Holy Wisdom"), name of numerous churches in the Byz. Empire and neighboring countries. Two of the most important were the cathedral church of Constantinople and that of Thessalonike. Others were to be found, for example, in MONEMVASIA and OHRID as well as at KIEV.

**HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE.** The first church on the site, of basilical form, was built near the Milion (see MESE), that is, in the neighborhood of the Great Palace and Hippodrome, by Constantius II (not Constantine as often stated) and inaugurated in 360. It was known as the GREAT CHURCH (Megale Ekklesia)—the name *Hagia Sophia* is first attested ca.430—and had the episcopal palace attached to its south side. Burned down by the supporters of John Chrysostom in 404, it was rebuilt, once again as a basilica, by Theodosios II and completed in 415. The only extant part of the Theodosian basilica is a colonnaded porch, probably the façade of the atrium rather than of the church itself (A.M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* [Berlin 1941]).

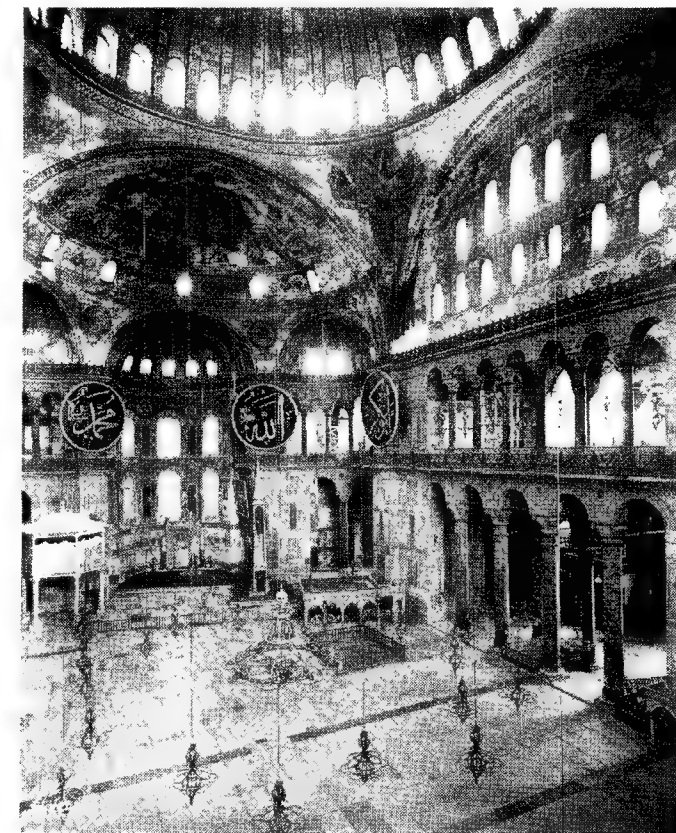
The second Hagia Sophia was destroyed by fire during the NIKA REVOLT against Justinian I (Jan. 532). Rebuilding was started immediately, under the direction of the architects ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETOS, and the new cathedral was inaugurated on 27 Dec. 537. An

account of the construction and the technical difficulties that had to be overcome is given by Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.1.21–78). In large part, Justinian's church is still standing. It is a domed basilica, that is, a combination of longitudinal and centralized planning, nearly square (78 × 72 m excluding the two narthexes), its nave covered by a dome 100 Byz. feet (31 m) in diameter and two semidomes, but at the same time clearly separated by rows of columns into three aisles, with galleries over the lateral aisles and narthex. The original dome collapsed in 558 and was rebuilt by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER some 7 m higher than the first one. The church, rededicated on 24 Dec. 562, was the subject of a descriptive poem by PAUL SILENTIARIOS.

The architectural conception of Anthemios and Isidore differed in some respects from the present form of the building. The dome, which may have continued the curvature of the pendentives, produced a more overwhelming impression from inside than the current steeper dome. The north and south tympanums appear to have been pierced by large windows, thus affording a more brilliant illumination. The exterior was unencumbered by buttresses. The liturgical fixtures are known in their post-562 form. They included a gold altar table surmounted by a ciborium; a projecting chancel screen of 12 columns; and, joined to the latter by an enclosed passage (*solea*), a lofty ambo. Most of these features as well as the top row of seats of the *synthronon* in the apse were sheathed in silver revetments.

The church was surrounded by subsidiary structures. To the west lay a colonnaded atrium with a fountain at its center; to the north the larger of two baptisteries (the smaller, still extant, being at the southwest) and, at the northeast corner, a circular sacristy (*skeuophylakion*); the south side was flanked by the patriarchal palace (built 565–77), a multistory building whose main apartments communicated with the south gallery of the church. The rooms situated at the south end of the west gallery, which preserve remnants of mosaic decoration, served as offices (*sekreta*) attached to the patriarchal complex (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 175–251). At the southeast corner of the church a raised passage connected Hagia Sophia to the GREAT PALACE.

Hagia Sophia was naturally the liturgical center of the capital. Administratively it was joined to



HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Interior of the naos, looking southeast.

three other nearby churches, namely St. IRENE, the Theotokos of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and St. Theodore of Sphorakios; all four churches were served by the same clergy, whose establishment was limited by Justinian to 425, but which increased to 525 in the next century. Hagia Sophia also played an essential part in imperial ceremonial and had two rooms (METATORIA) reserved for the emperor's use. The itinerary of imperial processions in and out of Hagia Sophia is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS.

The most important structural alterations of the church during the Byz. period were the following. Repairs after the earthquake of 869 may have included the rebuilding of the tympanums in their present form (R.J. Mainstone, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 353–68). In 989 the main west arch collapsed together with the west semidome and a portion of the dome; they were rebuilt by the Armenian architect Trdat. In 1317 massive exterior buttresses were added on the north and east sides of the building. In 1346 the east arch collapsed, bringing down the east semidome and one-third of the dome and destroying the ambo under-





HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Exterior view from the northwest. In the background, the Bosporos.

neath; the damage was repaired by 1353 with the restricted means that were then available.

The marble and *opus sectile* decoration of the vertical surface of the walls is relatively well preserved. The mosaic decoration of Justinian's church appears to have been largely nonfigural and much of it still survives in the vaulting of the narthex, side aisles, etc. The summit of the dome was occupied by a huge cross in a medallion. After Iconoclasm a program of figural mosaics was undertaken and part of it is preserved: an enthroned Virgin in the apse (C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 113–52), two archangels in the bema arch, prophets and church fathers in the tympana (Eidem, *DOP* 26 [1972] 1–41). Narrative scenes are known to have existed in the gallery vaults (Baptism, Pentecost, Isaiah's vision). Other preserved mosaics may be regarded as individual

insets. They include a 10th-C. panel of the Virgin and Child flanked by Constantine I and Justinian I in the southwest vestibule; the enthroned Christ with a prostrate emperor (Basil I or Leo VI) at his feet in the lunette above the "Imperial Door"; the imperial portraits (ALEXANDER—P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 189–217, Constantine IX with Zoe, JOHN II KOMNENOS with Irene) and the DEESIS (late 13th C.) in the gallery. The Pantokrator in the main dome (which was restored in 1355) has disappeared. In 1989 the mosaics on the eastern arch, comprising the figures of John V Palaiologos, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, as well as a Hetoimasia (cf. Mango, *infra* 66–67) came to light.

In 1453 Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque (Ayasofya Camii). Apart from the addition of four minarets, it underwent several re-

pairs, the most important in 1573 and the following years, then in 1847–49, the latter carried out by the Swiss architects Gaspere and Giuseppe Fossati.

LIT. R.L. Van Nice, *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1965–86). Janin, *Églises CP* 455–70. R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London 1988). A.M. Schneider, "Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche," *BZ* 36 (1936) 77–85. T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, vols. 1–4 (Oxford 1933–52). C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962). R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 131–49.

—C.M.

**HAGIA SOPHIA IN THESSALONIKE.** The present building, located in the southeastern part of the city, was constructed over the remains of a large five-aisled basilica, incorporating, however, only the central portion of the latter. It is a cross-domed building with thick walls, narthex, well-defined aisles, heavy central piers, and galleries. The building does not fit easily into the history of Byz. architecture and has been variously assigned to the 6th through the 8th C.

Mosaic decoration of the interior can be assigned to several phases. Monograms of Constantine VI and Irene provide a date of 780–97 for the original mosaic decoration of the sanctuary, which included a huge cross in the apse (behind later figural decoration). In the dome is a mosaic of the ASCENSION, the oldest representation from any dome; the apostles stand on a multicolored rolling groundline, set off from each other by trees. An inscription in the dome states that the work was done under Archbp. Paul in November of the 4th indiction, but the precise year is not given; if Paul is to be identified with a correspondent of Photios, the composition should be assigned to the 880s. In the half-dome of the apse is the Virgin and Child, either contemporary with the mosaic in the dome, or perhaps as late as the 11th C. (Cormack, *infra* 134). In the narthex are frescoes of the 11th C. (D. Mouriki, *DOP* 34 [1982] 93 and fig. 26).

The church was the city's cathedral from 1205 (under Latin occupation), but it may have held this honor at an earlier date. Gregory PALAMAS was buried in the church in 1359.

LIT. K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki* (Oxford 1988). R. Cormack, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Thessaloniki," *DChAE* 10 (1981) 111–35. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 292–95, 495, n.5. —T.E.G.

**HAGIOCHRISTOPHORITES, STEPHEN**, politician of lowly origin; died Constantinople 11 Sept. 1185. The son of a tax collector, Hagiochristophorites (Ἁγιοχριστοφορίτης, "bearer of the holy Christ") lost his nose as punishment for his attempt to marry a noblewoman. The staunch supporter of Andronikos I, he acquired great influence during Andronikos's purges; he was labeled Antichristophorites by his adversaries. Andronikos rewarded him with the title of *sebastos* and the office of a *logothetes*. Hagiochristophorites helped organize the murder of Alexios II and many trials of aristocrats. He was killed by Isaac (II) Angelos, the future emperor, when he went to Isaac's house to arrest him.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 60f, 69f.

—A.K.

**HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.** The primary focus of Byz. hagiographical (see HAGIOGRAPHY) illustration was portraiture: the particular deeds of individual saints played a comparatively minor role in all but the very earliest period.

The first works of this genre are scenes relating to the death of certain MARTYRS, located at their MARTYRION. Though for most of these monuments only written descriptions survive (see ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA on paintings at the *martyrion* of EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON), it is clear that the scenes of martyrdom were often expanded into small "Passion" cycles comprising a routine sequence of episodes: arrest, trial, torture, and execution. These sets of images were more closely attached to a particular place than to a specific text.

Funerary PORTRAITS, usually ORANS figures, were set up at the tomb of the saint. These might be copied on liturgical objects (cf. the ivory MENAS pyxis), on PILGRIM TOKENS and AMPULLAE, or even on votive panels erected elsewhere in the same sanctuary (e.g., those in ST. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike). A few portable panels painted with portraits of saints have survived from the late 6th to 7th C., primarily at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B5, 9, 11); their widespread use is attested in written sources, however, as is the assumption that such icons were capable of acting with many of the miraculous powers available to the saint during his lifetime (Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 91–156; R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* [New York 1985] 17–94).



Venerated first at tombs in far-flung quarters of the empire, the RELICS of a great number of these saints were eventually translated to Constantinople and the cults absorbed by the capital. With the establishment of the calendar for the church of Constantinople (see SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE), each saint found his particular place in the celebrations of the liturgical year and, at the same time, began to assume a specific physiognomy. A few saints (such as PETER and PAUL) had already acquired fixed features before Iconoclasm, but the arguments raised during that period concerning the identity of an image with its prototype led over the course of the 9th through 11th C. to a growing emphasis on consistency and on the clear definition of the physical features of dozens of other saints as well.

A Byz. hagiographical portrait presents each saint in one of the three ages of man: the beardless youth, the dark-bearded mature man, or the white-haired elder. His features are then further defined by his particular hairline and the shape of his beard. Of equal importance is the saint's COSTUME, which indicates his profession, his rank in the secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy, and even his ethnic origin. Whether the saint is depicted on a large wall mosaic or inside a painted initial, his features and dress, esp. in the 11th C., are so precisely rendered as to be immediately recognizable. Only women are not so clearly distinguished one from another, partly because they usually appear veiled, so that there is no way of indicating the important differences in hairstyle (exceptions are princesses such as HELENA and CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA and the hermit MARY OF EGYPT). St. Peter carries his keys, the ANARGYROI their medical implements, but attributes referring to specific events in a saint's life were never a common feature of Byz. hagiographical portraiture.

The portrait type, often confirmed by literary tradition (e.g., OULPIOS the Roman), generally claimed to reproduce an image of the saint painted while he was still alive. Once visual types were fixed they could be easily transmitted, even by means of written descriptions as succinct as those found in the later painter's manuals (*Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia tes zographikes technes*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg 1909] 150–70).

The innumerable saintly figures adorning Byz. churches are arranged in groups according to

their professional category, following a generally accepted hierarchy in CHURCH PROGRAMS or, more rarely, according to the date of their liturgical celebration. The precise situation and composition of each group was, however, constantly adjusted to suit the specific architectural design and purpose of the church it adorned.

Narrative, such as there was, reemerged very slowly. The portraits of certain saints are regularly accompanied by specific narrative elements (the Miracle at CHONAI, EUSTATHIOS and the stag, the two SYMEON THE STYLITES on their columns, and the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in the freezing lake). These images, found already in the 9th and 10th C., probably go back to lost Constantinopolitan originals, but they are essentially "expanded" portraits, rather than distilled narrative. CALENDAR CYCLES, best represented by the so-called MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, consist primarily of scenes of torture and execution, with each saint receiving exactly the same amount of space, regardless of his general importance or the complexity of his career.

Narrative cycles devoted to a single saint rarely, in fact, appear in MS form, with the exception of a few brief sequences in early MSS of the Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and the marginal PSALTERS. Even the most important Byz. hagiographical collection of all, the ten-volume *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, was rarely accompanied by any illustration other than portraits.

True biographical cycles are found primarily in icon and monumental painting. A few scenes from the lives of saints BASIL THE GREAT, GEORGE, and Symeon Stylites the Elder appear in the 9th- and 10th-C. churches of CAPPADOCIA. But comprehensive narrative sequences beginning with the birth and ending with the death of the saint occur first in fresco in the 12th C. and on the so-called vita icons of the early 13th C. Scarcely more than a dozen of these icons survive, most from Sinai and Cyprus; they present the bust or full-length figure of a saint surrounded, usually on all four sides, by a series of 6, 12, or even 16 compartments containing narrative episodes from his life. The form of these vita icons may derive from the practice, esp. popular in the 12th C., of surrounding painted icons with costly metal frames (N. Ševčenko, *14 BSC Abstracts* [1988] 32f). The fresco cycles have no fixed place in the church but are most commonly found in secondary areas such as

the NARTHEX or the PASTOPHORIA, often in connection with donor tombs. The number of different saints whose vitae were illustrated in either medium was rather limited: before the 14th C., cycles of saints NICHOLAS OF MYRA and George vastly outnumber all others. MIRACLE cycles are rare, with the exception of that of Eustratios on Sinai (see FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA).

The formal connection of these narrative cycles with the structure of VITA texts suggests that, though their iconography cannot have derived from illustrated MS models (which apparently never existed in large numbers), they may nonetheless have been a response to the prescribed reading of the Metaphrastian Lives at the ORTHROS service in monastic communities, a practice that can be documented from at least the 12th C. (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 2:314–18). Though neither the monumental nor the icon cycles strictly follow the Metaphrastian or any other specific text, either with regard to the general choice of scenes or the details of any episode, they do have their own visual conventions comparable to the *topoi* of the hagiographers (H. Maguire, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 98–99), such as the conscious borrowing of a familiar biblical composition to illustrate an event in the life of the saint.

No new genres of hagiographical illustration were introduced after the 12th C., though the number of cycles and variety of saints involved increased. In portraiture, there was a gradual loss of physiognomic precision but a gain in psychological range. The vita cycles, esp. the frescoes, absorbed contemporary Palaiologan innovations in biblical iconography, showing an increased reliance on drama and multifigured compositions. The growing programmatic thrust—whether political, eremitical, episcopal, etc.—of church decoration in this period also frequently affected the content of the hagiographical cycles (e.g., Th. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–82; S. Tomeković in *Mileševa u istoriji srpsko naroda* [Belgrade 1987] 51–65). Resonances established between biblical and hagiographical cycles grew ever more sophisticated as church decoration became more and more elaborate and various otherwise unrelated cycles had to be unrolled on a single wall (Maguire, *supra* 94–98).

lit. C. Belting-Ihm, *RAC* 14:66–96. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1034–93. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 155–73. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of

the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai," *DChAE* 12 (1984) 63–116. Th. Gouma-Peterson, "Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *GOThR* 30 (1985) 31–44. —N.P.Š.

**HAGIOGRAPHY**, modern term for a genre of Byz. LITERATURE whose aims were the veneration of the SAINT and the creation of an ideal of Christian behavior as well as documentation and entertainment. As a portrayal of historical personages, hagiography overlaps with historiography, conveying historical information, using chronicles as sources, and, in turn, serving as a source for chronicles; as an edifying genre, hagiography may bear resemblance to the SERMON. Three major types of hagiography already existed in the early centuries of the empire: MARTYRION, the account of a martyr's trial and execution; VITA, a saint's biography; and APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, a collection of wise sayings of hermits. Probably by the 7th C. the description of posthumous MIRACLES was established as a separate type.

Hagiography provides a variety of information to the Byzantinist (F. Halkin, 13 *CEB, Main Papers* XI [Oxford 1966] 1–10). First of all, saints' lives convey data concerning their heroes and the monasteries and/or cities where they lived. Second, since a number of saints played important political roles, their biographies contain data, sometimes unique, about momentous events, although the reliability of the evidence may vary from one vita to the next. Some vitae are biased, others indifferent to reality and so concerned with their edifying or propagandizing purpose that chronology is distorted, events invented, suppressed, or transferred from other vitae. More dependable are hagiographic data on EVERYDAY LIFE. The style of hagiographical works ranged from highly elevated to simple, inclining toward the vernacular. Sometimes they are full of vivid details, and adventures of heroes are woven into a romance with such elements as travel, shipwreck, concealment, and pursuit. The account of miracles, including posthumous ones, is a typical element of hagiography.

Early hagiography (4th–7th C.) tried to reject the ancient values of urban civilization: the holy man was liberated from his obligations toward society and authority and submitted exclusively to God, for whose sake he was ready to endure poverty, suffering, and tortures; accordingly, the

DESERT was chosen as the most typical setting for the saint's exploits (ANTONY THE GREAT). When the saint entered the city gates, it was to reject the traditional norms of behavior (SYMEON OF EMESA). Family ties were renounced (ALEXIOS HOMO DEI), and the saint was closer to wild beasts than to his relatives. A shameful past, such as prostitution, was not an obstacle to holiness; neither were illiteracy, ugliness, or poverty. Early hagiography emphasized the collective nature of the body of saints: many martyrs met execution in groups, and the wise "fathers" of the *apophthegmata* were a faceless throng, who can hardly be distinguished as individuals. On the other hand, the individuality of the hagiographer was maintained, and the most famous hagiographers of the period (ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, JOHN MOSCHOS, LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem) are well-known personalities. The main centers of hagiographic production were the cities and monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.

With the general decline of literary activity from the late 7th and through almost the entire 8th C., hagiography diminished; it regenerated slightly before 800, first in the eastern provinces, and flourished from the 9th to 11th C. The passionate denial of ancient ideals that was typical of earlier saints' lives lessened: the daring hermit gave way to the efficient builder of the monastic community (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS), the wild holy fool made his way into the establishment (BASIL THE YOUNGER), prostitutes and women in disguise were replaced by the ideal matron (MARY THE YOUNGER). The sanctity of family ties was assumed as a virtue, although not consistently (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 188–92). The saint's political role was highly esteemed, his connections with Constantinopolitan functionaries carefully stressed: some vitae (EUTHYMIOS, patriarch of Constantinople) avoid the miraculous elements, except for the saint's foresight, and emphasize the saint's role in political and ecclesiastical struggles; the Life of IGNATIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, is a purely political pamphlet against Photios. The collectivity of martyrs begins to disappear; it is significant that the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION was produced in several versions, some of which acquired individual heroes. We know little about individual hagiographers of this period, although some of them (Niketas, author of the Life of PHILARETOS

THE MERCIFUL, and esp. Gregory, hagiographer of Basil the Younger) provide some personal information. IGNATIOS THE DEACON was probably the only professional hagiographer of the period. On the other hand, the collection and editing of old vitae attracted distinguished writers, such as NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON and esp. SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

The Life of Lazaros of Galesios is the last great piece of 11th-C. hagiography. In the 12th C. intellectuals became critical of the image of the holy man: hagiographical production was scanty (P. Magdalino in *Byz. Saint* 52–54), and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE composed a spectacular "anti-vita" of PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION. At the same time some evidence of popular hagiography is preserved: the Life of Paraskeve was reportedly burned by order of the patriarch because of its vernacular character, and the miracles of St. GEORGE, some of which should be dated in the 12th C., conjure up an image of the saint as a clever fellow, ready to bargain and conscious of his profit. The authors of "popular" vitae plunged into anonymity, whereas we have the names of some professional writers, such as PRODROMOS and TZETZES, who tried their skill at saints' lives, although their hagiographical essays are not their best work. The interest in AUTOBIOGRAPHY as a redeveloping genre, as well as the propagation of the military ideal, contributed to the decline of hagiography: PSELLOS attempted to rewrite the Life of AUXENTIOS, permeating his work with autobiographical elements; BLEMMYDES wrote his own biography—he did not expect his disciples to eulogize his virtues.

Some hagiographers of the Palaiologan period (GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, Constantine AKROPOLITES, Theodora RAOULAINA) preferred the laudation of saints from earlier periods, while others concentrated on the lives of contemporaries. Some vitae took the form of biographies of politicians (Emp. JOHN III VATATZES, patriarchs ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, JOSEPH I, ATHANASIOS I, ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS) and theologians, such as PALAMAS. Their anti-Palaiologan resistance or principles of church independence are the predominant reasons for the recognition of their sainthood (R. Macrides in *Byz. Saint* 68). Other writers emphasized the ascetic life of the hermit (NIPHON, ROMYLOS, MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES).

The Bollandists laid the foundations of the study

of hagiography (H. Delehaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles (1615–1915)* [Brussels 1959]). In the 19th C. a critical approach toward hagiography developed: H. Usener (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. 3 [Leipzig-Berlin 1914] 74–104) attacked Christian legend from two points—as historical fraud and for the alleged construing of the image of the saint in terms of ancient mythology. Delehaye limited Usener's hypercriticism and tried to distinguish trustworthy and legendary texts. The Munich school (Ehrhard) and later Bollandists (Halkin) concentrated on collection and classification of hagiographical works, and vitae were broadly used as sources for historical information (Rudakov, Magoulas), but only recently has the tendency developed to use saints' lives as documents for ideology and social psychology (Brown, Patlagean, Magdalino). In this case the old problem of reliability loses its significance: regardless of its legendary nature, hagiography is an important means of understanding how the Byz. perceived their world.

LIT. BHG, BHG Auct., BHG Nov.Auct. F. Halkin, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1971). R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie* (Paris 1953). H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels 1934). A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1937–52), with W. Abschlag, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1966) 797–800. A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow 1917; rp. London 1970). E. Patlagean, P. Richi, *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981). J.W. Nesbitt, "A Geographical and Chronological Guide to Greek Saint [sic] Lives," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 443–89. Ch. Loparev, *Grečeskiye žitija svjatykh VIII i IX vekov* (Petrograd 1914). A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 84–114. —A.K., A.M.T.

**HAGIOTHEODORITES** (Ἁγιοθεοδώριτης), a family of Byz. civil and ecclesiastical functionaries attested from the first half of the 12th C. The first known were Constantine, lawyer, philosopher, and rhetorician at John II's court, and Nicholas, *protos* of a monastery (named on a seal). They became esp. influential under Manuel I: John was his favorite but fell from imperial favor; later three brothers played important roles—the *logothetes tou dromou* Michael (from 1158?), the eparch of Constantinople John (ca. 1160); and Nicholas, metropolitan of Athens in the 1160s and 70s. Konstas Hagiotheodorites served as *logothetes* ca. 1258 and then as Theodore II's private secretary.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Brat'ja Ajoftodority pri dvore Manuila Komnina," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 85–94. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 225–440. *PLP*, nos. 240–41. —A.K.

**HAIMORRHOISSA, HEALING OF.** See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

**HAIMOS, MOUNT.** See BALKANS.

**HAIR** (κόμη). The Byz. church inherited from primitive Christianity a negative attitude toward hairstyling: "Flowing locks," says St. Paul (1 Cor 11:14), "disgrace a man," and the image of the unkempt John the Baptist was an embodiment of the rejection of haircuts. This attitude prevailed more or less unchanged to the last centuries of Byz. Despite this clear-cut ecclesiastical position, the tendency to care about hairstyles emerged time and again.

In the late Roman period, men were clean-shaven and generally wore their hair short; those who wore long hair in plaits or curled were regarded as effeminate. In the 6th C. the youth of the circus factions styled their hair in the "Hunnic" fashion: long at the nape and shaved at the front of the head. By the 10th C. men wore their hair longer, and even monks adopted longer hairstyles, to the dismay of the church. In the 12th C. moralists inveighed against excessive attention to hairstyling. On the other hand, both hair and BEARD were indicative of social status and deprivation of either was considered a punishment. Hair color was also significant; the term *xantha ethne* ("blond tribes") designated the peoples of central and eastern Europe, in contrast to the dark-haired peoples of the Mediterranean.

The predominant hair fashion for women throughout the centuries was parted in the center and held in place with a comb or band. Combs made of bone are often found in archaeological excavations. Outside the house women were expected to cover their head with veils. Both men and women were admonished not to wear wigs or to dye their hair. (See also BARBER.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:342–72. H.G. Beck, "Orthodoxie und Alltag," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:334f. —Ap.K., A.K.

**HAIR ORNAMENT.** Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) classes as jewelry HEADGEAR such as "headdresses,

turbans and half-turbans, a head covering, a pearl hairpin that women are accustomed to possess, saffron-colored [hair] nets." Only traces of such hair ornaments survive, but three main types are depicted in Byz. art.

1. A **jeweled band** that is worn on the forehead at the hairline. Only the part from ear to ear can be seen; this part presumably continued around the back of the head, under the hair, as a band of fabric.

2. A **circlet**, often jeweled, worn around a chignon on the top of the head. A jeweled diadem, now in Baltimore (*Jewelry: Ancient to Modern*, ed. A. Garside [New York 1980], no. 420), has been interpreted as this second type, or as part of a jeweled collar. It could also be part of a jeweled band.

3. An **ornamented mesh or net**, worn over the entire head, reaching to the forehead.

All three types seem to be contemporary and appear in the Theodora panel at S. Vitale, RAVENNA.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:367f.

—S.D.C.

**HALABĪYAH.** See ZENOBIA.

**HALMYROS** (Ἀλμυρός, name derived from the salt-flats in the area), commonly known as the "Two Halmyroi" because of its double fortified citadels, city in central Greece on the Pagasitic Gulf south of modern Volos. It is identified with modern Tsingeli and Kephalsis near ancient Halos. In late antiquity an agricultural settlement is attested at nearby Aidonion, with oil and wine presses (N. Nikonanos, *ArchDelt* 26 [1971] Chronikon 312f). In the 12th C. Halmyros played an important role as an entrepôt for Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, succeeding NEA ANCHIALOS and DEMETRIAS as the primary port of Thessaly. The Venetians attacked Halmyros in 1171 as retaliation for the massacre in Constantinople, and in 1198 its ports were again opened to them. In 1204 it was first given to the deposed Alexios III as a place of retirement but soon fell into the hands of the Latins; by 1246 it was under the control of Michael II of Epiros and in 1249 it is attested as the center of a theme of the empire of Nicaea. Halmyros was attacked and occupied by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY between 1307 and 1310. The

city had a significant Jewish community. The bishop of Halmyros was suffragan of Larissa.

Little remains of the two fortified acropolises or the Byz. town between them, although several churches, many of them belonging to the Italian communities, are attested in documents from the 12th C. onward. Some Byz. sculpture (N. Giannopoulos, *BZ* 25 [1925] 339–46), seals (Idem, *BZ* 17 [1908] 131–40; 18 [1909] 502–10), and inscriptions (Idem, *BCH* 14 [1890] 240–44; 15 [1891] 562–71; 23 [1899] 396–400) have been found. The so-called Alonissos ship, whose wreck was discovered on the seabed just off the island of Pelagos, was perhaps involved in trade with Halmyros. It contained a large cargo of pottery of the 12th C. (Ch. Kritzas, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176–82).

LIT. *TIB* 1:170f. Abamea, *Thessalia* 65f, 166–73. N. Giannopoulou, *Ta Phthiotika* (Athens 1891). —T.E.G.

**HALO.** See NIMBUS.

**HAMĀH.** See EPIPHANEIA.

**HAMĀH TREASURES.** See KAPER KORAON TREASURE; MA'ARAT AL-NU'MĀN TREASURE.

**HAMDĀNIDS**, Muslim dynasty in Mosul and esp. at Aleppo, of Taghlibite Arab origin (ca. 868–1015/16). The independent emirate was established at Mosul between 930 and 934, and under Nāṣir al-Dawla extended power over most of upper Mesopotamia. Nāṣir was succeeded by his son Abū Taghlib, who resisted Byz. attack in 972 but infuriated John Tzimiskes by capturing the *domestikos* Melias, who died in captivity. In 976 Abū Taghlib supported the rebellion of Bardas Skleros. The Hamdānid dynasty at Aleppo began in 944 under SAYF AL-DAWLA. Many Hamdānids left Aleppo because of the Byz. threat. The Hamdānids were forced to maneuver between FĀṬIMIDS, Buwayhids, and Byz. Sa'd al-Dawla, the son of Sayf al-Dawla, massacred many monks at Dayr Sem'an, in response to the Byz. invasion of 985. The Byz. governor of Antioch, Michael BOURTZES, helped the Hamdānids against the Fātimids, but Hamdānid power declined after the Byz. treaty

with the Fātimids in 1001. A son of Sayf al-Dawla, Abu'l Hayjā', fled to Basil II and later probably converted to Christianity. Sa'd's minister Lu'lu and Sa'd himself prostrated themselves before Basil II in 995. Lu'lu's son Manṣūr fled to Byz. in 1015/16 and received a castle for aiding Romanos III in northern Syria in 1030.

LIT. M. Canard, *EF* 3:126–31. Idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazira et de Syrie* (Algiers-Paris 1951). R.J. Bikhazi, "The Hamdanid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1981). —W.E.K.

**HAMILTON PSALTER.** See PSALTER.

**HAND OF GOD.** The image of a hand emanating from clouds or an arc of Heaven appears in both Christian and imperial art in the 4th C. Its Christian use surely derives from earlier Jewish art, where it is an image of God's voice or word, amplifying scriptural metaphors of God's hand as his power or protection. In imperial art, the hand displaces fully embodied deities and functions differently and more actively. In medallions of Constantine I the Great, for example, a hand reaches out to crown the emperor or draw him upward at his APOTHEOSIS. The gesturing hand of Jewish tradition continues in later Christian art to signify the voice or approbation of God, appearing in such New Testament compositions as the Baptism and Ascension as well as in numerous Old Testament scenes. Other 4th- through 6th-C. images, however, based on the imperial version, show the hand actually drawing Christ upward at his Ascension, or holding a crown over Christ, the Cross, the Virgin Mary, or a saint. This version vanishes in later Byz. art, where Christ himself confers crowns on rulers and performs concrete acts. Probably a distinct, later development is the huge hand holding souls in the LAST JUDGMENT (cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* 3:1), seen in late Byz. monuments (CHORA).

The theme of "the king's heart in the hand of God" (Pr 21:1) that, for fathers of the church, had imposed limits on imperial authority, was reinterpreted in the Justinianic period to mean the all-embracing authority of the *basileus* (H. Hattenhauer, *ZSavKan* 67 [1981] 1–21).

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 2:791–94. M. Kirigin, *La mano divina nell'iconografia cristiana* (Vatican 1976).

—A.W.C., A.C.

**HAPLOUCHEIR, MICHAEL**, member of the senate who eagerly supported ANDRONIKOS I in 1183; EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE acrimoniously censured Haploucheir (Ἀπλουχεῖρ) for his dishonest behavior (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 44.19–20). He probably belonged to the same family of civilian nobility as Thomas Haploucheir, judge of the *velum* under Manuel I. Haploucheir has been identified, on good grounds, with the poet of the same name, who wrote a short iambic *dramation* presenting a debate between a rustic who praises Fortune and a wise man (*sophos*) who laments his miserable fate and is ready to renounce his fame and become a craftsman. The theme of a poor intellectual's envy of a well-to-do artisan is typical of 12th-C. writers such as John TZETZES and Theodore PRODRAMOS.

ED. P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 268–79.

LIT. Q. Cataudella, "Michele Apluchiro e il 'Pluto' di Aristofane," *Dioniso* 8 (1940–41) 88–93. —A.K.

**HARAWĪ, AL-**, more fully Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Harawī, Arab author, ascetic, and traveler; born Mosul, died Aleppo 1215. He had a varied career as preacher in Baghdad and Aleppo and as envoy and confidant of the Ayyūbid sultans, including Saladin. In the course of his missions he traveled widely, to Palestine and Egypt, and in 1175 to Norman Sicily. He also visited Constantinople, where he met Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. His vivid descriptions of the Hippodrome and the statues of Constantinople are partly reproduced by YĀQŪT, al-QAZWĪNĪ, and other encyclopedists. His three principal works are the *Guide to the Places of Pilgrimage*, *Memoir on the Ruses of War*, and *Last Counsels of al-Harawī*.

ED. *Kitab al-Ishārāt ilā ma'rifat al-ziyarat* (Guide)—*Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 2 vols. (Damascus 1953–57), with Fr. tr. *Al-Tadhkira al-Harawīyya fī'l-hijal al-harīyya* (Memoir)—ed. eadem, "Les conseils du Sayyid al-Harawī à un prince ayyubide," *BEO* 17 (1961–62) 205–66, with Fr. tr. *Al-Waṣīyya al-Harawīyya* (Counsels)—ed. eadem, "Le testament politique du shaykh 'Alī al-Harawī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Cambridge, Mass.—Leiden 1965) 609–18, with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EF* 3:178. —A.Sh., A.M.T.

**HARBAVILLE TRIPTYCH.** See TRIPTYCH.

**HĀRITH, AL-** See ARETHAS.



**HARMENOPOULOS, CONSTANTINE**, 14th-C. jurist. Harmenopoulos (Ἀρμενόπουλος) signed a document of 1345 (*Chil.* 134) as *sebastos* and judge of Thessalonike; by 1349 he was also a *nomophylax*, after 1359 *krites katholikos*. He compiled a "corpus" of secular and canon law. Secular law is represented by the *Hexabiblos* (Six Books), also called the *Procheiron nomon* (Handbook of the Laws), of 1345. This compilation grew out of the PRO-CHEIRON but adds excerpts from the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, the law book of Michael ATTALEIATES, the SYNOPSIS MINOR, the PEIRA, and the work of JULIAN OF ASKALON. Harmenopoulos organized the legal material into a new system, which made it easier to use and thus enormously popular; it is transmitted in almost 70 MSS. In practice it served as a law code (in Greece into the 20th C.) and was adopted in several Slavic countries. Attached to the *Hexabiblos* as a regular component is the FARMER'S LAW, presumably reorganized by Harmenopoulos (I. Medvedev in *VizOč* [Moscow 1982] 216–33).

Canon law is represented by the *Epitome canonum* of Harmenopoulos, which contains a selection of canons with commentaries (PG 150:45–168), a confession of faith (PG 150:29–32), and a treatise on heresies (19–29). Some shorter works of Harmenopoulos are also transmitted (*lexika*, an *enkomiaston* on St. Demetrios).

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli: Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969). Eng. tr. of book 6 by E.H. Freshfield (Cambridge 1930).

LIT. K.G. Pitsakes, *Konstantinou Armenopoulou Procheiron Nomon e Hexabiblos* (Athens 1971) ζ'-πυα'. Idem, "Gregoriou Akindynou: Anekdotē Pragmateia peri (Konstantinou?) Harmenopoulou," *Epeteris Kentrou Hellenikou Dikaiou* 19 (1972) 111–216. Idem, "Gyro apo tis peges tes 'Epitomes Kanonon' tou Konstantinou Armenopoulou," *ibid.* 23 (1976) 85–122. M.Th. Fögen, "Die Scholien zur Hexabiblos im Codex Vetustissimus Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 440," *FM* 4 (1981) 256–345. Eadem, "Hexabiblos aucta," *FM* 7 (1986) 259–333. —M.Th.F.

**HARNESSMAKER.** See LOROTOMOS.

**HAROLD HARDRADA** (or more properly Har-dradi, "Hard-Ruler"), king of Norway as Harold III (1046–66); born 1015, died Stamford Bridge, England, 25 Sept. 1066. In 1030 or 1031 Harold (Ἀράλτης) fled from Norway to JAROSLAV of Kiev and reached Byz. probably in 1034 (J. Shepard, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 150). Harold and his Varangians

participated in several Byz. military campaigns: in Sicily with MANIAKES, in Bulgaria against DEL-JAN, and probably against Muslims in the Aegean. The report in Norwegian SAGAS of his fight against Pechenegs—in 1036 according to K. Cigaar (*BalkSt* 21 [1980] 385–401)—and of his journey to Jerusalem is questionable. He was granted the title of *spatharokandidatos*. A supporter of Michael IV, Harold probably took part in the deposition and blinding of Michael V. Because CONSTANTINE IX changed the Byz. attitude toward the Rus' and Varangians (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 27 [1967] 83f) or because he suspected that Harold would join the rebellious Maniakes (A. Poppe, *BS* 32 [1971] 28), the emperor imprisoned Harold. He escaped and reached Kiev probably in winter 1042/3. In spring 1045 he married Jaroslav's daughter Elizabeth and possibly incited Jaroslav to attack Constantinople. Byz. coins brought to Scandinavia by Harold in 1045 may have served as models for Danish mints (P. Grierson, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 124–38; M. Hendy, *NChron* 10 [1970] 187–97).

LIT. S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, rev. and tr. B.S. Benediktz (Cambridge 1978) 54–102, 209–14.

—A.K., C.M.B.

**HARROWING OF HELL.** See ANASTASIS.

**HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD** (Ἀαρῶν), caliph of the 'ABBĀSIDS (789–809); born al-Rayy (near Tehran) Feb. 766, died Tūs (Khurāsān) 24 Mar. 809. He was the son of Caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdi (775–85). In 780 the young Hārūn invaded the Armeniakon and took Semaluous, and in 782 he was enabled by the defection of the Byz. general TATZATES to advance to Chrysoupolis and force Empress Irene to make peace. During the negotiations he captured and held the eunuch STAU-RAKIOS until Irene signed a three-year treaty requiring the Byz. to release all prisoners, pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dinars, and make commercial concessions. As caliph, Hārūn strengthened his border with Byz. by building frontier fortresses linking up with Tarsos. He paid special attention to the fleet, which several times attacked Cyprus and Rhodes. In 790 Hārūn's navy defeated a Byz. force off Attaleia; Theophilos the *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai was captured and exe-

cuted after refusing Hārūn's order to turn traitor. In 796 Hārūn made Raqqa on the Euphrates his chief residence, probably anticipating sustained campaigns against Byz. and eastern Iran. In 798 'Abbāsīd forces invaded Byz. territory to Ephesus. Hārūn initially refused Irene's request for peace, but, after Khazar attacks on his northern flank, he signed a four-year treaty again requiring the Byz. to pay annual tribute to the Arabs. He personally campaigned against Byz. in 803 and in 806, when he captured Herakleia and Tyana and exacted a humiliating treaty stipulating that Emp. Nikephoros I annually pay 30,000 solidi and a head tax of 3 solidi for himself and his son Staurakios. Hārūn destroyed churches in frontier areas to punish what he thought were pro-Byz. sympathies. He died campaigning in Khurāsān.

LIT. M. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'empereur Nicéphore Ier," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 345–79. H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London 1981) 115–34. F. Omar, *ET* 3:232–34. —P.A.H.

**HĀRŪN IBN YAHYĀ**, 9th–10th-C. Arab author. Captured as a civilian (a fact usually ignored by scholars), Hārūn was carried off from Askalon via Attaleia to Constantinople, where he lived for years, perhaps as a slave. His account, a valuable report on Byz. and other Christian nations, includes a detailed description of Constantinople, its walls, gates, statues, relics, water supplies; the Palace, its decoration and furnishings; Hagia Sophia; Christmas festivities; banquets; imperial processions; chariot races in the Hippodrome; the conditions of Muslim prisoners; the route to Rome via Serbia; a description of Rome's marvels; and a reference to Britain. This account survives in the *Book of Precious Things* by ibn Rusta (born Isfahan, fl. late 9th–early 10th C.), an Arab anthologist of Persian origin.

Modern scholars have dated Hārūn's report variously between 880 and 912, due to differences regarding internal clues, the possible date of his capture or release, whether ibn Rusta quotes him directly, and whether all the details are based on Hārūn's own observations. G. Ostrogorsky (*SemKond* 5 [1932] 251–57) has argued for 912–13, Alexander's reign, as the date since no empress or co-emperor is mentioned. Actually, Hārūn describes a typical procession, not necessarily a specific one, and the emperor is depicted as a

co-emperor (wearing black and red boots). It is reasonable to date the account to ca.900.

ED. *Precious Things—Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 7 (1892) 1–229]. *Les atours précieux*, tr. G. Wiet (Cairo 1955).

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "Harun Ibn Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 149–63. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:379–94. M. Izeddin, P. Theriat, "Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hārūn-ibn-Yahya," *REI* 15 (1947) 41–62. —A.Sh.

**HASAN DAĞ**, site in CAPPADOCIA. On the north slope of this volcanic cone are a number of churches, including Sarigöl and basilicas II and III near Viranşehir of the first half of the 6th C. (?) and Kemer Kilise (Viranşehir I) and Anatepe of the 7th C. (?). These solid, ashlar-faced monuments are most commonly cruciform in plan, although basilicas with both single and double naves also occur. To the north of Hasan Dağ is the Peristrema Valley with a number of ROCK-CUT CHURCHES still adorned with painted decoration. Several also retain datable dedicatory inscriptions. Direkli Kilise, a large cross-in-square church, bears an inscription mentioning the emperors Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII) and is thus datable to 976–1025. The single-naved chapel of St. Michael was decorated by the monk Arsenios and his son Theophylaktos, *protospatharios* and *axiarchos* (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 46, reads *taxiarchos*) during the reign of a *porphyrogennetos*, most likely Constantine VIII (1025–28). A dedicatory inscription in Kirk Dam Altı Kilise dates its paintings to 1283–95. The fresco decorations of several churches, including Yılanlı Kilise, Ağaç Altı Kilise, Eğri Taş Kilisesi, and Kokar Kilise, are rendered with a vital primitivism that makes for difficult ascription on the basis of style and suggests the relative isolation of this valley from continuous metropolitan influence.

LIT. Thierry *Nouvelles églises* M. Restle *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna 1979).

—A.J.W.

**HATS.** See HEADGEAR.

**HAWKING.** The sport of hawking or falconry involved the use of hawks to hunt various BIRDS, such as cranes, wild geese, partridges, and pheasants. For this purpose the falconer (*hierakarios*)

trained young hawks; those imported from Georgia were esp. prized. Other species besides the hawk were also used. The *Orneosophion* (ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1866] 577–79) mentions seven hawk-names, mostly obscure. There is evidence, however, that the falcon was known and used in this kind of HUNTING.

Some evidence for the early practice of hawking is found in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (232.16–17). From the 11th C. onward a growing number of references described hawking as a sport enjoyed by the ruling class and the emperor. Manuel I Komnenos's passion for this type of hunting is reflected in an *ekphrasis* by Constantine MANASSES. Another contemporary description was composed by Constantine PANTECHNES. The growth of interest in hawking is evinced by the practical manuals that circulated at that time. Such a *Hierakosophion* is attributed to Demetrios PEPA-GOMENOS and deals with the breeding and training of the hawk and treatment of its diseases (Hercher, *supra*, 335–516). (See also PROTOIERAKARIOS.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:395–98.

—Ap.K.

**HEADGEAR** (καλύπτρα). Until the 11th C. a headcovering was not a usual part of either official or ecclesiastical costume, with the exception of the monastic hood, or *koukoullion*, and the traditional veils of women.

Only the patriarch of Alexandria was entitled to cover his head for the celebration of the Eucharist; thus the Alexandrian patriarchs Athanasios and Cyril are depicted wearing a small black or white cap. In the 14th C. the patriarch of Constantinople wore a white MITRA, not a mitre but a gold-embroidered veil. St. Spyridon is shown wearing a small straw bonnet (perhaps a pun on his name, which derives from the word for a small basket), Patr. Methodios a headdress knotted under the chin, an allusion to the story that his jaws were dislocated by Theophilos.

Two of the *protoproedroi* depicted in Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 79 wear low red boxlike hats with a tip that flops down over one ear, while two others wear higher white beehive-shaped ones; the latter may be an early form of the SKIADION. Another form of lay headgear is the turban, the *phakeolis* or *phakiolion*, which by the 12th C. was no mere orientalism typical of Arabs, Ethiopians, and Pal-

estinians but common garb, esp. for women. The women depicted with Miriam in a circular dance in a Psalter in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 752, fol.449v; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig.123) wear huge head-dresses that must reflect court fashions of the 11th C. Shepherds wear broad-brimmed straw hats, sailors a Western-inspired tight black cap tied under the chin. Israelites wear hoods identical to the MAPHORION.

In the Palaiologan period, hats proliferated; the emperor and other officials wore the *skiadion* and another squarish hat rather like a mitre, whose name is unknown (the SKARANIKON, which is sometimes presumed to be a kind of hat, was most likely a garment). Women wore the *maphorion*, though the empress apparently went unveiled. Young relatives of the emperor wore either nothing on their heads at all, at least while inside the palace and until adolescence (pseudo-Kod. 145.15–18), or a purple headband called a *tainia* (DOC 2.1:81, n.158).

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 134f. C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Classical Tradition* 51f.

—N.P.S.

**HEADPIECE**, the decorated frame or panel at the beginning of a text. Pre-Iconoclastic illuminators generally devoted little attention to the embellishment of a book's title and framed it with only a series of dashes and corner flourishes. But in the PARIS GREGORY broad borders with classical patterns surround the titles, as do gold CIBORIA and *pi*-shaped brackets in 10th-C. MSS. Occasionally, medallion portraits were added to the *pi* or rectangle, and, in the 11th C., the headpiece displayed increasingly complex figural programs, inspired in part by the decorated TEMPLON. Many 12th-C. headpieces incorporate the subject matter of frontispieces (e.g., author PORTRAITS, EVANGELIST SYMBOLS, narrative scenes), or contain only ornament. As a result, the title, the original pre-text for the headpiece, was relegated to a subsidiary status above or below the panel. Complex ornament fills the headpieces of MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE. Palaiologan versions rarely include figural elements, but revive Komnenian designs or create more elaborate patterns based on the Islamic arabesque.

LIT. S. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975) 170–87. R.S.



HEADPIECE. Headpiece for the Gospel of St. Luke (Patmos, 81, fol.153r); manuscript dated 1334/5. Monastery of St. John, Patmos.

Nelson, "Palaeologan Illuminated Ornament and the Arabesque," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1988) 1–21.

—R.S.N.

**HEALING.** Byz. turned to two different sources when seeking cures from illness: to the PHYSICIAN trained in the Greco-Roman tradition and to faith healing; miraculous cures might be provided by a holy man (in imitation of the healing MIRACLES OF CHRIST), by the RELICS of a saint, or by a shrine at a LOCUS SANCTUS. A standard topos of hagiographical descriptions of healing miracles is the failure of the physician to effect a cure (even though he received a substantial fee), contrasted with the "free" healing available at the tombs of saints, esp. the ANARGYROI, those who took no payment for their services. Among the methods of faith healing were INCUBATION, kissing the tomb, anointing oneself with oil from the lamp suspended above a saint's tomb, drinking oil or water that had come into contact with the relics, or, in the case of the shrine of St. Symeon the Stylite

the Younger, rubbing oneself with holy dust or a Symeon token (see PILGRIM TOKENS) made from the earth of the Wondrous Mountain where the stylite's pillar stood. AMULETS were commonly used as prophylactic devices. Supplicants whose prayers for healing were answered left VOTIVE offerings at the shrines in thanksgiving.

**Representation in Art.** Three categories of depictions of healing may be identified: Christological healing scenes (e.g., in the FRIEZE GOSPELS such as Florence, Laur. Plut. VI 23); illustrated *miracula* of "doctor saints" such as KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS (e.g., in the Lectionary, Athos, Pantel. 2—*Treasures* 2, fig.278); and deluxe illustrated compendia of pre-Byz. medical treatises such as the 10th-C. edition of Apollonios of Kition, *On the Setting of Dislocated Bones*, and Soranos of Ephesus, *On Bandaging*. Unfortunately, the latter generally reveal less about contemporary Byz. MEDICINE than about ancient prototypes (Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illum.* 18–23). Again, the saint's *miracula* are iconographically much less explicit concerning both symptoms and treatments than are the texts upon which they draw, being based, for the most part, on even more "generic" healing scenes developed for illustrated Gospels.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983) 16–20. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 65f.

—A.M.T., G.V.

**HEART** (καρδία). The starting point for Christian theology and mystical belief with regard to the heart is the Old Testament command to love God with one's heart, soul, and body (Dt 6:5). In his commentary on John 13:23–25, Origen explains the heart of Christ as the inner meaning of his teaching, as the divine sense that one can discern more deeply with one's heart (PG 13:87AB; see also PG 11:129BC–130A). In passages such as these, "heart" is a metaphor for *nous* (see INTELLLECT). However, in view of many different opinions among Greek philosophers, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:156C–164D) expressed his doubt concerning this definition of *kardia*. While EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS alternated between biblical and philosophical usages, later monastic mystics of experience, such as Diadochos of Photike, pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, and Hesychios Sinaites (6th–7th C.), show a great preference for the term heart in the sense of psyche, conscience, the seat

of passion and feeling, but also the remembrance of God. For DIADOCHOS (*Cap. gnost.* 56), for example, the heart is the organ for sensing God. Hesychios (PG 93:1481CD, 1509D) emphasized the need to guard the heart in order to maintain HESYCHIA and to call upon Jesus Christ alone. Pseudo-Makarios (PG 34:573C) saw the spirit as the (vigilant) "eyes of the heart." Nikephoros Athonites (or Sinaites) in the 14th C. defined the Jesus prayer for HESYCHASM (PG 147:963B-964A) in conjunction with the heart: "Settle yourself, collect your mind, breathe in through the nose whence the breath enters the heart. Let the mind with the inhaling breath enter into the heart."

LIT. A. Guillaumont, "Les sens des noms du cœur dans l'Antiquité," *Études Carmélitaines* 29 (1950) 41-81. F. Neyt, "Précisions sur le vocabulaire de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza," *StP* 12 (1975) 247-53. —G.P.

**HEARTH TAX**, conventional name for any tax levied by household or "hearth" (*kapnos*), such as the KANONIKON. It appears first as a supplementary levy: Malalas (Malal. 246.16-19) relates that the guilds in Antioch, allegedly in the 1st C., had to fulfill a *leitourgia* from each hearth for the repair of city porticoes. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, a tax based on hearths was collected in Byz. for military purposes. The KAPNIKON was probably a tax on households. Even though the *kapnikon* is not mentioned explicitly after the 12th C., some scholars maintain that it had simply become a component of the TELOS. On the basis of a mathematical analysis of the *telos* of 14th-C. *paroikoi*, Lefort ("Fiscalité" 342f) concludes that only *paroikoi* without taxable property paid a hearth tax, usually amounting to 1/6 hyperpyron. K. Chvostova (*VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63-71) rejects Lefort's method of calculation and assumes that the *telos* of every 14th-C. *paroikos* contained, in a latent form, the hearth tax, but it was esp. significant in poorer households. The verb *kapnologeo* (lit. "to count hearths") was used in a vague sense to describe the activity of tax collectors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:384.19-20; *Mich. Akom.* 2:106.29) but not in the specific sense of "levying the *kapnikon* (or *kapnologia*)."

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 51-54. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 52-58. —M.B.

**HEAVEN** (οὐρανός). Two traditions merged in the Byz. perception of heaven—one popular

(Eastern and late Jewish) transferred via the Bible, the other inherited from Greek physics and astronomy. In the Bible, heaven is located beyond the firmament (*stereoma*), a solid vault resting firmly on foundation pillars over the earth and dividing the water into two domains, one above and another below it. When "the windows of heaven" open, the upper water falls on the earth as rain, hail, or snow. The stars are suspended from the firmament. Heaven also meant the SPACE (air) between the firmament and the earth—"the middle distance (*chora*)" in Byz. terminology. Since the Old Testament often used the word in plural form, it enhanced speculation concerning the number of heavens, the favorite number being seven. Both the imagery and the perception originating in apocalyptic literature of heaven as the place of salvation and of a heavenly Jerusalem (the earthly PARADISE in the third heaven) were developed in Byz., esp. in the exegesis of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as well as in sermons on Lent, in the HEXAEMERON, and in commentaries on Job. Heaven is the handiwork of God, although some Gnostics and Dualists ascribed the creation of heaven to the demiurge. Although distinct from God, heaven was nevertheless perceived as the sphere of the eternal and divine; God's throne is there, and it is the abode of Christ (whence he will come for the second PAROUSIA) and of the Virgin and angels. Metaphorically, "the kingdom of heaven" was construed as the realm of God.

Byz. COSMOLOGY was divided with regard to the form of heaven—whether the ancient model of a spherical heaven was to be retained or whether heaven was a flat roof over the cubic world (as in KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES); alternatively John Philoponos conceived heaven as "the all-encompassing space beyond" the spherical firmament that divided it from the realm of the corruptible. Much discussion ensued as to whether heaven is self-limiting and surrounded by the void (PSELLOS, *De omnifaria doctrina*, par.120.1-6), or whether heaven, as the place of fixed stars and moving planets, is of a different substance from the corporeal world, which is composed of four elements; whether it is eternal in its movement; and finally, whether the assertion of the physicists (according to JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.11, ed. Joannou, p.13.22-23) that the "heavenly body" occupies no physical space is valid, since otherwise the concept of the corporeal

world would come to a *regressus in infinitum*, the idea of an unmeasurable infinite space.

LIT. H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen 1951). —K.-H.U.

**HEBDOMON** (Ἑβδομον, lit. "seventh"; Turk. Bakırköy), suburb of Constantinople situated on Sea of Marmara and astride the Via EGNATIA seven Roman miles west of the Milion (Milliarium). The site of an army camp, it possessed a Tribunal, facing a plain called Kampos (Campus), on which several emperors were proclaimed, starting with Valens (364). Valens resided at Hebdomon in a villa or palace and built a harbor there. A little later churches were erected of St. John the Evangelist (before 400); of St. John the Baptist (391), to receive the relic of his head; and of the Prophet Samuel (411), also to receive his relics. Justinian I rebuilt the palace (called Jucundianae) and the Church of the Baptist. Hebdomon was probably devastated in the 7th-8th C. Arab fleets put in there in 673 and 717. Basil I rebuilt the churches of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into ruin. The former, transformed into a monastery, was the burial place of Basil II and was later ceded to Nikephoritzes and, after him, to Empress Maria, wife of Michael VII. By 1260 it was in ruins.

Archaeological remains include a vast open-air cistern to the north of the suburb (Fil Dami), a gigantic granite column, an inscribed statue base of Theodosios II, a circular mausoleum, and parts of the church of St. John the Baptist, similar in plan to S. Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 316-41. Th.K. Makrides, "To Byzantinon Hebdomon," *Thrakika* 10 (1938) 137-98; 12 (1939) 35-80. R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945). —C.M.

**HEBROS** (Ἑβρος), or Marica, river in Thrace, flowing into the Aegean Sea near AINOS. The Hebros is the largest of the north Aegean rivers, draining the Haimos and Rhodope massifs, through the plains of SERDICA, PHILIPPOLIS, and ADRIANOPLE. It was navigable as far as Adrianople, and there were no fords south of the city. In 1205 the Latins under Henry of Flanders, who were besieging DIDYMOTICHON, were swept away by a sudden flood of the river (Nik.Chon. 624.6-10); the next year Kalojan tried to divert the

Hebros at Didymoteichon in an attempt to take the city (Nik.Chon. 632.23-25). The Hebros valley was the site of the battle of MARICA in 1371.

LIT. S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Groningen 1968) 23. —T.E.G.

**HEGOUMENOS** (ἡγούμενος, fem. ἡγουμένησσα), the superior of a monastery; related terms were *abbas*, ARCHIMANDRITE, *proestos*, or *koinobiarches*. A *kathegoumenos* was a *hegoumenos* who had been ordained, a *prohegoumenos* was a retired or dismissed *hegoumenos*. *Hegoumenoi* were responsible for the administration, economic management, and spiritual leadership of a monastic community. They were most often selected from within the monastery, theoretically from among those monks or nuns most revered for their wisdom and piety. The office of OIKONOMOS was frequently a stepping stone to the hegoumenate. In the case of an imperial foundation, the *hegoumenos* might be appointed by the emperor, but most often he or she was designated by a predecessor or elected by the monks or nuns. The procedure of election, which varied considerably from one monastery to another, was regulated by the monastery's ΤΥΡΙΚΟΝ.

In theory, the *hegoumenos* possessed autocratic power over the brethren: he would admit new monks, expel dissidents, impose *epitimia*, appoint monastic officials, and supervise their activity. He also ensured the regular and proper observance of the daily offices and all special feastdays and supervised and maintained the monastic properties. He was assisted by a number of officials, such as the *oikonomos* and EKKLESIAARCHES. In his spiritual role, the *hegoumenos* usually served as the PATER PNEUMATIKOS or confessor of the monks, even if he was not a priest. His tenure was not limited by any term or checked by any institution; the *hegoumenos* was said to give an accounting only in the hereafter. In fact, however, he was restricted by tradition and by a group of "select brethren"; if caught in malfeasance, he could be deposed (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 65-67).

The *hegoumenos* often had special privileges (e.g., better food and drink), had much greater contact with the outside world, and sometimes had influence at the imperial court and patriarchate. A number of patriarchs were former *hegoumenoi*. Some *hegoumenoi* abused the prerogatives of their rank and were criticized for dining on expensive delicacies and rare vintage wines, for frequent



bathing, wearing silken garments, and being worldly businessmen. *Hegoumenoi* were, for example, the target of a satire by PROCHOPRODROMOS (ed. Hesselings-Pernot, 48–71) and were attacked by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his treatise *On the Improvement of Monastic Life* (pp. 258.57–259.11).

LIT. R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 25–28. Konidares, *Nomike theoresis* 193–205. Meester, *De monachico statu* 16–21, 202–63. Galatariotou, "Typika" 102–04, 110–13. —A.M.T., A.K.

**HEIR** (κληρονόμος), the one to whom the estate of a deceased person falls, be it alone or with others (*synekleronomoi*), either on the basis of a WILL or by way of INTESTATE SUCCESSION. The heir entered into the legal position of the deceased and was accordingly responsible for the obligations of the testator, just as he, conversely, could put forward the testator's claims. The heir was also considered a debtor of the legacies bequeathed (LEGATON, FIDEICOMMISSUM) by the testator. The entrance into the inheritance took place informally; the possibility of declining it evidently played no role in practice, since its purpose—keeping one's own property from being liable for the debts of the deceased—was, from the time of Justinian I, achievable by establishing an inventory (*beneficium inventarii*) that documented the size of the inheritance. The LEX FALCEDIA guaranteed a limitation on the heir's responsibility for paying out the bequests made by the testator. All natural persons (including slaves, minors, and the unborn) could inherit, as could corporate bodies, communities, the church, or pious foundations. In addition to the limitations that intestate succession brought with it through its system of preference, there was a set of punishable offenses (e.g., lèse-majesté, heresy) and other factors (e.g., second marriage, status as a concubine [*pallake*] or illegitimate child [*nothos*]) that precluded or lessened the right to inherit. (See also SUCCESSION.) —D.S.

**HEIRMOLOGION** (εἰρημολόγιον), a liturgical MS with or without musical notation, comprised of the *heirmoi*, the model stanzas referred to at the beginning of each of the nine odes of a KANON

and on which the ode's melody and rhythm are based; *heirmoi* are also listed in a similar way at the beginning of a KONTAKION. Since normally only the opening words of an *heirmos* are given, the *heirmologion* was a necessary reference tool from which the singer learned the full melody and thus was able to adapt it to any text. The *heirmoi*, like TROPARIA and STICHERA, are either sung to a unique melody (*idiomela*) or are based on another (*prosomoia*). In comparison with other liturgical books, relatively few *heirmologia* survive, perhaps because of the heavy use to which they were subjected.

There are two types of *heirmologia*, both divided into eight sections, one for each musical MODE. The first, more common type lists the *heirmoi* *kanon* by *kanon*, giving the *heirmoi* for each ode within a complete *kanon* before listing the next *kanon's* *heirmoi*. The other type, mainly found in Slavonic MSS, gives the *heirmoi* by ode, that is, it lists the *heirmoi* for all the first odes for every *kanon* within that mode before moving on to the second ode. The earliest MSS date from the mid-10th C. The texts of the *heirmoi* are paraphrases of the biblical canticles originally sung during the ORTHROS, but later replaced by the *kanones*.

ED. C. Høeg, *Hirmologium Athoum* (Ath. Iber. 470) (Copenhagen 1938). Idem, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen 1952). L. Tardo, *Hirmologium e codice Cryptensi E.γ.11* (Rome 1950). H.J.W. Tillyard, *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium* (Boston 1952). A. Ayoutanti, H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium* 3.2 (Copenhagen 1956). J. Raasted, *Hirmologium Sabbaticum* (Sab. 83), 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1968–70).

LIT. M. Velimirović, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London 1980) 8:447f.

—E.M.J.

**HEKATE**, Greek goddess of the netherworld, associated with dead souls and evil dreams. Pseudo-Nonnos, in his commentary on Gregory of Nazianzos, states that the Greeks believed her to be a goddess identical to ARTEMIS or to Selene or a deity in her own right accompanied by big dragon-headed men. In this company, images of Hekate's cult statue appear in 11th-C. MSS of the commentary (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 70–72). In the late Roman period her cult was celebrated in hidden places, often connected with Dionysos or Mithra. Malalas (Malal. 307.17–18) ascribes to Diocletian the construction of a subterranean temple of Hekate that had 365 steps leading down to it from ground level.

LIT. J. Heckenbach, *RE* 7 (1912) 2769–82. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 58–60. —A.K., A.C.

**HELENA**, augusta (from ca.325) and saint; born Drepanon, Bithynia, between ca.250 and 257?, died Rome, between 330 (*PLRE* 1:410f) and 336 (O. Seeck, *RE* 7 [1912] 2822); feastday 21 May, together with Constantine I. Born of humble status, possibly of Jewish stock (J. Vogt, *Classical Folia* 31 [1977] 148), she was an innkeeper when she met CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS whose concubine (or wife?) she became and to whom she bore the future CONSTANTINE I. Separated from Constantius after his marriage to Theodora, the stepdaughter of MAXIMIAN, Helena returned to the court only after Constantius had died and Constantine had become emperor. She was no less influential than Constantine's wife Fausta. On the portrait in the palace at Trier, executed in 321, Helena, crowned, is represented together with Fausta, Constantine's half-sister Constantia, and the younger Helena, the newly wed spouse of Helena's favorite, CRISPUS. In her honor Drepanon was renamed Helenopolis, and the province of Helenopontus was created. Circa 325 both Helena and Fausta received the title of augusta. After the execution of Crispus in 326, Helena may have played a role in the murder of Fausta.

Helena was apparently inclined to Arianism, venerating LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, the teacher of Arius and EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. In 326 she set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where she founded and generously endowed churches of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Ascension in Jerusalem. She sponsored churches in Constantinople and other places, but spent the end of her life in Rome and not at Constantine's court. She was buried in a splendid mausoleum on the Via Labicana (F.W. Deichmann, A. Tschira, *JDAI* 72 [1957] 44–110).

Helena's memory was surrounded with legends, the most important of which was her alleged discovery of the TRUE CROSS, in the company of which she is often represented, together with Constantine I. Her cult developed by the 8th C., when the imperial pair of Irene and Constantine VI was compared to Helena and Constantine I. It was sometimes alleged that Helena was a prostitute when she conceived Constantine.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 36. A. Amore, E. Croce, *Bibl.sanct.* 4:988–95. A. Wankenne, "Constantin et Hélène à Trèves," *Etudes classiques* 52 (1984) 313–16. —I.E.G.

**HELIODOROS** (Ἡλιόδωρος), dated by scholars from 2nd to 4th C., from Emesa; author of the *Aithiopika*, the longest and structurally most complex of the surviving Greek ROMANCES. That Heliodoros was a Christian bishop, as the church historian SOKRATES claimed, is unlikely. The *Aithiopika* opens in *medias res* on a scene depicting the debris of a drunken brawl on the seashore and continues with a series of retrospective narratives that disclose the previous history of the heroine, Charikleia, the white-skinned daughter of the rulers of ETHIOPIA, and the hero, Theagenes, a Thesalian nobleman. After enduring further hazards appropriate to this genre—attacks by robbers, attempted murder by fire, abductions, etc.—the couple are finally united in marriage and become priest and priestess of the Sun. The novel's tone is restrained, both linguistically and morally, and perhaps for this reason met with qualified approval in the Greek Middle Ages (see Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.73; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), esp. in comparison with the psychologically more venturesome ACHILLES TATIUS. Of the 12th-C. novelists, Theodore PRODROMOS and Niketas EUGENIANOS seem to have been particularly aware of Heliodoros's work. Byz. commentators, such as an unidentified Philip the Philosopher and John EUGENIKOS, interpreted the romance's love affair as an allegory of the soul's pursuit of a virtuous life.

ED. *Les Ethiopiques*?, ed. R.M. Rattenbury, T.W. Lumb, J. Maillon (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr. *An Ethiopian Romance*, tr. M. Hadas (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957).

LIT. J.J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *YCS* 27 (1982) 93–158. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121–25. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

**HELIOPOLIS** (Ἡλιόπολις, now Baalbek [Ba'al-bakk] in Lebanon), Syrian city located in a valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges. It was a center of paganism with grandiose temples of Zeus, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Dionysos. Constantine I closed these temples, prohibited the veneration of Aphrodite, and built a church there. Christianity continued to meet resistance, however, and RABBULA of Edessa (died 436) was beaten by heathens when he arrived at Heliopolis to demolish the idols. Emp. Julian persecuted Christians in Heliopolis, and the elite of the city remained predominantly pagan until the late 6th C. (JOHN OF EPHESUS, *HE* 3.27). In the meantime the government tried to adapt the gi-

gantic shrines for Christian use. Theodosios I reportedly destroyed the temple of Zeus; he tore down the altar and the tower in the Great Court and replaced them with a basilica of St. Peter; ancient sculptures were consistently destroyed. A baptistery was added, and the Hexagonal Court was probably covered in wood in order to create additional interior space. Heliopolis was a bishopric of the province of Phoenician Syria subject to Emesa until 400, when it became part of the newly formed Phoenicia Libanensis under Damascus. Inscriptions (*IGLSyr* 6 [1967] nos. 2827–31, 2882, 2888) record secular construction: canals in the 4th C. and 430/1 and ramparts in ca. 440 and 635/6, on the eve of the Arab conquest. KALLINIKOS, the inventor of Greek fire, originated from Heliopolis.

The Arabs took Heliopolis in 637 and transformed the sanctuary into a stronghold. In 761 in the district of Heliopolis there was a rebellion under the leadership of a Syrian named Theodore; all the rebels were slain (Theoph. 431.23–26). The city passed to the FĀṬIMIDS in 972 but was temporarily occupied by John I Tzimiskes in 974. Eventually Saladin established his control over Heliopolis. After changing hands many times it became the chief town of a district under the MAMLŪKS.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EL*<sup>2</sup> 1:970f. F. Ragette, *Baalbek* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1980) 68–76. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:384f. —M.M.M.

**HELIOS** (ἥλιος), the solar god of Greek mythology, often identified in late antiquity with Mithra and APOLLO. In Neoplatonist cosmology, Helios played a significant role. JULIAN dedicated to him a hymn in which Helios appears as the *nous* (mind or reason) that contains within itself all the highest ideas; the *nous* reveals itself as the sun, the visible world's creator and keeper, which implants the ideas into preexisting but dead matter; man is also the creation of Helios and after his death he returns to Helios, who accepts and stores the souls. The SOL INVICTUS, or invincible sun, was the symbol of Helios as protector of the emperor in the late Roman period. It is unclear whether Constantine I the Great supported the cult of Helios: T. Preger (*Hermes* 36 [1901] 457–69) asserted that Constantine erected his own statue as Helios, but J. Karayannopoulos (*Historia* 5 [1956] 341–57) attempted to reject Preger's

thesis. Christians interpreted Helios euhemeristically as the king of Egypt, the son of Hephaistos. MALALAS connected two legendary episodes with "King Helios": as the protector of morality Helios discovered the shameful liaison of Ares and Aphrodite; Romans introduced horse races in honor of Helios, who was to supervise the races between the Earth (the Greens) and the Sea (the Blues). Elements of the veneration of Helios were retained in the popular worldview (H. Grégoire, M. Letocart, *REA* 42 [1940] 161–64). On the other hand, Christianity also used solar symbolism, presenting Christ as *sol salutis* (see SOL JUSTITIAE) and accepting SUNDAY as a holy day. In the 15th C. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed Helios as "hegemon of heaven and of every created being" (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 136). The image of the sun remained the focal point of Byz. imperial PROPAGANDA.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 37–41. E. Hörling, *Mythos und Pösis* (Lund 1980) 65f. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 113f, 150, 173f, 197f. I. Medvedev, "Solar Cult in Pleton's Philosophy?" *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 737–49. —A.K.

**HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY.** A monastery of Heliou Bomon (Ἡλίου βωμῶν, "altars of the sun") is first mentioned in the 10th C.; Janin suggests that it is the same as Elaiobomoi ("olive altars"), known in the 9th C. By the 12th C. Heliou Bomon had fallen into decline and was rebuilt by Nikephoros the Mystikos, who also recovered the monastery's confiscated estates. At this time Heliou Bomon changed its status from a patriarchal to an independent monastery (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no. 1044). Emp. Manuel I helped support the costs of restoration. Nikephoros's *typikon* of 1162 limited to 20 the number of monks at Heliou Bomon and at its *metochion* in Constantinople, which was dedicated to St. Bassianos. The *typikon* is closely modeled on those of EUGENETIS and St. MAMAS.

It appears that Heliou Bomon was identical with or was united with the monastery of Elegmoi, since the *typikon* refers to the monastery as "Heliou Bomon or Elegmoi." The Elegmoi monastery first appears in 10th-C. sources. In 1042 Emp. Michael V was confined there after his deposition from the throne. In the late 12th C. the *hegoumenos* of Elegmoi became archimandrite of all monasteries in the Mt. OLYMPOS region. The Elegmoi monastery was located at modern Kurşunlu

in Bithynia, 12 km east of Mudanya. C. Mango (*DOP* 22 [1968] 169–76) has identified the 12th-C. Church of St. Aberkios, which still stands there, as the building constructed by Nikephoros. The church has distinctive recessed brickwork, a single nave with dome (now collapsed), an apse with a triple window, and a vaulted narthex.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:715–69.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 142–48.

—A.M.T.

**HELL** was often designated with the classical terms HADES or, more rarely, Tartaros, and also with the biblical word Gehenna. The netherworld of the Byz. was located deep beneath the earth and construed as the realm of the DEVIL and DEMONS where sinners would be punished after death or after the LAST JUDGMENT. The damned underwent different kinds of punishment. The image of Hell was contrasted with that of PARADISE and originated from the concept of a reward or punishment in the afterlife for a virtuous or sinful existence on earth.

ORIGEN considered the suffering in Hell as temporary; his ESCHATOLOGY was dominated by the idea of the *apokatastasis panton*, the cyclical restoration of all spiritual beings and their final return to God. Some traces of this concept are to be found in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, who taught the *epistrophe*, or return to God. The church fathers, however, rejected the Origenist teaching—both John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1072B–1089B) defended the idea of eternal punishment in Hell. This latter doctrine was finally accepted at the council of Constantinople in 553.

The Byz. sometimes distinguished several underworlds. Hades could be cast as an intermediate state for the souls of people who lived before the Christian era and who were liberated by the descent of Christ. Hades was also an intermediate place for all souls until the Last Judgment, and, often inhabited by a personification of its ruler, the domain represented in images of the ANASTASIS. Hades and Gehenna were names for the place of punishment for sinners. In Gehenna there was no possibility for repentance and love of God. The Byz. created special genres of VISION and journeys to Hell in which perceptions of the netherworld varied drastically, from a place of torture and suffering (in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER),

to a murky area full of animals symbolizing sins (the vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:772A–773B), to a site of rest, conversation, and litigation (*Timarion*).

LIT. M. Richard, *DTC* 5 (1924) 47–83. H. Crouzel, "L'Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène," *Gregorianum* 59 (1978) 291–331. S. Lampsakes, *Hoi katabaseis ston kato kosmos te byzantine kai metabyzantine logotechnia* (Athens 1982).

—G.P., R.S.

**HELLAS** (Ἑλλάς), Greece, as a generic term usually applied to central Greece south of Thermopylai and the PELOPONNESOS but excluding EPIROS; its inhabitants were sometimes called Helladikoi (Charanis, *Demography*, pt. XVII [1953], 615–20). The *Synekdemos* of HIEROKLES equates Hellas with the province of ACHAIA. The theme of Hellas was created between 687 and 695 but debate continues about its original extent. Charanis (*Demography*, pt. XVIII [1955], 172–76) argues that only the eastern parts of central Greece were included, while Zakythinos (*infra* 54) thinks that THESSALY and the Peloponnesos were also part of the theme. By the end of the 8th C. Hellas was restricted to east central Greece, with THEBES as residence of the *strategos* or *krites*. In the 9th–10th C., among the western themes, the *strategos* of Hellas ranked below those of the Peloponnesos, NIKOPOLIS, and KIBYRRHAIOTAI (Oikonomides, *Listes* 105.12–15). Perhaps as early as the 10th C. the administration of Hellas was occasionally combined with that of the Peloponnesos, probably for military reasons. After 1205 most of Hellas fell under the authority of the duke of Athens. The church of Hellas was generally under the authority of the bishop of ATHENS, thus under the papacy until 732/3.

LIT. D. Zakythinos, *He Byzantine Hellas 392–1204* (Athens 1965). *TIB* 1:50–78. J. Koder, *RBK* 2:1099–1189. G. Ostrogorsky, "Postanak tema Helada i Peloponez," *ZRVI* 1 (1952) 64–77. —T.E.G.

**HELLENES** (Ἕλληνες). The expression *Hellen* and its derivatives had in the late Roman period two principal meanings: *hellenizo* meant first of all "to speak Greek" and *to Hellenikon* denoted the Greek language, whereas the noun *Hellen* with corresponding adjectives and adverbs designated "gentile, pagan" and had a pejorative meaning in the writings of the church fathers; accordingly Justinian I speaks of "the fallacy of impious and

foul Hellenes" (*Cod. Just.* XV 18.10); on the other hand, Julian (e.g., ep. 22 [ed. Wright] to Arsakios, high priest of Galatia) praises Hellenic "liturgy" and Hellenic good works. The positive self-respect of the Hellenes disappeared after the victory of Christianity, but the ambiguity (Greek language—pagan rite) persisted. Thus ARETHAS OF CAESAREA speaks of both "Hellenic language" (e.g., *Scripta minora* 1:96.25–26) and of *hellenizantes* as opposed to Christians (1:62.24–5), and in Anna Komnene (*An. Komn.* 2:34.12) the wisdom of Hellenes and Chaldaicans is contrasted with real knowledge. More complicated is the position of Niketas Choniates, for whom "Hellenic" designates not only language or adherence to paganism, but also Byz. allegiance—the *Hellen aner* is identical with the Rhomaios (*Nik. Chon.* 301.18), and Hellenic *poleis* are Byz. cities (496.50). From the 13th C. onward, the Byz. saw themselves not only as Romans but also as Hellenes (see HELLENISM).

LIT. K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1954) 16–37. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'Hellénisme dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. J. Irmscher, "'Griechischer Patriotismus' im 14. Jahrhundert," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 133–37. P. Gounaridis, "'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 248–57. —A.K.

**HELLENISM.** Two meanings of the term *Hellenism* are of concern to scholars of Byz. The first designates the consciousness among medieval and modern Greeks of their identity with the inhabitants of ancient Greece and an emphasis on their position as heirs to Greek classical civilization. The second meaning, modeled on the German usage of the word *Hellenismus*, refers to the period in the history of the region of the eastern Mediterranean between Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) and the Roman conquest of the region in the late 2nd and 1st C. B.C., also called the Hellenistic period.

**1. Devotion to Greek civilization.** Throughout the millennium of their empire, Byz. scholars expressed their links with ancient Greek culture through the conservatism of their archaizing literary LANGUAGE, which attempted to "atticize" or imitate the Greek written in the Golden Age of Athens. The system of EDUCATION in Byz. also used a curriculum based heavily on the study of a limited selection of ancient authors; a familiarity, often superficial, with classical Greek litera-

ture was presumed among the literati, who made frequent allusions to ANTIQUITY in their writings.

A greater emphasis on Hellenism began to manifest itself in the course of the 12th C. and became more marked in the late Byz. period, in the face of continuing conflict with the Westerners and the growing threat from the Turks. Moreover, as the empire shrank, it lost its multiethnic composition and by the 13th C. was limited, for the most part, to Greek-speaking lands. The Greeks began to call themselves HELLENES as well as RHOMAIOT and to think of themselves as a *genos*, or "nation." Intense interest in ancient Greek culture was a characteristic of the Palaiologan period, culminating in George Gemistos PLETHON, who advocated a return to a somewhat philosophical version of ancient Greek paganism, utopian social reforms based on Plato's *Republic*, and the establishment of an independent Greek state in the Peloponnesos.

**2. Historical period.** In the Byz. era, the historians MALALAS, GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS, KEDRENOS, and ZONARAS were particularly interested in Hellenism. They emphasized, among other themes, the internal strife in which the *toparchiai* (the realms of the *diadochoi* or successors of Alexander) were involved until they were engulfed by the Romans; they were also concerned with Jewish history under Hellenistic monarchs and with the mission of Jesus. As for the Hellenistic cultural heritage, the Byz. paid special attention to scientific writings (e.g., PTOLEMY), works on grammar (DIONYSIOS THRAX), didactic poetry (Aratos, 3rd C. B.C.), and epic (Apollonios of Rhodes, 3rd C. B.C.).

LIT. 1. A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), esp. 27–45. Idem, "Byzantinism and Hellenism," *BalkSt* 9 (1968) 101–26. C. Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism," *JWarb* 28 (1965) 29–43. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe–XIIe siècles)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82.

LIT. 2. J. Irmscher, "Der Hellenismus im Geschichtsverständnis der Byzantiner," *Soziale Probleme im Hellenismus und im römischen Reich* (Prague 1973) 37–62.

—A.M.T., A.K.

**HELLESPONT** (Ἑλλήσποντος), a term designating both a strait and a province.

**1.** Also called "the Stenon," the Hellespont was the strait between the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara, with the cities of ABYDOS and LAMPSAKOS on the Asian shore and KALLIPOLIS on the European shore. The Hellespont was of obvious

strategic and commercial importance as a major approach to Constantinople by sea. In the 4th–5th C. it was under the command of the *archon* of the Stenon, who was stationed in Abydos and provided with a flotilla of 5 *dromones*. Justinian I, according to Prokopios, established there a state customs post (*teloneion*). Seals from the end of the 7th and the early 8th C. mention the *apotheke* (storehouse) of Hellespont and its KOMMERKIARIOT; it usually appears as a joint *apotheke* of "Hellespont and Constantinople" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 190), or of "Hellespont and Asia, Caria, Lydia, and islands" (nos. 226, 236). Thereafter the term *Hellespont* disappears from administrative nomenclature, although the *strategos* of the Stenon is mentioned (Oikonomides, *Listes* 358, n. 394)—this, however, could refer to the Bosphoros. In 1204 the Venetians gained control of Hellespont and the Latin Empire held most of the land on either side. By 1235, however, John III Vatatzes recovered the area. In the 14th C. the Hellespont was occupied by the Turks.

**2.** Hellespont also designated a late Roman province in northwest Asia Minor, originally part of the province of Asia, but a distinct entity in the VERONA LIST and in an inscription quoted by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.32–33, ed. Pertusi 61); its capital was KYZIKOS, and Hierokles (Hierokl. 661.14–15) assigned to it 30 cities. The civil province disappeared in the 7th C., but the ecclesiastical diocese survived, with Kyzikos as metropolis (*Notitiae CP* 1:10) and suffragan bishoprics including Abydos, Germe, Ilion, Lampsakos, and Troas (*ibid.* 1:131). At the end of the 7th C. Justinian II resettled a large number of Cypriots in the region. The city of New Justinianopolis was granted the rights of the diocese of Constantia in Cyprus so that its bishop presided over all the bishops of the province of Hellespont (*De adm. imp.* 48.11–15). The measure, although confirmed by the Council in I rullo, left no trace in the notitiae.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt. II (1961) 239–43. Eadem, *Mer* 313–27. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 76–80.

—T.E.G.

**HENOTIKON** (Ἐνωτικόν, edict of "unity"), theological formula issued by the emperor Zeno in 482 in an attempt to secure reconciliation between Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES. The text (Eva-

grios Scholastikos, *HE* 3.14) was apparently the work of AKAKIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, with the assistance of PETER MONGOS. The *Henotikon* sought to end theological controversy by glossing over the decisions of the Council of CHALCEDON and ignoring the critical issue of the natures of Christ. It condemned both NESTORIOS and EUTYCHES and demanded adherence only to the first three ecumenical councils. The *Henotikon* proved acceptable to neither side, however; furthermore, it was condemned by Pope FELIX III in 484 and gave rise to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. The *Henotikon* was a notable attempt by an emperor to solve a theological difficulty by imperial fiat. The *Henotikon* remained in force during the reign of Anastasios I but was abrogated by Justin I in 519.

ED. E. Schwartz, "Der Codex Vaticanus graecus 1431, eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos," *ABAW*, philos.-hist. Abt. 32 (1927), no. 6, 52–54.

LIT. S. Salaville, "L'Affaire de l'Hénotique" and "L'Hénotique de Zénon," *EO* 18 (1916–19) 255–65, 389–97. W.T. Townsend, "The Henotikon Schism and the Roman Church," *Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. —T.E.G.

**HENRI DE VALENCIENNES**, French continuator of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN for events in the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople from May 1208 to July 1209. Henri is possibly identical with a cleric who authored a verse *Vie de S. Jean l'Evangéliste* ca. 1200 and apparently accompanied the future Latin emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS on the Fourth Crusade; he may also be the Master Henry sent to the pope in 1205, who evidently became a canon of Hagia Sophia and witnessed the Concordat of 1210. His *History*, which was intended as an independent work, was probably composed in 1208 and 1209, and certainly before 1216. It treats the Latin campaigns against the Bulgarians, relations with David Komnenos and Theodore I Laskaris, and Emp. Henry's struggle against the Lombard knights of the kingdom of Thessalonike. Although Henri lacks the balance and vision of Villehardouin and delights in speeches and fictitious dialogue, he offers abundant details on historical topography, costume, climate, and other matters.

ED. J. Longnon, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* (Paris 1948). Fr. tr. N. de Wailly, *La conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Villehardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes* (Paris 1882) 38–421.

LIT. J. Longnon, "Sur l'histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople par Henri de Valenciennes," *Romania* 69



(1946–47) 198–241. J. Dufournet, "Robert de Clari, Vilhardouin et Henri de Valenciennes, juges de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople," in *Mélanges Jeanne Lods* (Paris 1978) 183–202. —M.McC.

**HENRY VI**, Western emperor (1191–97); born Nijmegen, Netherlands 1165, died Messina 28 Sept. 1197. Son of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, Henry was crowned king of Germany in 1169. In 1185 Henry married Constance, daughter of ROGER II of Sicily. The death of WILLIAM II of Sicily allowed him to claim that throne. In 1194 Henry overcame Norman resistance, led by TANCRED OF LECCE. In Palermo, he found Irene Angelina, widow of Tancred's son, whom he married to PHILIP OF SWABIA. At Easter 1195, Henry proclaimed a Crusade, partly to levy tribute on Byz. His envoys made harsh financial demands on ISAAC II early in 1195 and renewed them to ALEXIOS III at Christmas 1196. To meet these, Alexios tried to levy the ALAMANIKON, but Henry's unexpected death forestalled dispatch of the money.

LIT. K. Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors* (Oxford 1973) 220–31. E.N. Johnson, *HC* 2:116–22. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–94. —C.M.B.

**HENRY OF BABENBERG**, called "Jasomirgott," first duke of Austria; born ca.1114, died Vienna 13 Jan. 1177. A half-brother of CONRAD III and margrave of Austria after 1141, Henry accompanied Conrad on the Second Crusade. To cement the pact between Conrad and Manuel I, he married (1148 or 1149) Theodora Komnene, daughter of Manuel's brother Andronikos and Irene KOMNENE (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:171–89). Officially, the court poets hailed the marriage, but Theodore PRODROMOS, putting words in Irene's mouth, makes her lament Theodora's union with a "Western beast" (RHC *Grecs* 2:768.122). After disputes with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA over possession of Bavaria, in 1156 Henry received Austria as a separate duchy. In 1166 he went to Serdica to try to make peace between Frederick and Manuel. Theodora survived her husband and died 3 Jan. 1183. Their son, Leopold V (born 1157, duke 1177–94), visited Constantinople in 1181 or early 1182 on his way to the Holy Land.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Ostrome und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in T. Mayer, K. Heilig, C. Erdmann, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.* (Leipzig 1944) 1–271. F. Dölger, "Byzanz und das Westreich," *DA* 8 (1951) 238–49. —C.M.B.

**HENRY OF HAINAULT**, emperor of the LATIN EMPIRE (1206–16); younger brother of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; born Valenciennes ca.1174, died Thessalonike 11 June 1216. Having joined the Fourth Crusade, in 1204 Henry (Ἐρρῆς) defeated an ambush by Alexios V. When Baldwin was captured in 1205, Henry became regent; after Baldwin's death he was crowned (20 Aug. 1206). Following the death of KALOJAN, Henry exploited discords among BORIL of Bulgaria, Slav in Rhodope, Strez at Prosek, the Serbs, and EPIROS to his own advantage (G. Cankova-Petkova, *BHR* 4.4 [1976] 51–61). Because of the hostility of the Lombard barons of THESSALONIKE and northern Greece, in 1208–09 Henry marched to establish Demetrios, son of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, on the throne in Thessalonike. Henry received the homage of ATHENS and the MOREA. In 1211 Henry defeated Theodore I Laskaris at the RHYNDAKOS RIVER and regained the Anatolian coast from Nikomedeia to Atramyttion. He conciliated his Byz. subjects by welcoming Theodore BRANAS into his service, offering fair treatment, and preventing the imposition of Western ecclesiastical usages. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:28.12–19) testifies to the good reputation Henry gained.

LIT. Gerland, *Geschichte* 1:51–251. Prinzing, "Brief Heinrichs" 395–431. Longnon, *Compagnons* 140–45. —C.M.B.

**HEPHAISTION OF THEBES**, astrologer; born Thebes in Egypt 26 Nov. 380. Hephaistion compiled in ca.415 one of the most important summaries of classical ASTROLOGY available to the Byz., the *Apotelesmatika*, or *Astrological Effects*. This consists of three books: the first on definitions and celestial omens, the second on genethliology, and the third on catarchic astrology. Hephaistion is in no sense original but rather copies or summarizes earlier texts. Some of these we still possess in Greek (e.g., Ptolemy), some also survive in Arabic translations (most importantly Dorotheos of Sidon), but most are known only from other citations in the astrological literature (e.g., by Ptolemy, Hipparchus, Critodemus, Thrasyllus, and Antigonos of Nicaea).

The importance that the Byz. accorded to Hephaistion's work is demonstrated by the existence of four epitomes, two of which were made in ca.1000 and the last in the School of John ABRAHIOS in the late 14th C.

ED. *Apotelesmatika*, ed. D. Pingree, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1973–74). —D.P.

**HEPTAPEGON** (Ar. Ain et-Tabgha, from ἑπτάπηγον [χωρίον], Hebrew En ha-Shiv'ah, "Seven Springs"), PILGRIMAGE site on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Six springs still flow near the remains of three early Christian churches, each with New Testament associations. A small 4th-C. church directly on the shore (beneath the modern chapel of the Primacy of Peter) incorporated a stone table (altar) where, according to tradition, Christ served breakfast to the disciples after the Resurrection (Jn 21:12–13). Pilgrims chipped small pieces from this table "for their well-being" (*Egérie, Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1982] 95f). Nearby, a 5th-C. basilica (with a smaller 4th-C. precursor beneath it) commemorated Christ's Feeding the Five Thousand (Mk 6:32–44). Its exceptional mosaic pavements, among the earliest figural mosaics in Christian Palestine, depict the loaves and fishes as well as marsh plants, fowl, and buildings. The third church (6th C.) rose above a small grotto where Christ was thought to have uttered the Beatitudes (Mt 5:1–12). These associations were still alive during the Crusades.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* (London 1937). S. Loffreda, *Scavi di et-Tabgha* (Jerusalem 1970). —K.G.H.

**HERACLEOPOLIS MAGNA**. See ARHNĀS.

**HERAKLEIA** (Ἡράκλεια). Three cities with this name figured prominently in Byz. history.

**HERAKLEIA IN THRACE** (anc. Perinthos, mod. Marmara Ereğli), city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, at the junction of the Via EGNATIA and the main Balkan road to NAISSUS. Renamed Herakleia by Diocletian (who was Hercules in official terminology), it continued to be called Pe(i)rinthos by antiquarians up to the mid-15th C. (e.g., Kritob. 35.24). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.14), it had been the most important city in the province of Europa, but was replaced by Constantinople, which was originally its suffragan. A bishopric in 325, Herakleia appeared as a metropolis in notitiae; the number of its suffragans increased, but Constantinople be-

came independent of Herakleia in 330 or 381 (Dagron, *Naissance* 418f).

Herakleia was attacked by the Goths after the battle of Adrianople in 378, then by Attila, by the Avars, and the Bulgars. The city is mentioned by many later authors, among others NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.19.42), Skylitzes, Gregoras, and Kantakouzenos, mostly as a geographical site or an ecclesiastical center. The citizens of Herakleia supported Thomas the Slav against Michael II (*TheophCont* 71.5–6). In the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 249) "Yraclec" was assigned to the Venetians. The city played an important role during the civil wars of the 14th C. In 1382, together with RHAIDESTOS and some other Thracian towns, Herakleia was given over to Andronikos IV. Little is known about the internal life of the city: a seal of the 9th–10th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1974) belonged to a *spatharios* and *archon* of Herakleia, but it is not certain that the Thracian Herakleia was meant. The remains of an aqueduct and at least one church—perhaps that of St. Glykeria, damaged by the Avars in 591 and rebuilt by Maurice—have been preserved.

LIT. E. Oberhammer, *RE* 19 (1938) 810–12. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:212–18. —T.E.G.

**HERAKLEIA IN CAPPADOCIA** (anc. Kybistra), a city of ANATOLIKON at the southern edge of the Anatolian plateau and the beginning of the pass to the CILICIAN GATES; now Tont Kalesi near Ereğli. Herakleia gained importance during the wars with the Arabs, who first attacked it in 708 and destroyed it in 806; it was soon restored. Herakleia was the scene of fighting into the 10th C. and consequently appears in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS. As a bishopric of CAPPADOCIA II, it was always known by its ancient name; it became autocephalous ca.1060. The site contains no significant remains.

LIT. *TIB* 2.166–90. —C.T.

**HERAKLEIA PONTIKE** (mod. Ereğli), a city, bishopric, and excellent harbor on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia; it was in PAPHLAGONIA after Diocletian and then was joined to Honorias ca.385. Theodosios II visited Herakleia Pontike and rebuilt it ca.440 after an earthquake. The Pontic Mountains protected Herakleia Pontike from Arab attack, so that Basil I could draw population from it for his new foundation, Kallipolis. Turks, however, ravaged the area after the battle of MAN-

TZIKERT in 1071. David Komnenos, brother of the ruler of TREBIZOND, took Herakleia Pontike in 1205 and made it capital of his domain, called Paphlagonia; he lost it in 1214 to Theodore I Laskaris, who made it a major frontier bulwark. Thereafter it was usually called Pontoherakleia. The Genoese had a colony there after 1261 and bought the city from the weakening empire in 1360; they held it until the Ottomans captured it after 1453.

Late antique Herakleia Pontike occupied a high hill by the sea and spread into the adjacent plain; it withdrew to the hill after the 7th C. The city's walls, rebuilt by David Komnenos, and its Laskarid citadel, are preserved as well as a basilical church perhaps built by Theodosios II.

(For Herakleia Lynkestis, see PELAGONIA.)

LIT. W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike* (Vienna 1966). Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 150f. —C.F.

**HERAKLEIOS** (Ἡράκλειος), emperor (from 5 Oct. 610); son of the exarch of Carthage; born ca. 575, died Constantinople Feb. 641. Herakleios seized power when he arrived with an African fleet to overthrow the "tyrannical" PHOKAS (G. Rösch, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 51–62). The Greens and Patr. SERGIOS I supported the overthrow. Herakleios found the empire in trouble: the Slavs and Avars were invading the northern Balkans; the

Persians exerted severe pressure on the eastern frontier. The general KOMENTIOLOS revolted against Herakleios in Ankyra, and in Antioch the partisans of Phokas were still at the helm (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). The first years of Herakleios's reign witnessed a new Persian offensive, commanded by SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN, which resulted in the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 and occupation of Egypt from ca. 619 to 629. Herakleios entertained the idea of transferring the capital to Carthage but gave up the plan at the request of Sergios and the population of Constantinople.

Unable to fight on two fronts, in 619 Herakleios concluded a truce with the Avars. After reorganizing the army (reinforcement of cavalry and light-armored archers), in 622 he mobilized his forces in Asia Minor, won several victories, and invaded Armenia. The crucial battle took place in 626, when SHAHRBARĀZ reached the Bosphoros and together with the khan of the Avars besieged Constantinople. The attack on 7 Aug. failed; both the Avars and the Persians retreated. In 627 Herakleios was able to invade Persia, inducing panic; CHOSROES II was overthrown and KĀVAD-SHĪRŪYA signed a peace treaty. This victory has been seen as the occasion celebrated in the series of DAVID PLATES. As a result Herakleios was able to recover the TRUE CROSS, which had been captured by the Persians. The success was but temporary: in 634

the ARABS invaded Syria and in 636 crushed the Byz. at YARMUK. They seized Mesopotamia and attacked Armenia and Egypt.

Herakleios was an able general, one of the few late Roman emperors who commanded the army in person. It is, however, questionable whether he was a great administrator. Ostrogorsky (*History* 95–100) ascribed to Herakleios a series of administrative, fiscal, and military reforms, esp. the introduction of the system of THEMES, but this theory has been rejected (R.-J. Lilic, *BS* 45 [1984] 27–39, 190–201). Herakleios proved unable to resolve religious disputes: MONOENERGISM seemed to be only a middle way between the Chalcedonians and Monophysites and only exacerbated the problem in both West and East.

Herakleios was twice married, to Fabia, who took the Greek name Eudokia, and to his niece MARTINA. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium*, vols. 1–2. W. Kaegi, "Heraklius and the Arabs," *GOThR* 27 (1982) 109–33. I. Čičurov, "O kavkazskom pochode imperatora Iraklija," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow 1978) 261–66. I. Shahid, "Heraklius πιστός ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς," *ΔΟΙ* 34–35 (1980–81) 225–37. —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

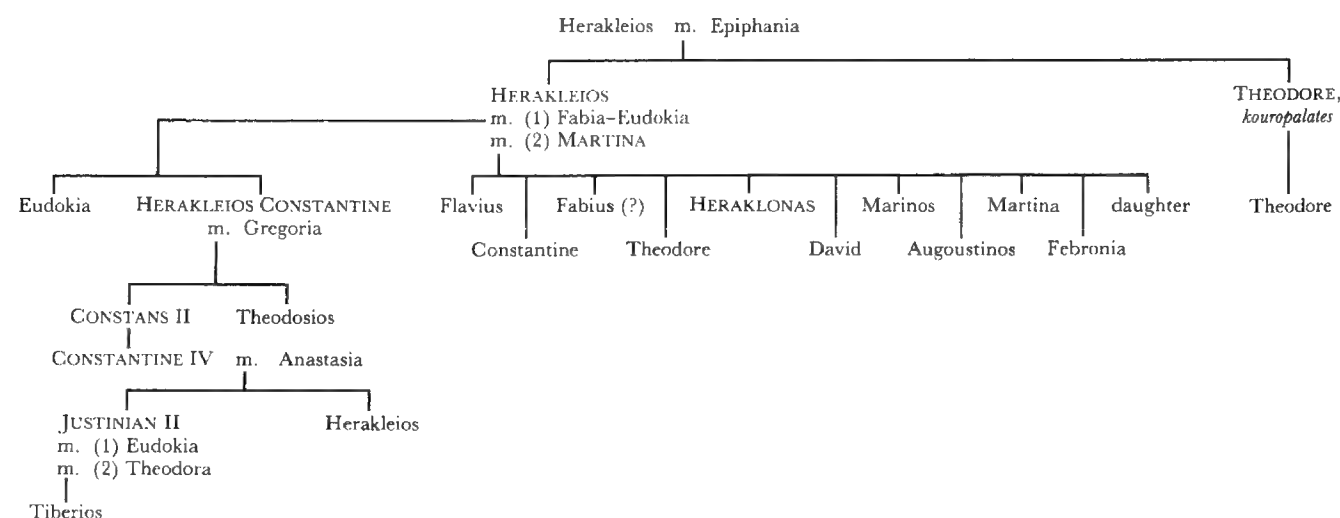
**HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE** (also called Constantine III; Stratos, *infra*, calls him Constantine II), emperor (from 11 Jan. [?] 641); born Constantinople 3 May 612, died Constantinople 20 Apr. or 24 or 26 May 641. Son of HERAKLEIOS and Fabia/Eudokia, Herakleios Constantine was proclaimed co-emperor 22 Jan. 613, consul in 632. In 629 or 630 he married his cousin Gregoria, daughter of the general NIKETAS. After Herakleios died, Herakleios Constantine and his half-brother HERAKLONAS inherited the throne as co-rulers. From the beginning of Herakleios Constantine's rule, his stepmother MARTINA opposed him. Bad health (probably tuberculosis) and fears for the succession of his young son (the future CONSTANS II, whom Stratos prefers to call Constantine III) made Herakleios Constantine's situation even worse. He tried to gratify the army by giving 50,000 nomismata to the treasurer Philagrios to buy military support. Short of money, Herakleios Constantine had the tomb of his father opened and the crown removed. The defense of Egypt against the Arabs failed; Herakleios Constantine recalled Theodore, *doux* of Egypt, and replaced him with the *augustalios* Anastasios.

Herakleios Constantine's death left the empire in a predicament. Rumor had it that Martina had poisoned him. Little is known of Herakleios Constantine's personality, but he was popular among the people of Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:175–85. Kaegi, *Unrest* 154f. H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen* (Freiburg im Breisgau-Leipzig 1893) 125–27. —W.E.K., A.K.

**HERAKLES**, son of ZEUS and Alkmene, the most famous hero of Greek mythology. The Latin Hercules is connected with the emperor and the imperial cult well into late antiquity (cf. MAXIMIAN Herculus). In Byz. literature Herakles appears as a standard part of imperial imagery, the defender (Theodore Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, no. 16.78) and accomplisher of wondrous deeds (An. Komn. 1:36.11–16). Traces of Prodikos's allegorical interpretation (Herakles at the crossroads) are found in Basil the Great (PG 31:573AB, ch. 5.14). In the *Souda* (2:584) Herakles becomes an allegory of the philosopher, who, protected by the lionskin of wisdom, kills the Hydra of desire with the club of rationality. According to K. Weitzmann (*SemKond* 8 [1936] 88f), Herakles dragging Kerberos from Hades provided a model for Christ's raising of Adam in ANASTASIS scenes. Various anecdotal material survives as well: for example, Herakles as high priest (*mystikos, telestes*), who becomes king of Italy after a childhood spent in Spain (Malal. 86.12–17). Most of all, Herakles and his labors are used throughout Byz. literature as a symbol of physical power or prodigious achievement, for emperors in particular (Leo Diac. 48.17f; *TheophCont* 332.20f). As a symbol of fortitude for both pagans and Christians, he appears frequently on 6th-C. textiles, silver, and ivory (*Age of Spirit*, nos. 136, 139, 206). Some elements of this imagery survive in popular literature. The death battle of Digenes Akritas with Cháros, for example, reflects the struggle of Herakles and Thanatos (D.A. Notopoulos, *Laographia* 17 [1958] 451–53). Widely and often comically, Herakles' labors are represented on ivory and bone CASKETS AND BOXES. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA describes their depiction on a clock. Herakles could symbolize lust and servitude to women (Nik. Chon. 139.39–43). Sometimes the first night of lovers is compared to a "Herculean labor" (Theodore Daphnopates, ed. Darrouzès-Westerink, 17.15).

#### SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HERAKLEIOS



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

LIT. R. Peter in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1886–90) 2997–3002. P. Monat, "La polémique de Lactance contre Hercule," in *Hommages à L. Lerat*, vol. 2 (Paris 1984) 575–83. —P.A.A., A.C.

**HERAKLONAS** (Ἡρακλωνᾶς), or Herakleios II, emperor (Apr./May–Sept. 641 [until July 642, according to Stratos]); son of MARTINA and Herakleios; born Constantinople 626, died probably Rhodes, date unknown. Co-ruler with his half-brother HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, Heraklonas ascended the throne at the latter's death, but Martina ruled *de facto*. Supported by the army of Thrace, she attempted to remove Herakleios Constantine's supporters and primarily the treasurer Philagrios; Patr. PYRRHOS became her main adviser and she pursued a policy of MONOTHEISM. This internal friction coincided with Arab successes in Egypt. Martina sent Patr. KYROS back to Alexandria; he assumed the civil administration while generals fled to save their lives. The opposition of the senate and of the troops in Asia Minor compelled the emperor to surrender: Herakleios Constantine's son CONSTANS II was proclaimed co-emperor, and to balance this shortcoming Martina made her son, David-Tiberios, the third *basileus*. The compromise was temporary, and the revolt of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI overthrew Heraklonas and his family. After his nose was slit, Heraklonas, with his mother and brothers, was exiled to Rhodes.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:186–205. Kaegi, *Unrest* 155–57. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 70–73. —W.E.K., A.K.

**HERALDRY.** See COATS OF ARMS.

**HERBALS.** See DIOSKORIDES; SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

**HERESY** (αἵρεσις, lit. "sect, school"), a term used by the church fathers to designate a sectarian or dissident teaching, sometimes that of pagans or Jews (including MANICHAEANISM) but mainly within Christianity. There was a double terminological difficulty. First, each party accused the other of heresy—thus, the emperor Julian (quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, PG 76:565C) asserted that the tenets of the "Galilaeans," not those of the Hellenes or Jews, were *haireisis*, and conflicting Christian

communities tended to call themselves "orthodox" and their adversaries "heretics." Second, it is necessary to distinguish heresy, a division on doctrinal grounds, from SCHISM, a split caused by disagreement on church policy and questions "capable of adjustment" (although sometimes doctrinal issues were also involved).

Basil the Great (ep.188.1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2 [Paris 1961] 121–24) makes the following distinctions between *haireisis*, *schisma*, and *parasynagoge*: heretics are those who are completely severed from the faith, while schism encompasses those unable to find a common solution to certain ecclesiastical problems, and *parasynagogai* are assemblies of rebellious bishops and priests and of disobedient laymen. As examples of heretics Basil mentions Manichaeans, Gnostics (both Valentinians and Marcionites—see Gnosticism), and Montanists ("Pepouzenoi"—see MONTANISM), while ancient Katharoi, Enkratitai, and Hydroparastatai were schismatics. This theoretically clear distinction was muddled in later usage: when the Latin and Byz. churches severed communion both parties employed the terms heretics and schismatics for their adversaries. Works on heresies developed into a common genre of Byz. theological literature (e.g., the *Panarion* of EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus and *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS). The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY was a regular liturgical condemnation of heresies.

With the conversion of Constantine I the state became involved in the definition of and struggle against heresy, and the legal codes contain various penalties for heretical groups, frequently in ranked order, with more pernicious heresies treated more harshly. Church COUNCILS, both local and ecumenical, were commonly called to define faith and combat heresy. The idea of doctrinal error as dissent and a crime resulted from the concept of "political orthodoxy," that is, an obligatory uniformity on major points of the creed. The proliferation of sects and philosophical schools in antiquity was singled out as a shortcoming of paganism.

The late Roman period witnessed a rich blend of heresies. In the 4th–7th C. the question of SALVATION was of preeminent importance: in the West it acquired a moral and juristic flavor, focusing on the concept of free will (PELAGIANISM), whereas in the East ontological problems (the substance of the Trinity, the natures and wills of Christ in his divinity and humanity) were the

major subject of discussion (ARIANISM, NESTORIANISM, and MONOPHYSITISM). These "heresies" became entrenched outside the empire, while within, by the end of the 7th C., the Chalcedonian view became dominant; the terms *Arian*, *Manichaean*, etc., were, however, often applied to various later heresies.

John of Damascus, in his work *On Heresies*, lists besides the principal heresies a series of proponents of false doctrines rarely mentioned in or completely unknown from other sources, such as the Eutychianistoi, who denied that Christ received his flesh from the Virgin and asserted that it came from a divine source (ch.82.1–4, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:49); the Theokatagnostoi, who dared to censure some words and actions of the Lord and holy persons (ch.92.1–3, p.57); the Thnetopsychitai, who drew no distinction between the human soul and body and believed that the soul perished with the body (ch.90.1–2, p.57); the Heliotropitai, who worshiped the heliotrope flower, seeing in it a symbol of the soul ascending to God (ch.89.1–5, p.57); the Gnosiomachoi, who rejected any Christian doctrine (*gnosis*) since God allegedly did not require anything but good deeds (ch.88.1–4, p.57); the Heiketai, ascetics who were Orthodox in their belief but gathered together with female ascetics in the nude in order to worship God with dancing and singing (ch.87.1–4, p.56f); and the Ethnophrones, who accepted pagan habits such as astrology, divination, incantations, and Hellenic feasts (ch.94.1–8, p.58).

The major religious dissent of the 8th–9th C. was connected with the theological interpretation of the ICON—was it an idol that impaired the proper worship of God (the view of adherents of ICONOCLASM) or a mysterious link between mankind and the Godhead, instrumental in the mystery of salvation? After the cult of icons was restored, dualism in the form of BOGOMILISM came to the fore, while from the 9th C. onward, the schism with the West, based on theological and liturgical differences (esp. problems of the FILIOQUE and AZYMES) developed. In later centuries indigenous Byz. heresies evolved from differing interpretations of the role of institutional and individual paths to salvation: ca.1000 SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN came under suspicion because he emphasized the significance of the vision of the divine light and the personal links between teacher and disciple to the detriment of the sacraments;

in the 14th C. HESYCHASM developed Symeon's individualistic or mystical approach.

The origins and exact nature of Byz. heresy have been much debated. Some scholars have suggested that heresy was caused by social and economic factors and that the poor and powerless of the empire expressed their dissatisfaction through adherence to heresy. Others have seen heresy as a reflection of otherwise suppressed national aspirations on the part of North Africans, Syrians, Egyptians, Armenians, Slavs, and other peoples of the empire. A third approach is to suggest that heresy reflects the reemergence of earlier pagan philosophical systems or native religions. Economic, political, national, and cultural phenomena may indeed have had an impact on the development and preservation of certain heresies (rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria, Syrian adherence to Monophysitism, Platonic traditions in Origenism, urban-oriented Arian propaganda, social protest in Bogomilism, etc.), but the essence of Byz. heresies emerged from dynamic forces within Christianity, primarily from attempts to understand the nature of the Godhead and of the world, to comprehend the concepts of evil (including social evil) and good, and to find the best way to salvation.

**Representation of Heretics in Art.** Heretics, usually shown in poses of submission to church authority, appear in MSS from the 9th C. onward. The heretic Makedonios is depicted groveling before the First Council of Constantinople in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.I), while the defeat of another heretic, probably to be identified as Arius, is represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.108). Arius and Nestorios appear in LECTIONARIES prostrate before church fathers, while Iconoclasts are shown in marginal PSALTER illustration whitewashing icons and being trampled by their adversaries. The vision of PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, as in the Metropolis at MISTRA, became an emblem of the Arian disruption of the church and is often found in the decoration of PASTOPHORIA. The representation of heretics in narthexes and monastic refectories seems to be a post-Byz. phenomenon.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin des origines au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324. N.G. Garsoian, "Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation," *DOP* 25 (1971) 85–113. F. Winkelmann, "Einige Aspekte der Entwicklung der Begriffe Häresie und Schisma in der Spätantike," *Koinonia* 6 (1982) 89–109. W.H.C. Frend, "Heresy



and Schism as Social and National Movements," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge 1981) 37–56. K.L. Noetliches, *Die gesetzgeberischen Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jhs. gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden* (Cologne 1971). C. Walter, "Heretics in Byzantine Art," *ECHR* 3 (1970) 40–49. —T.E.G., A.K., A.C.

**HERMES**, ancient Greek divinity. Although the myths of Hermes were criticized and ridiculed by Christians, there were some attempts to reconcile his image with the new religion. Early apologists compared his role as the messenger of the gods with that of the Christian Logos. On the other hand, Hermes was considered to be the greatest of Hellenic philosophers, one who "prophesied" the idea of the Trinity and *oikonomia*; he was allegedly a contemporary of Moses, together with whom he studied Egyptian wisdom; some people even identified him as Moses. Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38:496.21–32) says that Gregory of Nazianzos rejected this identification; Kosmas, however, assumes that Hermes was the first to call God "triune."

LIT. P. Stockmeier, *RAC* 14:776–80.

—A.K.

**HERMES TRISMEGISTOS** (Ἑρμῆς Τρισμέγιστος, lit. "Thrice-Greatest") is the Greek name given to the Egyptian god Thoth, who, as the divinity of wisdom, was believed to be the author of a number of religious texts. The Greeks adopted these documents, known as the *Hermetica*, between the 1st and 3rd C. and regarded them as the revelation of Hermes Trismegistos. They combine elements of magic, astrology, alchemy, philosophy, and theology. They were much read in late antiquity, esp. in the 4th C. They were excerpted by STROBILIOS for his anthology in the 5th C., but between the 6th and 11th C. they practically disappeared from sight in Byz. This must have been partly due to the fact that the occult was never a safe subject in the Christian empire. In the 11th C. PSELLOS was familiar with parts of the *Hermetica*, but the next signs of real interest do not appear until the 14th C. The four earliest surviving MSS of the collection date from that century, and there are some references to it in Nikephoros GREGORAS.

ED. *Corpus hermeticum*, eds. A.D. Nock, A.J. Festugière, 4 vols. (Paris 1945–54).

LIT. G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge 1986).

A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (Paris 1944–54). —J.D.

**HERMIT** (ἀναχωρητής, ἐρημίτης, ἡσυχαστής), a monk or nun who retired from the world to live a solitary life of prayer and ASCETICISM. The hermits like ANTONY THE GREAT who withdrew to the DESERT of Egypt in the 3rd and 4th C. were the earliest Christian monks; eremitism continued to be a prominent form of Byz. MONASTICISM until the 15th C. Later hermits were more likely to live on holy mountains such as OLYMPOS, AUXENTIOS, ATHOS, GANOS, and METEORA. There were women hermits until the 11th C.; thereafter nuns were found only in cenobitic convents (A.M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 16–18). Particularly rigorous asceticism was practiced by the STYLITE saints and recluses (ENKLEISTOI).

Eremitism was generally considered to be superior to cenobitic monasticism because of the greater hardships associated with the solitary life and the greater opportunities for spiritual improvement. In art (e.g., Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig. 245) anchorites like St. Onouphrios illustrate the physical self-denial of those who are fed by God. Usually a monk had to spend three years in a KOINOBION before he could receive permission from the *hegoumenos* to become a hermit. A number of monks moved back and forth between the cenobitic and eremitic life, ignoring the principle of monastic STABILITY; most holy men spent at least part of their careers in solitude. Still there was tension between cenobitism and eremitism throughout the centuries. BASIL THE GREAT, who espoused cenobitism, attacked the eremitic way of life because of the impossibility of material self-sufficiency, excessive concern with the self, and the lack of opportunity to practice charity. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE criticized the self-centeredness of the hermit who hid away in a cave, likening him to Homer's Cyclops. Another problem for the hermit was his lack of access to the liturgy and sacraments, if he were not a priest (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 78 [1985] 53–55). Some hermits solved this problem by attending services on the weekend at a nearby monastery.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 473–87. D. Papatryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes by-

zantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1974) 158–80. K. Bosl, "Ἐρημος-Eremitus," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 73–90. —A.M.T., A.C.

**HERMOGENES** (Ἑρμογένης), ancient rhetorician, author of handbooks on RHETORIC; born Tarsos ca. 160, died before 230. The corpus attached to his name (probably assembled in the late 5th or early 6th C.) consists of five books, of which two (*Progymnasmata*, *On Invention*) are spurious, and a third (*On Method*) of doubtful authenticity; the two others are *On Staseis*, that is, issues presented in court, and *On "Ideas"* [or *Forms*]. Hermogenes systematically described the seven stylistic features, or literary virtues, of a successful speech: clarity, grandeur, elegance, conciseness, ethos (i.e., simplicity, pleasantness, sharpness, comeliness), truth, and force. He distinguished between rhetoric and philosophy, emphasizing the irrelevance of rhetoric to moral problems (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:76). Despite this ethical indifference, Hermogenes became a canon of Byz. (and Renaissance) school rhetoric. The orators could find in Hermogenes, as necessary, the aesthetic of grandeur and force or the aesthetic of clarity and simplicity. From the 5th C. onward, commentaries on Hermogenes were produced (P.H. Richter, *Byzantion* 3 [1926] 163–66); Syrianos, in the 5th C., did not yet know the whole corpus. Among his later commentators were John Sikeliotas and Planoudes; knowledge of Hermogenes can be traced in Germanos I, John Geometres, Psellos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Tzetzes, Plethon, etc.

ED. *Opera*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1913; rp. Stuttgart 1985). *De statibus*, ed. G. Kowalski (Bratislava 1947).

LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 5–22. D.A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983) 40–73. D. Hagedorn, *Zur Ideenlehre des Hermogenes* (Göttingen 1964). G. Lindberg, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios* (Lund 1977). —E.M.J., A.K.

**HERMONIAKOS, CONSTANTINE**, early 14th-C. poet. His life is obscure. Hermoniakos (Ἑρμονιακός) wrote an account (*Metaphrasis*, i.e., transcription) of the TROJAN WAR, in 24 books of unrhymed octosyllables, covering the war's antecedents and aftermath as well as its actual course. The Italian *despotes* of Epiros, John (Orsini) II Komnenos Angelos Doukas (1323–35), and his wife Anna Palaiologina commissioned the work. Hermoniakos drew partly on the ILIAD (probably

a copy with scholia), but more extensively on the *Allegories to the Iliad* by John TZETZES. His intent was to make Homer clear for his contemporaries. In some places he transcribes Homer almost word for word, elsewhere he gives little more than the bare outlines of the plot, avoiding most of the scenes involving the Olympian gods though widely using Homeric similes. He also uses the *Chronike Synopsis* of Constantine MANASSES and shows a slight acquaintance with one play each of EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES. His own contributions are largely confined to occasional moralizing comments, passages of alliteration and anachronisms; e.g., Achilles appears as the ruler of the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

ED. *La guerre de Troie*, ed. E. Legrand (Paris 1890).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 168–69. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt. IX (1975), 81–109. T.V. Popova, "Vizantijskaja 'Iliada'," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 395–409. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

**HERMOPOLIS MAGNA** (Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, Ar. Ashmunāyn), town in Upper Egypt, metropolis of the Hermopolite nome, an episcopal see from the second half of the 3rd C. (Eusebios, *HE* 6.46.2). Hermopolis Magna is well known from Greek and Coptic papyri as a flourishing cultural and administrative center. Of the two surviving 5th-C. churches, the larger, which was probably the cathedral, is a transept-basilica, with each arm of the transept ending in a large conch. Many of its columns (*spolia* from earlier Roman buildings) are still standing. It was part of a large ecclesiastical complex, which was surrounded by porticoes and had two richly adorned propylaea.

The other church, a more ordinary basilica, is much less well preserved. Along its south side are vestiges of an underground burial and the foundations of a baptistery.

LIT. A.J.B. Wace et al., *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein* (Alexandria 1959). Timm, *Ägypten* 1:198–220. G. Roeder, *Hermopolis, 1929–1931* (Hildesheim 1959). M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula, Mont., 1979). —P.G.

**HERODIAN** (Ailios Herodianos), 2nd-C. Greek grammarian who wrote on all aspects of grammar other than syntax, but concerned himself principally with prosody and MORPHOLOGY. His *Universal Prosody* (*Katholike prosodia*), now lost, gave in-

formation on the accentuation of approximately 60,000 words. The *Philetairos*, a short Atticist *lexikon* attributed to him, is certainly a much later compilation. His only work to survive entirely is a short treatise titled *On Singular Words* (*Peri monerous lexeos*). His rich and carefully ordered collections were sources, direct or indirect, for all later grammarians, not least those of Byz. Probably Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.) wrote an epitome of the *Universal Prosody*. The treatise of THEOGNOSTOS, *On Orthography*, was based largely on Herodian, as was the unpublished *On Breathing* by Theodoretos (date uncertain). Many Byz. commentaries and grammatical writings draw on Herodian, and in this way enable fragments of his lost works to be reconstructed.

ED. *Reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1867–70; rp. Hildesheim 1965). *Le "Philetaeros" attribué à Hérodien*, ed. A. Dain (Paris 1954).

LIT. P. Egenolff, *Die orthoepischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1887). Egenolff, *Orthog.* —R.B.

**HERODOTUS**, Greek historian; born Halicarnassus ca.485 B.C., died 425. Herodotus was known in 4th-C. Egypt (*P.Oxy.* VI 857), and papyri of his work are found as far away as Dura-Europos (C.B. Welles, *TAPA* 70 [1939] 203–12). The extent of the direct familiarity of the Byz. with Herodotus is debatable. Malalas (Malal. 161.5–9) included him in a list of poets and philosophers who were contemporaries of Philip II of Macedon, and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (p.66.1) “the chronographer Herodotus” appears as a source for Constantine I the Great’s murder of his son. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.60) characterized Herodotus in a few words as a historian of the Persian kings and the usurper Smerdis—a very Byz. perception (or misperception?) of the book.

Interest in Herodotus awakened in the 10th C. The earliest preserved MS dates from this time; the *Souda* includes Herodotus’s biography, and the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII contain passages from him. Herodotus’s Persians were considered to be ancestors of the Arabs. Psellos (Mayer, “Psellos’ Rede” 53.208–09) praised Herodotus as the most eloquent writer. In the 12th C. chroniclers such as Zonaras and Manasses had studied his text (E. Jeffreys, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 213f. 234), and other scholars (Gregory Pardos, John Tzetzes, Eustathios of Thessalonike) referred to him. Many authors must have been familiar with

Herodotus through reference works, but it seems plausible that CHALKOKONDYLES, in describing the Turks, imitated Herodotus’s legends and tales (Gy. Moravcsik in *Polychronion* 369f.).

LIT. B. Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote et la critique verbale* (Genoa 1981). —A.C.H., A.K.

**HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS** (Ἑρβέβιος ὁ Φραγγόπουλος), mid-11th-C. commander of Norman mercenaries in Byz. service. He may have been the founder of the Byz. family of PHRANGOPOULOS. Hervé fought in Sicily under George MANIAKES (1038–40), allegedly with great success. In Byz. service by 1050, he commanded the Normans on the eastern frontier; transferred westward in that year, Hervé and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS were defeated by the Pechenegs near the Danube. In 1056, Hervé demanded the title of *magistros* from MICHAEL VI; rejected, he withdrew to his estate at Dagarabe in the Armeniakon theme. During the winter of 1056–57, he won the support of 300 Franks and led them toward Lake Van (1057). After an initial success over Turks, Hervé and his followers were enticed into Chliat, where he was seized and many of his followers slain. Apparently Hervé gained his liberty and supported ISAAC I, for a seal indicates he received the title *magistros* as well as the office of *vestiarites* and *stratelates* of the East (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 659f.). According to Matthew of Edessa, ca.1063 Turks in Amida bribed a “Frankaboi” (possibly Hervé) to hold back from battle; subsequently Constantine X executed him.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 71–77. R. Janin, “Les Francs au service des Byzantins,” *EO* 29 (1930) 63–65. —C.M.B.

**HESIOD** (Ἡσίοδος), early Greek poet popular in Byz.; born Ascra, Boeotia ca.750 B.C. According to M. West (*CQ* 24 [1974] 161), the *Works and Days* is preserved in more than 260 MSS (more than 100 of them later than 1480), the *Theogony* in approximately 70, and the *Shield of Herakles* in about 60. The oldest MS of the *Works* (Paris, B.N. gr. 2771) dates from the second half of the 10th C. PLANOUDS and his circle prepared an edition of Hesiod, providing corrections of minor metrical faults. A subsequent edition was issued by TRIKLINIOS, who made grammatical and orthographical improvements in the text. The *Souda*

attributes to Hesiod other works now lost or surviving only in fragments. Quotations from Hesiod, many of them extensive and sometimes not based on the extant MSS, are found in the ETYMOLOGIKA. Scholia to Hesiod derive from an original of ca.900; ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have played some role in the annotation of the text.

The Neoplatonist PROKLOS wrote a commentary on the *Works* based on earlier comments by Plutarch. He read the poem not as literature but as a textbook for moral and practical guidance (C. Faraggiana di Sarzana, *Aevum* 55 [1981] 27; eadem in *Proclus, lecteur et interprète des anciens* [Paris 1987] 21–41). Tzetzes attacked Proklos’s exegesis, esp. for its lack of a broad introduction characterizing the metrics and providing an allegorical interpretation of the myths; he also criticized Proklos’s prolixity and obscurity. The commentary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS is an unpretentious paraphrase. An allegorical commentary by the deacon John Galenos (12th C.) also survives (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:61, n.27). The anonymous exegesis of the *Theogony* in two Naples MSS is probably of the 13th or 14th C. (M. Capone Ciollaro, *Atti dell’Accademia Pontaniana* 30 [1981] 113–28) and not of the 11th or 12th C. as formerly thought.

Seventeen illustrated MSS of Hesiod are preserved, the earliest of the 11th C.; one example, Venice, Marc. gr. 464, was completed in two stages by Demetrios TRIKLINIOS on 20 Aug. 1316 and 16 Nov. 1319 and belonged to BESSARION (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:25–29). Copies of the *Works and Days* contain a varying number of images of PLOWS and other AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

ED. *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, ed. A. Pertusi (Milan 1955). *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, ed. L. Di Gregorio (Milan 1975). —K.S., A.K., A.C.

**HESPERINOS**. See VESPER.

**HESYCHASM** (from ἡσυχάζειν, “to be quiet, at rest”), conventional term for the method of monastic prayer and contemplation (HESYCHIA) designed to achieve communion with God through interior quietude. The practice centered on the perpetual “prayer of the heart,” the constant recitation of the short Jesus Prayer, “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me” (for an early Byz. commentary on this prayer, see R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 49 [1987] 208–20). This spiri-

tuality of contemplative monasticism can be traced back to the desert fathers. The monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai was an important center for the diffusion of this prayer. Descriptions of such prayer are mentioned in DIADOCHOS of Photike and JOHN KLIMAX. The terms *hesychastes* and *hesychia*, however, are earlier, even common, in 4th-C. monastic and patristic literature. Typically, *hesychastes* was often used as a synonym for a HERMIT or anchorite. Late Byz. writers often attached to the prayer physical exercises designed to achieve concentration (*prosoche*). These psychosomatic methods (cf. Hausherr, *infra* 9 [1927] 164) were viewed as tools and not as an end. Finally, the entire tradition was unified in PALAMISM, the doctrinal synthesis of Gregory PALAMAS.

In addition to its original technical meaning, the term *hesychasm* is often used to describe 14th-through 15th-C. political, social, and religious movements. Clearly hesychasm became a social and political phenomenon once it was drawn into the 14th-C. social struggle and the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, but those who joined the opposing camps did not do so on the basis of any inherent relationship or opposition between Palamism and the sociopolitical conflict. Palamites and anti-Palamites could be found in both camps. In sum, any connection between hesychasm and the feudal nobility associated with Kantakouzenos’s forces has never been demonstrated. The familiar “Palamas-Kantakouzenos” identification was ultimately political in essence.

A link has also been suggested between the “withered” art of the late 14th C. and the victory of hesychasm with its supposed Iconoclasm, monastic rigorism, and opposition to the Hellenistic traditions of the Palaiologan “renaissance.” This impoverishment, however, was probably caused by economic factors. Besides, the argument fails to account for the unusual extension of Palaiologan art in the Slavic world, supported by Palamite monastic circles. Although the use of the term *hesychasm* to describe the different currents of the 14th C. is convenient, it is misleading if only because these currents were far more complex and sweeping than those of hesychast spirituality, which was concerned primarily with contemplative prayer (J. Meyendorff in *Okeanos*, 447–57).

LIT. I. Hausherr, “La méthode d’oraison des hésychastes,” *OrChrAn* 9 (1927) 97–209. Idem, “Hésychasme et prière,” *OrChrAn* 176 (1966) 1–306. G. Podskalsky, “Zur

Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London 1974). D. Angelov, "Isihazmūt—süščnost i rolja," *Palaeobulgarica* 5.4 (1981) no.4, 56–78. —A.P.

**HESYCHIA** (ἡσυχία, lit. "tranquility"), the key concept in Byz., esp. monastic, spirituality through which man ascends to God. *Hesychia* involves the stilling of the normal human senses and passions in order to perceive the transcendent God. Inner and outer *hesychia* were not normally to be found in ordinary society, and *hesychia* became the particular goal of solitary eremitic or hesychastic monks (Justinian I, nov.5.3). The "philosophy" of HESYCHASM consists of three essential points: (1) renouncing the importance of family and the world, (2) renouncing one's own will and attaining complete obedience, and (3) a life of single-minded, pure devotion to God. The prophets Elijah and John the Baptist were seen as biblical prototypes of *hesychia*, or silent absorption in God. The hesychast leads a life like the angels, he is the anti-type of the angels on earth. His virtues are solitude, ascetic tears (*penthos*), FEAR of God, humility, LOVE, and the capacity to suffer. He avoids physical hearing, seeing, and speaking and dedicates himself entirely to the purification of the HEART through watchfulness (*nepsis*, *prosoche*; cf. pseudo-Makarios/Symeon, PG 34:517C). A life filled with the pursuit of uniting *hesychia* and learning permeates the autobiography of Nikephoros BLEM-MYDES. In the 14th C., the concept of *hesychia* is central to the psychosomatic method of prayer of Nikephoros Sinaïtes and the doctrine of ENERGIES of Gregory PALAMAS.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "L'hésychasme," *OrChrP* 22 (1956) 5–40, 241–85. J. Meyendorff, "L'hésychasme: Problèmes de sémantique," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 543–47. Idem, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 195–222. G. Podskalsky, "Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. —G.P.

**HESYCHIOS** (Ἡσύχιος), pagan historian; born at Miletos, died after 582. Son of a lawyer, Hesychios is always described as *illoustrios*. He wrote a world history in six sections (surviving only in fragments), from the Assyrian king Bel to the death of Emp. Anastasios I in 518; PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.69), who still had access to the entire work, says Hesychios added a (now lost) supplement on

the early reign of Justinian I. The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE (Preger, *Scriptores* 1:1–18) preserves a revised fragment from his account of the history of the city of Byzantion up to the time of Constantine I, which is an imaginative blend of fact and fancy. Hesychios also assembled a collection (*Pinax* or *Onomatologos*) of biographies of pagan men of letters, exploited by Photios and acknowledged as a prime source by the *Souda*, but now lost; a work of similar title and scope surviving under his name (ed. J. Flach [Leipzig 1880]) is spurious and late.

ED. FHG 4:143–77. *Onomatologi quae supersunt*, ed. J. Flach (Leipzig 1882). *Biographi Graeci*, ed. J. Flach (Berlin 1883).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:250. H. Schultz, *RE* 8 (1913) 1322–27. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 23–29. H. Flach, "Untersuchungen über Hesychius Milesius," *RhM* 35 (1880) 191–235. —B.B.

**HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA**, 5th- or 6th-C. Greek lexicographer who compiled a lengthy, alphabetically arranged list of rare words, mainly from poetry and local dialects, with their explanations, occasionally supported by brief quotations. Very many of these words are not attested in surviving literature. Hesychios's main source was the lost *Periergopenetes* of Diogenianos of Herakleia (2nd C.), itself an epitome of a longer *lexikon* by Pamphilos (1st C.). His *Lexikon*, which survives in a single 15th-C. MS, is both abbreviated and interpolated with biblical and other glosses from Byz. *lexika*. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have had access to a longer version of the text and perhaps helped transmit it. Though not much used by Byz. literati because its recondite vocabulary was of little use to the rhetorician, Hesychios's *Lexikon* was probably used by THEOGNOSTOS in his treatise on ORTHOGRAPHY (K. Alpers, *Theognostos Peri Orthographias* [Hamburg 1964] 27–60), and by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his Homeric commentaries.

ED. *Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, 5 vols. (Jena 1858–68). (Partial) *Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1953, 1966).

LIT. R. Reitzenstein, "Die Überarbeitung des Lexikons des Hesychios," *RhM* 43 (1888) 443–60. A. von Blumenthal, *Hesychstudien* (Stuttgart 1930). —R.B.

**HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM**, theologian and saint; died after 451; feastday 28 March. Hesychios lived as a monk near the Egyptian frontier;

by 412, according to Theophanes (Theoph. 83.6–7), Hesychios was a well-known presbyter and preacher in Jerusalem. Circa 428/9 he was present at the consecration of the church of Euthymios's monastery with JUVENAL, patriarch of Jerusalem. The many fragments, scattered and translated into Armenian, Georgian, and Latin, tend to confirm the Byz. claim that he wrote a commentary on the entire Bible. Hesychios's exegetical method is entirely allegorical, also evincing hostility to philosophy as the source of heretical error. His Christology follows that of CYRIL of Alexandria, albeit expressed in less technical language. He attacks ARIANISM and the heresy of APOLLINARIOS and was himself accused (posthumously) of Monophysite leanings in a letter of Pope Pelagius I (555–61). In addition to biblical exegesis and his various homilies and sermons, not yet all published, he wrote a *Church History*, lost save for the Latin translation of an anti-Nestorian chapter read at the Council of Constantinople in 553 in denunciation of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

ED. PG 93:781–1560. *Homélies pascales*, ed. M. Aubineau (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr. Idem, *Les homélies festales*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1978–80), with Fr. tr. For list of works, see J. Kirchmeyer, *DictSpir* 7 (1969) 399–408.

LIT. K. Jüssen, *Die dogmatischen Anschauungen des Hesychios von Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Münster 1931–34). Idem, "Die Mariologie des Hesychios von Jerusalem," in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Michael Schmaus zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. J. Auer, H. Volk (Munich 1957) 651–70. —B.B.

**HETAIREIA** (ἑταιρεία), a unit of the emperor's bodyguard, whose function is uncertain. Litavrin (*VizObsčestvo* 47) surmised that protection of the emperor was only occasionally the responsibility of the *hetaireia*, its major function being the administration of a special category of estates. Bury (*Adm. System* 107) identified the *hetaireia* with the FOEDERATI of the 9th C., an unlikely suggestion (Haldon, *Praetorians* 246). There were several *hetaireiai*—three or even four (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130); they consisted largely of foreigners—Khazars, Pharganoi, probably Rus', and Hungarians. Bury identified the Pharganoi as Turks from Central Asia, esp. Ferghana; however, a chrysobull of 1079 uses the term *Pharangoi* for Varangians (*Lavra* 1, no.38.30), and the term could have been an altered form of this ethnic designation.

P. Karlin-Hayter (*JÖB* 23 [1974] 116, n.66) suggested that the *epi megales hetaireias* (commander of the grand *hetaireia*) was a subordinate of the HETAIREIARCHES.

By the end of the 11th C. the structure of the *hetaireia* changed. Bryennios (Bryen. 77.5–8) says the *hetaireia* was customarily made up of noble youths. The various *hetaireiai* were probably consolidated into a single unit; Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1.20.8) speaks of *hetaireia* in the singular in a scene where Bryennios (269.12–13) used the plural form. Already in the 12th C. and more often in the 14th C. the term *hetaireia* was employed generically to describe the private retinue of a magnate bound together by an OATH.

LIT. Guiland, *Topographie* 1:196f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 138–43. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 211–18. —A.K.

**HETAIREIARCHES** (ἑταιρειάρχης), also *megas hetaireiarches*, commander of the HETAIREIA, a semi-military official (STRATARCHES) responsible for the security of the imperial palace; he also carried out delicate assignments for the emperor and could be placed at the head of an army. Unknown at the time of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, the *hetaireiarches* (and *megas hetaireiarches*) appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS at the end of the 9th C. Narrative sources first mention the *hetaireiarches* under Michael III. The post acquired particular significance at the beginning of the 10th C. when the future emperor Romanos I Lekapenos held this office; he was succeeded by his son Christopher. The militant emperors of the second half of the 10th C. pushed the *hetaireiarches* into the background, but the post regained influence in the 11th C. when some court eunuchs held it. Under the Komnenoi *hetaireiarches* was not a high position and was occupied primarily by nobles of the second echeion, even though we find among the *hetaireiarchai* some relatives of the ruling dynasty, such as George Palaiologos (O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 [1970–71] 403–06). In the 14th C. pseudo-Kodinos stressed the *hetaireiarches*'s functions of control over foreigners rather than his duty as the guardian of the emperor. Under Andronikos II members of some great families (MOUZALON, NESTONGOS-DOUKAS) held this post and the *hetaireiarches* often functioned on missions far from the palace.



LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "L'Hétériarque," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 101-43. Bury, *Adm. System* 106-08. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 59f. -A.K.

**HETOIMASIA** (ἑτοιμασία, lit. "preparation"), the prepared throne for Christ's Second Coming or PAROUSIA (Ps 9:7). *Hetoimasia* is the name conventionally given to images of a richly appointed THRONE bearing—in some combination—Gospel book, Cross, crown, dove, and Passion instruments. The name is not coeval with the image. Initially, in the 5th-7th C., the image signifies not the empty throne awaiting God, but—in accord with antique use of the throne to represent the presence of a god or emperor—God's mystic presence upon the throne. Similarly, in apses and cupolas from the 12th C. onward, the *hetoimasia* is flanked by officiating bishops or angels and bears the objects of their devotion: the Passion instruments, which signal the saving power of Christ's appearance and sacrifice, both in life and in the liturgy, and the dove, which indicates the role of the Trinity in the EUCHARIST. By the 11th C., however, the *hetoimasia* is also found in compositions, above all the LAST JUDGMENT, that included Christ himself enthroned. In such cases the *hetoimasia* displays the Cross and Passion instruments just as the True Cross was displayed upon a throne in court rituals; here it represents not Christ himself mystically enthroned, but the sign of his Second Coming. It carried this meaning into its many independent appearances on reliquaries, icons, MSS, and sanctuary arches. In such instances it acquired, from the 12th C. onward, the label of the "prepared throne" of the Second Coming.

LIT. T. von Bogyay, "Zur Geschichte der Hetoimasia," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 58-61. A.L. Townsley, "Eucharistic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting," *OrChr* 58 (1974) 140-47. -A.W.C.

**HET'UMIDS**, second dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1226-1341). The Het'umids were originally lords of Lambron and Barbaron near the southern approaches to the CILICIAN GATES, and as such first pursued a pro-Byz. policy at odds with that of the ruling RUBENIDS. The theologian NERSÈS OF LAMBROON was a member of this family. After the death of LEO II/I, the regent Constantine of Lambron arranged the marriage of his own son, Het'um I (1226-69) to the Rubenid

princess Zabel, thus placing his family on the Cilician throne.

After achieving royal power, the policies of the Het'umids then shifted toward recognition of Mongol suzerainty, and Het'um I himself journeyed to the court of the khan in 1253. Cilicia prospered under his rule, and under that of his immediate successor, Leo II/III (1269-89). The latter was helped by Het'um's brother SMBAT THE CONSTABLE. Serious difficulties arose, however, with the accession of Het'um II (1289-1301) who faced simultaneously the conversion of the Mongols to Islam and the advance of the Mamluks. In 1307 the Mongols executed the new king Leo III/IV together with his uncle, the former king Het'um II, who had abdicated in favor of Leo. Internal quarrels between pro- and anti-Latin parties weakened the realm still further. Ošin I (1308-20) was murdered by his relatives; his heir Leo IV/V (1320-41) was killed by the Latinophiles, who then offered the crown to the LUSIGNANS.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *HC* 2:651-59. Boase, *Cilician Armenia*, esp. 23-28. -N.G.G.

**HEXAEMERON** (lit. "six days"), a term denoting the account in Genesis 1 of the creation of the universe in six days, also connotes the patristic commentaries and other writings on this narrative that form a distinctive literary genre both in Byz. and in the West. Though preceded by Theophilus of Antioch (died after 181), apparently the first Christian user of the word, the nine homilies of BASIL THE GREAT on the Hexaemeron are the first patristic landmark. Rejecting pagan theories as self-contradictory, Basil presents a firm Christian view based on Moses' supposed authorship of Genesis. The universe is not eternal but has a moral purpose. Concerned to show the active role of God as creator, Basil rejects allegory for science, presenting the elements and beauty of the world in a literal way. His sensibly eclectic philosophy and science draw heavily on Aristotle, Plato, and Poseidonios.

Basil's homilies were immediately and enduringly influential. GREGORY OF NYSSA supplemented them with his *On the Making of Man*, an anthropological disputation on man's creation, and the *Apologetic Explication on the Hexaemeron*, which continues Basil's rejection of allegory. Other patristic contributors include THEODORE OF MOP-

SUESTIA (fragments concerning Gen 1-3 survive) and SEVERIANOS OF GABALA. An outstanding (albeit rare) Byz. poetic treatment is the iambic *Hexaemeron* by GEORGE OF PISIDIA (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35-52). In the West, Basil's homilies were exploited by AMBROSE of Milan and translated into Latin ca. 440 by the African Eustathios; they were also translated into Church Slavonic by JOHN THE EXARCH. The *Hexaemeron* of Robert GROSSETESTE (written ca. 1232/3) was greatly influenced by the *Hexaemeron* of Basil (R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* [Oxford 1986] 204-10).

ED. *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*<sup>2</sup>, ed. S. Giet (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr. PG 92:1383-1424.

LIT. F.E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature* (Chicago 1912). -B.B.

**HEXAFOLLON**. See PARAKOLOUTHEMATA.

**HEXAGRAM** (ἑξάγραμμα, lit. "six-grams"), a silver coin of the 7th C. weighing 6.82 g, that is, six grammata or scruples, and probably reckoned 12 to the SOLIDUS. Introduced by Herakleios in 615, it was struck in huge quantities throughout his reign and that of Constans II. Specimens of Constantine IV are rare, however, and under his successors it became a ceremonial coin only occasionally struck, ceasing entirely under Anastasios II.

LIT. P. Yannopoulos, *L'hexagramme* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1978). -Ph.G.

**HEXAMETER**, the meter of Homer, enjoyed great prestige throughout the Byz. period. In the 4th-early 7th C. the hexameter was the vehicle of a widespread group of professional poets radiating from Egypt (e.g., PAMPREPIOS, CHRISTODOROS, KOLLOUTHOS, NONNOS, and TRIPHODOROS), many of them reaching high civic positions, who concentrated on mythology, *ekphrasis*, and local history. Their use of the hexameter was extremely complex, adding many rules to those of the Alexandrian poets, which themselves were more strict than those of Homer. It is generally assumed that this complexity was a self-conscious refinement, but some features of their rules plainly relate to the final disappearance of the sense of syllable quantity in Greek, which probably took place within this period. Until the end of the 6th C., the writing of hexameter, though an archaic feature, appears

to have remained a living means of artistic expression, rather than the revival of a dead form. Normally, poetry written in hexameter preserves an archaic lexical pattern.

The last poem of this tradition is credibly attributed to GEORGE OF PISIDIA and its form has suggested a possible link to the POLITICAL VERSE. Subsequent hexameters are clearly antiquarian exercises, based (with greater or less success) on ancient models, rather than following the development of a live form of expression. Some of the ceremonial verse of Theodore PRODROMOS, however, is in the hexameter, perhaps implying public recitation in the 12th C. Later, this meter was used by Nikephoros BLEMMEDES and esp. Theodore METOCHITES. Surviving treatises on hexameter include one ascribed to Plutarch, another to Herodian (Krumbacher, *GBL* 596f).

LIT. A.D.E. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965) 470-509, esp. 482f. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:91. -M.J.J., A.K.

**HEXAMILION** (ἑξαμίλιον, "six-miler"), barrier-wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, from the Saronic Gulf to the Gulf of Corinth (an actual distance of about five miles), designed to defend the Peloponnesos against an attack from the north. Literary and archaeological evidence show that the isthmus was defended at various times in antiquity and plans were made to fortify it during the crisis of the 3rd C. The devastation of the Peloponnesos by ALARIC led to the realization of this plan in the early years of the 5th C., at about the same time as construction of the Land Walls of Theodosios II in Constantinople. The wall was 10 Roman feet (nearly 3 m) thick, approximately 8 m high, with towers that were primarily rectangular; a large fortress was located near the former Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. The fortifications were apparently allowed to fall into disrepair and were restored by Justinian I. The Hexamilion was defended during the time of the Slavic invasions, but it seems not to have been an effective barrier. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 610.5-7) reports that the isthmus was unsuccessfully defended against the Crusaders in 1205.

In 1415 Manuel II rebuilt the Hexamilion, and during the next half-century it served as the primary defense of the Peloponnesos. The Turks breached the walls in May of 1423 and the future

emperor Constantine XI rebuilt it in 1443; subsequently a prophecy (perhaps inscribed on the wall itself) was circulated to the effect that the Hexamilion would protect a revived empire (E.W. Bodnar, *AJA* 64 [1960] 165–72). The Hexamilion fell again to the Turks on 10 Dec. 1446 despite a spirited defense. The Venetians restored the fortifications in 1462. Another Hexamilia, ancient Lysimachia, was a bishopric suffragan to HERAKLEIA in Thrace (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:229–31).

LIT. P.A. Clement, "The Date of the Hexamilion," in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* (Thessalonike 1975) 159–64. R.L. Hohlfelder, "Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian," *GRBS* 18 (1977) 173–79. —T.E.G.

#### HEXAPTERYGA. See SERAPHIM.

**HEXAPTERYGOS, THEODORE**, teacher and writer; born ca. 1180, died Nicaea ca. 1236. Educated at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople, Hexapterygus (Ἑξαπτερυγός) was evidently the student of George Tornikes and Constantine Stilbes. He became a teacher of poetry and rhetoric in Nicaea and taught George AKROPOLITES and four other students sent to him by Emp. John III Vatatzes in 1234 (Akrop. 1:49.24–50.3). Six tales (*diegemata*) and a funeral oration on a certain Stephanos, one of his relatives, are extant in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, philol. gr. 254). His seal, bearing a dodecasyllabic legend, is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (acquisition no. 58.106.4608).

ED. W. Hörandner, "Die Progymnasmata des Theodoros Hexapterygus," in *Byzantios* 147–62.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442. Constantinides, *Education* 9–11. —C.N.C.

**HIERAPOLIS** (Ἱεράπολις, "holy city"), name of two cities in the late Roman Empire, one in Phrygia, the other in Syria.

**HIERAPOLIS IN PHRYGIA** (now Pamukkale) rarely appears in historical sources, but excavations have revealed significant Byz. remains. Notable among them is the richly decorated octagonal Church of St. Philip, built on the site of the apostle's alleged tomb and surrounded by a large rectangular colonnade in the late 4th/early 5th C. It was never rebuilt after its destruction by fire in the mid-6th C. The site also contains four other

large basilical churches of the 5th–6th C.; one of them was built into a Roman bath. The churches, large and numerous for a relatively small city, indicate that Hierapolis was considered a particularly holy site. Secular buildings are poorly known; the city walls have been assigned to the 4th/5th C. By the 10th C. Hierapolis was in decline: churches had been replaced by small chapels; squatters occupied the shrine of St. Philip; and the city came to resemble a village. By 1190 it was ruined and abandoned. Originally a suffragan bishopric of LAODIKEIA, Hierapolis became a metropolis before 553.

LIT. P. Verzone, *RBK* 2:1203–23. T. Ritti, *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche*, vol. 1 (Rome 1985). —C.F.

**HIERAPOLIS IN SYRIA** (Ἱεράπολις in Leo Diac. 165.22, Syr. Mabbug, Ar. Manbij), city in northern Syria, northeast of BERROIA (Aleppo); probably under Constantius II it became the capital of EUPHRATENSIS. Hierapolis was a military headquarters during the wars with Persia: in 363 Julian assembled his army there. In 540 Chosroes I imposed tribute on the city, and in 590 KOMENTIOLOS welcomed Chosroes II near Hierapolis and started his expedition from there into the Persian interior. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. 14.8.7) calls Hierapolis an "ample city." Justinian I had to shorten the extent of its walls since by his time they encompassed abandoned areas and were difficult to defend (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.9.13); he also tried to improve the city's water supply.

A religious center in antiquity, Hierapolis became an ecclesiastical metropolis subject to Antioch. The 6th-C. rhetorician PROKOPIOS OF GAZA relates that Indians, Phoenicians, Scythians, Hellenes, and inhabitants of Asia Minor congregated in Hierapolis to hear panegyrics. Hierapolis developed into a Monophysite center; PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG was bishop there in the early 6th C., and Thomas of Harqel in the early 7th.

Taken by the Arabs in 637, Hierapolis became a part of the *jund* of Qinnasrīn yet retained Christian churches and relics, perhaps including the Holy Tile, or KERAMION (its original location is also assigned to EMESA). ABŪ FIRĀS, governor of Manbij, was captured by the Byz. in 962 and taken to Constantinople, where he wrote poems about his longing for his city. According to Yahyā of Antioch, in 966 Nikephoros II Phokas forced the

people of Manbij to surrender the Holy Tile to him. Leo the Deacon, however, says that when John I Tzimiskes seized Hierapolis in 974, he found other relics: Christ's sandals and the bloody hair of John the Baptist (Leo Diac. 165.21–166.3). In 1025 Hierapolis was taken once more by the Muslims but was again recovered by the Byz. in 1068, when Romanos IV captured the city and fortified its citadel. The Byz. then retained it until 1086, when it was taken by MALIKSHĀH. The Crusaders occupied Hierapolis in 1110/11. John II Komnenos passed the city by without attacking it, and the Greeks never reestablished their rule over Hierapolis.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* suppl. 4 (1924) 733–42. N. Elisséeff, *ET* 2 6:377–83. G. Goossens, *Hierapolis de Syrie* (Louvain 1943) 145–85. —M.M.M.

**HIERIA** (Turk. Fenerbahçe). The name (spelling varies, Ἱερία, Ἱερεία, Ἱρία) is derived from Heraia Akra. Hieria, an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, is a promontory, terminating in a little peninsula and situated opposite CHALCEDON to the east. Here Justinian I built a palace with a harbor and a Church of St. Mary (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.3.10, 1.11.16–22). Hieria was the residence of Herakleios (611, ca. 636) and the seat of the Iconoclastic council of 754 (see HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF). A chapel of the Prophet Elijah was added by Basil I, who also resided there. Further buildings were put up by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 451f). Site of one of the emperor's summer palaces, Hieria often served as a reception point of triumphal returns from campaigns in the East. The existence of the palace is documented until 1203, but the archaeological remains (cistern, harbor breakwater, funerary inscriptions) are meager.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Hiéria," *IRAIK* 4.2–3 (1899) 9–78. Janin, *CP byz.* 148–50, 498f. —C.M.

**HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF.** CONSTANTINE V summoned this council (10 Feb.–8 Aug. 754) at the palace of Hieria in Chalcedon to condemn the veneration and production of images as idolatrous and pagan. The council regarded itself as having ecumenical authority, a claim subsequently rejected by the church because four of the five patriarchs had refused to participate. Actually, the see of Constantinople was itself vacant at the

time. The 338 bishops in attendance were guided primarily by the emperor's own theology and devotion to ICONOCLASM. Their dogmatic definition insisted that a pictorial representation of God in any form was impossible. They argued that an icon of Christ either depicted his humanity alone, or both his humanity and divinity. That is, it either separated Christ's human nature from his divine, which was NESTORIANISM, or it confused the two, which was MONOPHYSITISM (Mansi 13:252A). Indeed, the only true image of Christ, representing him in his totality, was the EUCHARIST. This ingenious Christological argument, later condemned as heretical by NICAIA II, was clearly intended to go beyond the purely scriptural prohibition of images used previously by Iconoclasts. The council's definition survives solely in the acts of Nicaea II.

SOURCES. Mansi 13:204–364. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 7–45.

LIT. M.V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," *LCMS* 177–88. Idem, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8 (1954) 151–60. S. Gero, "The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its Sources," *BZ* 68 (1975) 4–22. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no. 345. —A.P.

**HIERISSOS** (Ἱερισσός, also Erisso), town (*kastron*) in the Macedonian CHALKIDIKE near the neck of the Athonite peninsula; it was founded on the site of the insignificant ancient city of Akanthos and is known from the 9th C. It formed an urban community that possessed common land (*koinotopion*), bought and rented lands collectively, was responsible as a whole for paying rent and taxes, and collectively defended its rights in court. A unique act of 982 (*Ivir.*, no. 4) bears crosses indicating signatures of 74 notable inhabitants (*oikeiotes*) of the *kastron*, of whom at least 14 had Slavic names (one having signed in Glagolitic), 21 or more of them were clerics (priests, lectors, deacons, etc.), three or five had low secular offices (*komes*, *archon*, *kouboukleisios* as well as exarch and *domestikos* who may have been either secular or ecclesiastical), two were described as owners (*oikodespotai*), and only one was a craftman—a *chalkeus* (smith). The importance of Hierissos grew as Mt. Athos became a major monastic center—it served as a stopping place on the way to the peninsula. Around 883 John Kolobos founded the KOLOBOU

MONASTERY near Hierissos that subsequently accommodated travelling Athonite monks; later still several Athonite monasteries acquired properties in Hierissos.

Hierissos formed a district, *enoria*, later *katepanikion*, under Thessalonike; nevertheless, documents of the 14th C. speak of the village (*chorion*) of Hierissos (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.12.12). The fate of the bishopric of Hierissos is obscure: it seems that there was no bishop before 943 and that Theodotos, mentioned in 982, was the first incumbent (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 155–58); on the other hand, a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 7.305) dated by J. Darrouzès to the early 10th C. lists the bishop of Hierissos as suffragan of Thessalonike. After 1204 the bishops of Hierissos added to their title “and of the Holy Mountain.” In ca.1341–65 Bishop Jacob obtained temporarily the title of metropolitan of Hierissos (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 4 [1970] 395–410). Hierissos was occupied by the Turks probably in 1425.

LIT. *Paysages de Macédoine*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1986) 157f. J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir*. 1:131. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:68–78. D. Papachryssanthou, “Histoire d’un évêché byzantin: Hierissos en Chalcidique,” *TM* 8 (1981) 373–96.  
—T.E.G., A.K.

**HIEROKLES** (Ἱεροκλῆς), 5th-C. philosopher. A student of the Neoplatonist Plutarch of Athens (died 431 or 432), Hierokles taught at Alexandria, where his lectures on PLATO, esp. the *Gorgias*, attracted much attention and admiration. A militant pagan, he was flogged for his beliefs during a visit to Constantinople but did not recant. He may be the Neoplatonist Hierokles warmly described by AINEIAS OF GAZA (PG 85:873A). His commentary on the Golden Words of the Pythagoreans survives, as do extracts from his collected studies *On Providence and Fate*, preserved only by Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251), who commends him for a clarity of style appropriate to philosophy. *On Providence* was dedicated to a certain Olympiodoros, perhaps the pagan poet-historian OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES.

ED. In *Aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*, ed. F.W. Koehler (Stuttgart 1974).

LIT. I. Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius* (Paris 1978). N. Aujoulat, “Sur la vie et les oeuvres de Hiéroclès: Problèmes de chronologie,” *Pallas* 23 (1976) 19–30.  
—B.B.

**HIEROKLES**, presumed author of the *Synekdemos*, a geographical list of the cities of the Eastern Empire, dated before 535. Nothing else is known of the man. As preserved, the *Synekdemos* is a bare list of cities, arranged according to provinces and in rough geographical order within the provinces. The document undoubtedly owes its preservation to confusion with episcopal notitias, which it superficially resembles. The *Synekdemos*, however, seems to have been based on secular administrative documents from the mid-5th C., although additions to the list were made through the reign of Justinian I, at which time Hierokles presumably wrote. It has been suggested that the present text of the *Synekdemos* is an epitome of a fuller, geographically oriented guidebook, but the list of cities is very different from the *itineraria* and it contains information different from what one would expect in a work of merely antiquarian interest. In format the *Synekdemos* can be compared to the *Description* of GEORGE OF CYPRUS and to the Paris MS, B.N. gr. 1115A (the so-called “Iconoclast notitia”), to which it is certainly related. Although there are many errors and lacunae in the text, its reliability as a guide to the overall municipal structure of the empire seems sound.

ED. A. Burckhardt, *Hieroclis synecdemus* (Leipzig 1893). E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdemus d’Hiéroklès et l’opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939).

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1971) 514–21. T.E. Gregory, “Roman Inscriptions from Aidespos,” *GRBS* 20 (1979) 273–76.  
—T.E.G.

**HIEROMONACHOS** (ἱερομόναχος), or hieromonk, a monk ordained as a priest. Justinian I (nov. 133.2) decreed that four or five priests were sufficient for each monastery; the *typikon* for the PETRITZOS monastery (ed. Gautier, 59–63) prescribed six priests for a community of 50 monks. The *hieromonachos* was charged with conducting the services in the monastic church.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 95f, 279f, 389–91.  
—A.M.T.

**HIERON** (Ἱερόν), name of two places in Asia Minor.

**HIERON ON THE BOSPOROS**, a fortress guarding the approach to Constantinople, now Anadolu

Kavak. Justinian I replaced its *archon* with a *comes Stenon Pontikes thalasses* whose duties included surveillance of shipping and collection of customs at the local *demosion teloneion*. By the 9th C. a PARATHALASSITES took the place of this official. The customs revenues of Hieron increased from the 9th C. onward, as traffic with the north grew; they were considered a valuable source of income during the revolt of John (VI) Kantakouzenos in 1345, when both the government and the rebel attempted to increase them. Hieron was attacked in 822 by THOMAS THE SLAV and in 941 by the Rus’, whose fleet was destroyed there. It was taken by the Genoese in 1350 and by MEHMED II in 1452. Hieron contains a powerful fortress (Yoros kalesi), perhaps the work of Manuel I Komnenos, with Genoese rebuilding.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, “Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance,” *REB* 19 (1961) 246f. S. Toy, “The Castles of the Bosphorus,” *Archaeologia* 80 (1930) 215–28. A. Gabriel, *Châteaux turcs du Bosphore* (Paris 1943) 79–81.  
—C.F.

**HIERON NEAR MILETOS**. Hieron was also the Byz. name for ancient Didyma whose famous temple of Apollo, fortified against Gothic attack in the late 3rd C., was repaired by Diocletian and Julian; subsequently a church was installed in it. The fortress was strengthened in the 7th C. and became the nucleus of a new bishopric, Hieron or “the Temple,” a suffragan of Miletos attested through the 12th C. Alexios I Komnenos enlarged the fort (C. Foss, *GOrThR* 27 [1982] 157f) and used it as a base for his reconquest of western Asia Minor. Hieron, which consisted only of one ancient building and a surrounding village, is important for illustrating the nature of a small Byz. city and bishopric.

LIT. L. Robert, “Didymes à l’époque byzantine,” *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 495–502. W. Müller-Wiener, “Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien,” *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 38–41.  
—C.F.

**HIERONYMUS**. See JEROME.

**HIKANATOI**. See DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON.

**HIKANOSIS** (ἰκάνωσις, lit. “equalization”), a fiscal term used in a treatise on TAXATION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 122.41) to designate the operation by

which the surveyor ensured that each taxpayer held no more land than the quantity corresponding to the tax that he was paying. The process is also described (ibid. 121.31–32) as assessing “the land that corresponds to the figure (of tax) due by the STICHOS.” The term *hikanosis* and its derivatives are found in a number of documents. A chrysobull of Alexios I of 1089 (*Xénoph.*, no.2.14–29) explains that the emperor had established a “norm” (*metron*) in view of assessing how much land should correspond to each nomisma (of tax paid by the landowner). Also in 1089 Anna Dasselene ordered that the land “imposed” on the monastery of Docheiariou be “equalized in accordance with its payment [*teloumenon*] to the fisc” (*Docheiar.*, no.2.23–24). In the 14th C. the verb *hikanopoieisthai* (“perform an equalization”) was applied to the assessment of land in accordance with the granted POSOTES (*Docheiar.*, no.26.3–4, *Dionys.*, no.2.32–33). If, after the *hikanosis*, it appeared that the taxpayer held more land than he was entitled to (according to the amount of tax that he paid), this “superfluous” land (*peritte ge* or *perisseia*) could be taken away from him.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 124f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 132f. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 80, n.1. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 140.  
—A.K.

**HILANDAR MONASTERY**, Serbian monastery on Mt. ATHOS, located near Esphigmenou, 2 km inland from the northeastern coast of the peninsula. Originally a Greek foundation, Hilandar (Χελανδάριον) may have been established in the late 10th C. by George Chelandarios (“the Boatman”); by 1015 it was deserted and had been handed over to the KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY. The plan of the main church and possibly its *opus sectile* floor date from the monastery’s foundation, as do portions of the eastern enclosure wall and a large area to the southeast, including the Tower of St. George.

In 1198–99 the monastery was restored as a Serbian *koinobion* by STEFAN NEMANJA (died 1199), who took the monastic name Symeon, and by his son SAVA, who composed in 1199 a *typikon* based on the rule of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. They constructed a new church and added a refectory, which was later partly rebuilt. By the early 13th C. Hilandar was inhabited by



90 monks. A chapel in an upper story of the Tower of St. George contains wall paintings dated by Bogdanović et al. (*infra* 64) to the mid-13th C. The next great benefactor of Hilandar was STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, who in 1303 replaced the late 12th-C. *katholikon* with a new triconch church with narthex (S. Nenadović, *HilZb* 3 [1974] 85–208; P. Mylonas, *HilZb* 6 [1986] 7–45) and also restored the refectory; he strengthened the monastery's fortifications and added a tower at the harbor. Originally endowed by Nemanja with 15 Serbian villages, Hilandar became very wealthy and, by the mid-14th C., owned one-fifth of the Athos peninsula, plus lands from Macedonia (esp. Strymon and Chalkidike regions) to Serbia, 360 villages or parts of villages in all. At this time it held fourth place in the Athonite hierarchy. Hilandar was completely independent of the authority of both the *protos* and Byz. emperor. The *hegoumenoi* of Hilandar frequently became archbishops of Serbia.

Hilandar became an important Serbian Orthodox religious and cultural center (see SERBIAN LITERATURE): the Serbian writers DOMENTIAN, TEODOSIJE, and Danilo were all monks of Hilandar. It was also a treasurehouse of Serbian art. It contains an important collection of icons, notably a mosaic icon of the Hodegetria (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no. 7); it is ascribed by V. Djurić to the end of the 12th C. Djurić (*BZ* 53 [1960] 333–51) argued that in the 14th C. Hilandar was a center of icon production, and dated the Čin (an icon row from the church's templon) to ca. 1360, seeing there the same hand that painted a Gospel book (cod. 9) in the monastery's library. The Serbian variant of Old Church Slavonic developed at the monastery, which housed a scriptorium, a center for translation, and bilingual library. Most of the approximately 1200 MSS preserved at Hilandar are in Slavic; esp. notable are the numerous illuminated MSS of the 13th C. The archives, which include 172 Greek and 154 Serbian documents from the medieval period, provide information on the structure of the countryside, *pro-noia*, taxation, and the economic inequality of the peasants.

SOURCES. I. Mirković, *Hilandarski tipik svetoga Save* (Belgrade 1935). *Actes de Chilandar, Part I*, ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 17 (1910 [1911]), supp. 1. *Part II*, ed. B. Korabiev, *VizVrem* 19 (1912 [1915]), supp. 1. V. Mošin, A. Sovre, *Dodatki h grškim listinam Hilandarja* (Ljubljana 1948).

LIT. D. Bogdanović, V. J. Djurić, D. Medaković, *Hilandar* (Belgrade 1978). Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 271–73. V. Mošin, M. Purković, *Chilandarski igumeni srednjega veka* (Skopje 1940). *Hilandarski zbornik*, vols. 1– (1966–). M. Živojinović, "The Spiritual Father of the Monastery of Hilandar," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 247–56. D. Bogdanović, D. Medaković, *Katalog cirilskih rukopisa Manastira Hilandara*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1978). S. Čurčić, *Hilandar Monastery: An Archive of Architectural Drawings, Sketches, and Photographs* (Princeton 1988). *Treasures* 2:258–87, 387–94. —A.M.T., A.C.

**HIMATION** (*ἱμάτιον*), a mantle, the Greek equivalent of the Roman *pallium*. It was originally an oblong outer garment of wool or linen, worn over the *tunic*, and draped over the left shoulder and body in such a way as to leave the right shoulder free. In this specific form it survives in all Byz. representations of figures in antique garb, such as Christ, the apostles, and prophets, but it was apparently not in daily use after late antiquity.

In the Byz. monastic *typika*, the word *himation* refers to a different garment, namely the dark cotton mantle worn by monks (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.609) and nuns. When used in the plural (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 67.930), it has the more general meaning of clothing.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:20. Idem, "Symbole eis to peri byzantinon phoremation kephalaion," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 9–12. —N.P.S.

**HIMERIOS**, teacher and orator; born Prusias, Bithynia, between ca. 300 and 310, died after 380. Himerios (*Ἱμέριος*) spent most of his life at Athens, first as a student, then (probably) in an official teaching post. Though his pagan memorialist EUNAPIOS would not think so, his most distinguished students were BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. He died old, rich, blind, and epileptic. He produced at least 75 speeches and declamations; time has spared only 24, with excerpts and fragments from ten or so others. Thematically, they are the traditional mélange of the old-style sophist: reworkings of great moments in Athenian history, school lectures, addresses to high officials—elegant nothings, for the most part. Yet PHOTIOS (cf. A. Colonna, *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, vol. 2 [Milan 1956] 95–106), a great admirer of their style, compares his pagan stance to the "secret yappings of dogs amongst us" (*Bibl.*, cod. 165), which may suggest he had read items more detectably pagan than anything now extant.

ED. *Declamationes et orationes*, ed. A. Colonna (Rome 1951). S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, "Fragments from the Speeches of Himerios," *ClMed* 17 (1956) 23–30.

LIT. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 141–49. D. Serruys, "Les procédés toniques d'Himérius et les origines du 'cursus' byzantin," in *Philologie et linguistique. Mélanges Louis Havet* (Paris 1909; rp. Geneva 1972) 475–99. —B.B.

**HIMERIOS** (*Ἱμέριος*), admiral under LEO VI; died Constantinople? 912/13. A relative of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, Himerios belonged to the ranks of civil officials and was given, by chroniclers, the offices of *protasekretis* and *logothetes tou dromou*; he had the title of *patrikios*. Leo VI sent Himerios in 904 to prevent LEO OF TRIPOLI from besieging Thessalonike, but Himerios did not dare attack the Arab fleet; later, however, he won a brilliant victory over the Arab fleet "on the day of the apostle Thomas" (6 Oct.). The exact year of this battle is questionable: Grumel assumes that it occurred in 908, but 905 or 906 are more plausible dates (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*, 2.1:185, n.1); reportedly sent with Himerios, Andronikos DOUKAS unexpectedly defected. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA praised Himerios's victory (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60] 300.28). In 911 Himerios, as *droungarios* of the fleet, commanded a fleet sent against the Cretan Arabs but was defeated by the Arab admirals Damian and Leo of Tripoli off Chios in April 912 (R. Jenkins, *Hellenika* supp. 4 [1953] 277–81). After his return to Constantinople, Himerios was imprisoned by the emperor ALEXANDER and died six months later.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques," *EO* 36 (1937) 202–07. —A.K.

**HIMS**. See EMESA.

**HIMYAR**, the land of the Himyarites (*Ἰμυρηται*), a state in South Arabia (now Yemen) that included the littoral on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (with cities such as NAJRĀN and Zafar) and inland territory inhabited by Bedouins. Himyar played an important role in late Roman trade with AXUM and INDIA, bringing to the Mediterranean spices, myrrh, silk, etc. For a short time in the 4th C. Himyar was under Axumite domination, as it was to be again in the 6th C. An attempt in the early 6th C. to establish independence under a native ruler, DHŪ-NUWĀS, was sup-

pressed by the Axumites supported by a navy sent by Justin I. The new ruler, ABRAHA, however, while continuing tribute payments to Axum, conducted an independent policy and managed to consolidate his kingdom and to expand its borders northward. Justinian I tried to involve Himyar in active warfare against Persia but the Himyarites avoided direct confrontation with the Persians. Circa 570 some Himyarite chiefs invited the Persians into their country, and King Masruq, the last member of Abraha's dynasty, fell in battle; Himyar was placed under Persian governors with their residence in Ṣan'ā'.

Christianity penetrated Himyar in the 4th C. (acc. to Philostorgios), although Theodore Lector dates its appearance in the area much later, in the reign of Anastasios I. The country became a battlefield between Christianity and Judaism, which had had a strong tradition in Himyar. Christianity, in its Monophysite version, triumphed with military support from Axum and Constantinople; local bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of Alexandria. When Muḥammad sent his first embassy to South Arabia, the emissaries did not meet any serious opposition from the local population, and the Himyarites converted to Islam.

LIT. J.H. Mordtmann, *EI* 2:310–12. N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantijskaia na putjakh v Indiju* (Moscow-Leningrad 1951) 215–384. H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien* (Vienna 1965). P. Marrassini, "Bisanzio e il Mar Rosso: Cristianesimo e giudaismo in Arabia fino al VI secolo," 28 *Corsi Rav* (1981) 177–91. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 25–87. —A.K.

**HINCMAR**. See ANNALES BERTINIANI.

**HIPPIATRICA**, or "horse medicine," was highly developed in the Byz. Empire. The shift to dependence upon CAVALRY in the late Roman army ensured the high honor accorded to hippiatric writings; the extant collection of veterinary medical writings in Greek, compiled on orders from Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, compacts the works of Apsyrtes (fl. ca. 330?), Hierokles (fl. ca. 360?), and many other military veterinarians whose task it was to maintain the health of cavalry horses. A 10th-C. luxury edition of the *Hippiatrika* is preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibl. Phillips 1538), decorated with ornaments and headpieces imitating the form of cloisonné ENAMEL. A more utilitarian 14th-C. version in Paris (B.N. gr. 2244)

contains miniatures depicting the treatment of sick horses and a portrait of Hierokles (Weitzmann, *Grundlagen* 24).

Byz. veterinarians were forced to invent fresh words to describe the ailments of animals, quite often viewed as analogous to human diseases, and the drugs prescribed and theories assumed are similar to comparable matters in Byz. medicine as a whole. Farm lore is prominent in the hippiatric literature, much as it is for the simple veterinary care suggested for HORSES, DOGS, domestic BIRDS, pigs, and even bees as listed in the GEOPONIKA.

LIT. A.-M. Doyen-Higuet, "The *Hippiatrica* and Byzantine Veterinary Medicine," *DOP* 38 (1984) 111–20. K.D. Fischer, "Pelagonius on Horse Medicine," ed. F. Cairns in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981) 285–303. R.E. Walker, "Roman Veterinary Medicine," appendix in J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London–Ithaca, N.Y., 1973) 303–34, 404–14. —J.S., A.C.

**HIPPOCAMP** (*ἵππόκαμπος*), seahorse, a fabulous monster with a horse's body and fish's tail on which sea deities would ride. The hippocamp is infrequently mentioned in literary texts and plays no role in mythology; the church fathers ignore it. The image does often appear, however, in both classical and Byz. art, notably on bone CASKETS AND BOXES. —A.K.

**HIPPODROMES**, arenas for horse and chariot races as well as other events.

**Hippodrome of Constantinople.** According to unverified tradition, the Hippodrome was built by Septimius Severus (shortly after 196) and completed by Constantine I, who provided it with an imperial box (KATHISMA) and built the GREAT PALACE next to it. It served not only as a sports arena, but also as a setting for the proclamation of emperors and the celebration of TRIUMPHS and as a focus for the public life of the city's population.

As a building the Hippodrome was a typical Roman circus of the period of the Tetrarchy. It was hairpin-shaped, with its gates (Lat. *carceres*; Gr. *kankella*, *thyrai*) toward the northeast and its curved end (SPHENDONE) pointing southwest. The arena was divided into two tracks by a slightly oblique barrier (Lat. *spina*, Gr. *euripos*), upon which were placed obelisks, statues, and other ornamental features. Rising tiers of seats supported on

vaulted passages surrounded the arena except for the side occupied by the *carceres*. Above the seating ran a continuous colonnaded passage. The Kathisma rose along the east side, probably somewhat south of center, while the west side, as in some other Roman circuses, followed a somewhat irregular line. The exact length of the Hippodrome is unknown, but must have been about 450 m. The outer width measured at the base of the Sphendone is 117.5 m and the inner width 79.5 m. The seating capacity may be tentatively estimated as somewhat above 100,000.

The 12 gates were equipped with a mechanism that enabled them to be opened simultaneously. At their center rose a tower surmounted by a quadriga of four gilded horses (which at the time of the Fourth Crusade were transported to Venice, where they remained until recently on the façade of S. Marco). Starting from the gates, the competing chariots made for the turning post (Lat. *meta*, Gr. *kampter*) marking the north termination of the *spina*, then went round the course seven times in a counterclockwise direction. The finishing line was probably in the western track, directly in front of the grandstands (Gr. *demoi*) occupied by the partisans of the two main FRACTIONS. Opposite these grandstands was the imperial Kathisma, corresponding to the *pulvinar* of the Circus Maximus. It was built into the seating and appears to have been a two-storied structure, with the imperial loge and a reception hall on the first floor. It communicated with the palace by means of a spiral staircase (Gr. *kochlias*) and was protected at the rear by bronze doors, which barred access to the palace in the event the Kathisma was occupied by insurgents, as happened during the Nika Revolt (532).

In the late Roman period CHARIOT RACES were held frequently, but by the 9th C. they were reduced to about three a year, not counting those for special occasions such as imperial triumphs or the reception of foreign potentates. These special races went on until the Latin occupation. The conduct of the games is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS (bk.1, chs. 68–73). A schematic representation of the games has survived among the frescoes of St. Sophia, KIEV.

The structure of the Hippodrome was kept up until ca.1200. In 1203 the west wing was burnt down and soon thereafter the Crusaders melted

down the bronze statues that had decorated the *spina*, as Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 647–55) records. In the Palaiologan period the Hippodrome, now partly in ruins, was used for jousts. A view, published by O. Panvinio (1600), illustrates its condition in ca.1480. Surviving portions include the tall substructure of the Sphendone, the substructure of part of the east wing, and three monuments of the *spina*, namely: (1) the Egyptian obelisk of Thutmose III set on a marble base bearing reliefs and bilingual inscriptions of Theodosios I from 390 (see OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS); (2) the Serpent Column, the central shaft of the Delphic tripod dedicated by the victorious Greeks after the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.); and (3) the masonry obelisk or Colossus, bearing an inscription of Constantine VII recording its redecoration with bronze plaques. Two marble bases (out of seven), which had supported the statues of the CHARIOTEER Porphyrios, have been unearthed in the Turkish Seraglio. In 1952 part of the seating of the west wing of the Hippodrome was excavated.

The Hippodrome was a monument rich in legends. Its Roman origins and pagan associations with the Dioskouroi, Poseidon, Helios, etc., were still remembered in the 6th C. (JOHN LYDOS, *De mensibus* 1:12; 4:30, 73; Malal. 173–77). Various features of it received a cosmic interpretation: the 12 gates denoted the signs of the zodiac, the seven races run round the *spina* signified the spheres of the planets, the colors of the four factions stood for the four elements, etc. Confused historical memories, esp. the slaughter of the Nika riot, were woven into the earlier mythology.

**Hippodromes outside of Constantinople.** Hippodromes existed in many other cities of the empire, but all of them went out of use after the 6th–7th C. The old Circus Maximus in Rome was reconstructed in the 4th C., and at the beginning of the same century Maxentius built a circus 520 m long and 92 m wide; an obelisk was erected on its *spina* or barrier (A. Frazer, *ArtB* 48 [1966] 385–92). The circus of Maxentius had space for 10,000 spectators. Private hippodromes in Rome are also mentioned (A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* [Rome 1982] 225–29). The circus in Carthage, cleared by excavation, seems to have been active through the 5th C.—the area was later used for a rubbish dump (*The Circus and a Byz-*

*antine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, vol. 1 [Ann Arbor 1988] 114–16).

The existence of hippodromes in the East is attested to primarily by written sources. Papyri, inscriptions, and occasional references in historical works describe the organization of circus factions (Blues and Greens) rather than the physical structure of the buildings. Data concerning factions survives from Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, Caesarea Maritima, Antioch, Emesa, Heliopolis, Kyzikos, Ephesus, Priene, Stratonikeia in Caria, and several other cities (A. Christophilopoulou in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 2 [Athens 1966] 358–60). Hagiographical texts describe horse races in Gaza, the factions of the hippodrome in Emesa, and the hippodrome in Damascus (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 87f). It is plausible to assume that chariot racing declined after the 6th C. and provincial hippodromes are scarcely ever mentioned in later centuries: Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 106.30) speaks of a *politikos* (municipal) hippodrome in Thessalonike, but Rudakov is wrong in asserting that the vita of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios (AASS, Nov. 3:580B) mentions horse races in Magnesia; the hagiographer is referring to *hippodromia* in Constantinople.

The average hippodrome took about five years to build and, when complete, measured about 450 × 70 m. The omission of an upper colonnade, still present at the Circus Maximus, could be because of the lack of a local tradition in equestrian sports or a perceived need for haste in construction. In the late Roman world hippodromes played an essential role as a setting both for court ceremonial and the ruler's appearance before his subjects. Hence they were frequently built in a city that an emperor determined as his chief residence. Rejecting the pattern that had prevailed down to the time of Constantine I—when hippodromes were built outside the city—most such structures of the 4th C. and after were built within the walls and often next to the imperial residence. Apsidal buildings adjacent to the hippodromes of Sirmium, Milan, and Thessalonike suggest provision for an imperial loge. As at Constantinople, therefore, hippodromes became in effect an integral part of the palace.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 64–71. Guillard, *Topographie* 1:369–595. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974) 320–64. C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium."

JÖB 31.1 (1981) 344–53. J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986). J. Gasco, "Les institutions de l'Hippodrome en Egypte byzantine," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212. Y. Dan, "Circus Factions (Blues and Greens) in Byzantine Palestine," *The Jerusalem Cathedral* 1 (1981) 105–19.  
—C.M., A.K., A.C.

**HIPPOKRATES.** See SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

**HIPPOLYTOS**, in Greek mythology the son of THESEUS and the Amazon Hippolyte, a victim of his stepmother Phaedra's passionate love for him. When Hippolytos repulsed her advances, Phaedra accused him of seducing her, and Theseus asked Poseidon to kill Hippolytos. Phaedra's attempted seduction appears on a silver plate of the 5th or 6th C. (*DOCat* 1, no.7) and again, half a millennium later, in bone carving (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.30). In literature Hippolytos becomes a symbol of chastity: thus THEMISTIOS returns several times to the legend of Hippolytos, emphasizing his *sophrosyne* (e.g., or.1:88.9–10, 2:202.11–12). Malalas describes at length the story of Hippolytos, with the intention of exonerating Phaedra and showing that both she and Hippolytos were innocent and that Theseus was fully responsible for their deaths. Diverging from ancient sources, Malalas presents Hippolytos as a man of dark complexion, short-haired, snub-nosed, broad-faced, with sparse beard and large teeth; he also stresses that Hippolytos was a mature and strong hunter and calls him "Theseus's son by a concubine (*pallake*)" (Malal. 88.13). It is impossible to judge to what extent Malalas's story may have been influenced by the "triangle" of Constantine I–Fausta–CRISPUS; the latter was Constantine's son by the concubine Minervina (Zosim. 2:20.2), a young but talented military commander, who perished (along with his stepmother Fausta) as a victim of his father's jealousy.

Hippolytos is depicted in art as a hunter in a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479; Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 115, fig.130).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 555–66. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 175–77.  
—A.K., A.C.

**HĪRA**, Arab city on the lower Euphrates, the capital of the LAKHMIDS prior to the rise of Islam. Nestorian Christians exiled from Byz. fled to HĪra,

from which Christianity spread in the Arabian peninsula; the city became officially Nestorian with the conversion of the last Lakhmid king al-Nu'mān (580–602). After his death the city received a Persian governor and in 633 it capitulated to Muslim arms. HĪra was eclipsed by Islamic Kūfa, but in the 9th C. it produced the most important figure in the transmission of Greek science to the Arabs, Hunayn ibn-Ishāq.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmidien in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 12–40. M.J. Kister, "Al-Hira, Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia," *Arabica* 15 (1968) 143–69.  
—I.A.Sh.

**HISTAMENON** (νόμισμα ἱστάμενον, lit. "standard"), a term commonly applied in the 11th C. to the gold NOMISMA of full weight in order to distinguish it from the substandard TETARTERON. Because the histamena of the mid-11th C. were concave, the term passed, in the shortened form of *stamena* (first attested 1030), to the Byz. billon and copper TRACHEA of the 12th–13th C., used particularly by the Latins in a variety of spellings (*stamina*, *stanmini*, etc.). Its exact meaning in any particular case has to be deduced from the context.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 28.

—Ph.G.

**HISTORIA AUGUSTA** (4th C.?), a conventional title for a collection of Lives of Roman emperors and pretenders from 117 to 284, with a real or faked lacuna for 244–59. It was ostensibly written in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine by six otherwise unknown biographers: Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Spartianus, Flavius Vopiscus, Julius Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, Vulcacius Gallicanus. If it had a preface and Lives of Nerva and Trajan, its emulation of Suetonius would be complete, but too much logic on its part cannot be assumed. In content and form, the Lives are a poor man's Suetonius, crammed with exotic and erotic details and written in a sometimes remarkable Latin. Much of its documentation and information is demonstrably false and wrong, though it still has to be used when other sources are lacking. The collection parades conventional views of good emperors and senatorial virtues; efforts to equip it with any consistent philosophy have foundered. The current fashion is to follow H. Dessau's thesis (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 337–92; 27 [1892]

561–605) of a single author writing for fraud or literary fun sometime in the late 4th C. A recent computer study of its language (I. Marriott, *JRS* 69 [1979] 65–77) suggests single authorship. The only known use of it by the consular historian Symmachus in 485 might conceivably suggest a later date, or even that this Symmachus wrote it.

ED. *Scriptores historiae augustae*, ed. E. Hohl, revised C. Samberger, W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1965). *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. D. Magie, 3 vols. (London–New York 1921–32), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983). T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels 1978). A. Momigliano, "An Unsolved Problem of Historical Forgery: The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *JWarb* 17 (1954) 22–46. C. Lessing, *Scriptorum historiae augustae lexicon* (Leipzig 1906).  
—B.B.

**HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI** (History of the Expedition of Frederick), an account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I, compiled in Austria ca.1200, possibly by a priest Ansbert. The *Historia* expanded an earlier record (partially preserved, but misassessed by Chroust) by adding a prologue, documents, and annals (1190–97) of events in the Holy Land. The earlier record seems to derive from TAGENO and another participant, probably in Frederick's entourage. The *Historia* attests diplomatic contacts with Constantinople and IKONION before Frederick's departure (pp. 15f) and quarrels over imperial titles (pp. 49–51). It offers a list of Crusaders (pp. 18–22), a detailed description of their trip and the state of the empire (pp. 26–75), and several Byz. documents (p.29, *Reg* 2, no.1592; p.51.13–18, *Reg* 2, no.1598; pp. 64.15–66.22, *Reg* 2, no.1603). Further knowledge of the lost earlier record comes from an anonymous *History of the Pilgrims* (*Historia peregrinorum*), compiled in the 1190s (ed. Chroust, pp. 116–72).

Both histories overlap somewhat with the brief, factual account of the *Gesta Federici* (Deeds of Frederick [on the Holy Expedition], ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 27 [Hannover 1892] 78–96), which may also derive from Frederick's entourage. It adds new, vivid details to the crossing of the empire (e.g., the Byz. felled trees to block the road through Bulgaria, p.80).

ED. A. Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.* [= MGH SRG n.s. 5] (Berlin 1928) 1–115.

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heint.* V 1:99–104. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:438.

—M.McC.

**HISTORIA LANGOBARDUM BENEVENTANORUM.** See ERCHEMPERT.

**HISTORIANS, ECCLESIASTICAL.** See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY**, one of the primary genres of Byz. literature. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 3.11–12) used the terms *chronographoi* and *historiographoi* to designate historians; this division into history and CHRONICLE, sanctioned by K. Krumbacher, became traditional, although recently serious doubts have been expressed as to its validity. The Byz. themselves did not clearly distinguish between *historia* and *chronikon*: the late Roman historians preferred the title *History* for their works, but from MALALAS onward "Chronicle" became the typical heading, not only of George Synkellos, Theophanes, or George Hamartolos, but even of some unquestionably "historical" works such as those by Psellos, Niketas Choniates, or George Akropolites. On the other hand, some authors like Patr. Nikephoros I, Skylitzes, Kedrenos, and Zonaras, who wrote in a chronicle style, used the title *History*. Eustathios of Thessalonike distinguished between the terms *historein* ("to write of the past") and *syngraphhein* ("to write of contemporary events").

The Byz. contrasted historiography and ENKOMION, emphasizing that historiography's objective was pursuit of the truth. Indeed the element of criticism was substantial in historians. This overt or implied criticism, directed against deceased or living emperors and courtiers, was usually juxtaposed with praise for an ideal figure from the past (Constantine I for Theophanes), from contemporary society (Nikephoros III Botaneiates for Attaleiates), or even from the "barbaric" world (Mehmed II for Kritoboulos).

Time was conceived as linear, not circular, both by late Roman pagan historians with their concept of eternal Rome (F. Vittinghoff, *HistZ* 198 [1964] 573) and by Christians according to whom history was moving toward Christ's PAROUSIA or Second Coming. This perception of time as a continuum is obvious in the so-called "world chronicles" that begin with Adam or Creation and treat at length both the biblical and Roman past, whereas ancient Greek history is poorly represented (Jeffreys, "Chroniclars" 237f). It is less evident in works on



limited periods that nonetheless implicitly or explicitly continue each other, so that Theophanes and his continuators, Leo the Deacon, Psellos, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates, Akropolites, Pachymeres, and Gregoras present an uninterrupted account of events. The geographic scope was wide for late Roman historians who were very interested in ethnography and the problem of barbarians; after Theophanes, the Byz. *oikoumene* shrank, and with rare exceptions (e.g., Chalkokondyles) historians dealt with territory under Byz. control.

The philosophy of history is providential, God or *PRONOIA* being considered as the ultimate cause of events. Providence could be conceived as in a perpetual dialogue with mankind, sending messages in the form of portents, earthquakes, visions, or miracles, and reacting to humankind's piety or sinfulness; or it could be removed to the background, while *TYCHE* or human activity proved to be the decisive factors in historical development. In the Palaiologan period historiography had to attempt to explain why God had forsaken his "chosen people" and granted victory to barbarians (C.I.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73). The idea that economic or social causes could influence history does appear in historiography, if rarely (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 80f).

Politically and religiously biased, historians expressed their prejudices by direct praise or invective (esp. George Hamartolos) or by tendentious choice of facts and selective omission of undesirable events. The application of elements of historical criticism is infrequent, although occasionally historians present two contradictory versions and appeal to the reader to resolve the contradiction. More often than not historians uncritically copied their sources and thus created confusion and inconsistency. Documents are infrequently cited, but sometimes letters, treaties, or laws are reproduced, whereas speeches are usually artificial creations, modeled upon earlier examples. Statistical information is rarely dependable.

In addition to the truth, "delight" or "entertainment" was a goal of historiography. This purpose was served by anecdotes, jokes, sensational stories, mirabilia, miracles, love affairs, and murder scenes. On the other hand, the authors used rhetorical techniques, embedding into their story *ekphrasis* and *enkōmia*, tropes and figures, metaphors and similes. *ARCHAISM* formed a link with the past: by

imitation, clichés, and citations from earlier models, the historian established his place in the tradition. The structure of the narrative varied between two extremes—the strictly chronological, annalistic method elaborated primarily by Malalas, Synkellos, and Theophanes, and the biographical approach ("by reigns"), which was already used by the continuators of Theophanes. Very few historical works were dedicated to specific events (e.g., EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, JOHN KANANOS). Although written primarily in prose, poetry was not excluded as a form of historiography, both for world history and specific historical reigns/events.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:257–504. J. Karayannopoulos, G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)* (Wiesbaden 1982). R. Dostálová, "Vizantijskaja istoriografija," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 22–34. Croke-Emmett, *Historians*. F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Munich 1971). B. Baldwin, "Greek Historiography in Late Rome and Early Byzantium," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 51–65. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Neue Tendenzen in der Erforschung der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 69 (1987) 560–66. —A.K.

**HISTORY PAINTING.** In Byz., as in ancient Rome, history painting normally depicted climactic events in the lives of emperors, such as acts of courage, victories, and the subjugation of barbarians (cf. Mansi 13:356B). A 12th-C. historian (Kinn. 266.7–9) describes the sponsorship of pictorial celebrations of imperial triumphs as "customary among men placed in authority." Thus John Lydos (*De magistratibus*, ed. A. Bandy, p.114.14–15) reports pictures of the rise of Leo I set up by a praetorian prefect, and ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE (*HE*, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 88, p.41.27–29) mentions a similar tribute to Justin I commissioned by a *chartoularios*. These pictures were displayed in public places, an agora, and a public bath, respectively. But from the 6th C. onward, history painting is found primarily in the precincts of imperial PALACES. A mosaic showing Belisarios's victories over the Vandals and Goths and the reception of their tribute by the augusti covered the ceiling of the CHALKE. The emperor Maurice had the story of his life up to his accession displayed in the Karianos portico at BLACHERNAI (Theoph. 261.13–15), and Basil I's "toils on behalf of his subjects, his warlike exertions and the prize of victory bestowed by God" (*TheophCont* 332.19–22) were depicted in his Kainourgion in

the GREAT PALACE. ROBERT DE CLARI (*Conquête*, p.28) describes pictures above the doors of churches in Constantinople depicting the overthrow of Andronikos I by Isaac II Angelos. Lesser men also commissioned this genre of painting: scenes of ancient history appeared among many others in the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS; Alexios AXOUCH was criticized for displaying victories of the sultan rather than the emperor.

Eusebios of Caesarea (VC 3.3) and later writers read such pictures allegorically. Euthymios MALAKES drew an analogy between depictions of the deeds of Manuel I and the Miracles and Passion of Christ. An anonymous text, preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. Z 524, draws parallels between the same emperor's victories, shown in the house of Leo Sikountenos in Thessalonike, and the conquests of Moses and Joshua. The only Palaiologan works known are the paintings of Michael VIII's victory over the Angevins in the vestibule of the palace, described by Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:651.1–4). The propagandistic or allegorical nature of such images differentiates them from both the narrative pictures of the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES and the historical episodes in the Paris Gregory (Paris, B.N. gr. 510).

LIT. Grabar, *L'empereur* 36, 40f, 83f, 93. Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." —A.C.

**HISTRIA** (anc. Ἱστρία), a Greek colony on Lake Sinoe, in SCYTHIA MINOR, near the shore of the Black Sea, north of Constanța in Rumania. The city prospered in the 4th–6th C., when its ramparts were rebuilt three times, some bricks bearing stamps of the time of Anastasios I. Excavations have uncovered a commercial district, with various workshops and private habitations that usually form clusters, and several public buildings, including a basilical edifice of the 6th C. (E. Condurachi in *Charakterion eis Anastasion K. Oriandon*, vol. 4 [Athens 1967–68] 161–68). The sector containing two Roman baths of the 2nd C. was a commercial region in the 4th C. and later the location of a basilica and a cemetery; it was abandoned in the 7th C. (A. Suceveanu, *Histria* 6 [1982] 85–92). In the eastern sector was a large palacelike house.

The period of prosperous activity ended ca.580; the last excavated layer contains humbler habitations. Numerous coins of Maurice (H. Nubar,

*Histria* 3 [1973] 84) are connected with that emperor's attempt to protect the area against Avar attacks; then the number of Byz. coins decreases and stops after Herakleios. Sporadic coin finds of the late 10th–12th C. (ibid. 227f) indicate a Byz. presence in the region, but Histria did not regain its former significance. In the sector of the Roman baths, an 11th-C. [Pecheneg?] tomb was found, containing jewelry of a type also known from DINOGETIA and the steppe north of the Black Sea (A. Suceveanu, *SCIV* 24 [1973] 495–502).

LIT. E. Condurachi, "Histria à l'époque du Bas-Empire d'après les dernières fouilles archéologiques," *Dacia* 1 (1957) 245–63. H. Nubar, "Contribuții la topografia cetății Histria în epoca romano-bizantină," *SCIV* 22 (1971) 199–215. —A.K.

**HOARDS, NUMISMATIC.** See COIN FINDS.

**HODEGON MONASTERY**, located in Constantinople east of Hagia Sophia near the sea walls. Hodegon (Ὁδηγὼν, "of guides, conductors") apparently took its name from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring that was able to restore sight. The church was allegedly founded in the 5th C. by the empress PULCHERIA to house precious relics, which later included St. Luke's portrait of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA. In late Byz. this icon was removed from the church every Tuesday and carried in procession through the streets, attended by large crowds hoping for miraculous cures.

The monastic complex was built by the 9th C., perhaps by MICHAEL III, and restored again in the 12th C. In the Palaiologan period a *SCRIPTORIUM* flourished there, specializing in the production of deluxe liturgical MSS (L. Polites, *BZ* 51 [1958] 17–36, 261–87). Among its scribes were Chariton (fl. 1319–46) and Ioasaph (fl. 1360–1405/6). The Palaiologan emperors had close ties with the monastery and visited it frequently; ANDRONIKOS III died there in 1341. During the late 13th and 14th C. the monastery was granted to the patriarchate of Antioch as a *metochion*, and served as a residence for Syrian monks visiting Constantinople.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 362–66. Janin, *Églises CP* 199–207. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 319–28. —A.M.T.

**HOLOBOLOS, MANUEL**, teacher, orator, and active anti-Unionist; born ca. 1245, died Constantinople between 1310 and 1314. In the service of Michael VIII as a *grammatikos* from an early age, Holobolos (Ὁλόβολος) suffered repeatedly at the hands of the emperor. In 1261 his lips and nose were mutilated because he showed distress at the blinding of JOHN IV LASKARIS. Holobolos thereupon entered the Prodromos monastery in Constantinople with the monastic name Maximos (W. Hörandner, *JÖB* 19 [1970] 116–19). In 1265–66, through an appeal of Patr. Germanos III, he was appointed rhetor and assigned to teach, possibly at the school attached to the orphanage of the Church of St. Paul (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:369.5–371.5). Again in disgrace in 1273 because of his anti-Union stance, Holobolos was exiled to the monastery tou Megalou Agrou on the Sea of Marmara. He returned to Constantinople after Michael's death and was active in condemning the Unionists both in 1283 and at the Council of 1285 in BLACHERNAI (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to regaining the title of rhetor, he was *protosynkellos*, according to a letter addressed to him by the Dominican Simon (1299). A monody written for Holobolos by a student and relation, George GALESIOtes, states that he was teaching until the end of his life (S.I. Kourouses, *Athena* 75 [1974–75] 335–74).

As rhetor, Holobolos composed several orations for Michael VIII that are important sources for the early years of his reign (1259–61) and for the restoration of Constantinople after 1261. Holobolos also wrote verses for the emperor and his son Andronikos II to accompany the Epiphany PROKYPsis ceremony, commentaries on Theokritos's *Technopaïgnia*, and a *logos katechetikos* for Germanos III.

ED. *Orationes*—ed. M. Treu, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam* (1906). L. Previale, "Un panegirico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo," *BZ* 42 (1943–9) 1–49. Verses for Epiphany—Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:159–82. Commentaries—C. Wendel, "Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos," *BZ* 16 (1907) 460–67.

LIT. R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?" *BMGS* 6 (1980) 13–41. Constantinides, *Education* 55–59. C. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur* (Vienna 1981).

—R.J.M.

**HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE**, name of numerous churches in Byz. territory, the most

famous of which were those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

**HOLY APOSTLES IN CONSTANTINOPLE.** The first building on the site in Constantinople was a circular mausoleum erected by Constantine I for his own burial. Next to it a cruciform basilica was built by Constantius II, who deposited in it relics of the apostles Timothy (356) and Luke and Andrew (357—G. Downey, *DOP* 6 [1951] 72). In 550 the church was rebuilt, again in the shape of a cross, by Justinian I, who added a second mausoleum. The two mausolea served as the burial place of emperors until 1028. After Iconoclasm the church was restored by Basil I and decorated with a cycle of mosaics described in ca. 940 by CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. The mosaics appear to have been partly redone in the 12th C. and were described once again by Nicholas MESARITES. After the Turkish conquest the church was ceded to Gennadios II Scholarios as the seat of the patriarchate, but he found it unsuitable and moved instead to the Church of St. Mary PAMMAKARISTOS. The church was demolished and the mosque of Mehmed II Fâtih built on its site. Several of the imperial sarcophagi were salvaged (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 1–63). The Church of the Holy Apostles resembled that of St. John at EPHEsus in its cruciform plan and five-domed elevation, a scheme later replicated at S. Marco in Venice.

LIT. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1908). J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris 1921) 1–27. N. Malickij, "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des saints Apôtres," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 123–51. A. Epstein, "The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: Reconsideration," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 79–92. —C.M.

**HOLY APOSTLES IN THESSALONIKE.** The Church of the Holy Apostles (originally the Church of the Virgin) in the western part of the city is a fine example of Palaiologan monastic architecture. On the west and south façades are brickwork monograms and carved inscriptions naming the patriarch NIPHON of Constantinople as founder, which would date the church to the period 1310–14; recent carbon-14 analysis of the fabric of the church shows that all of the building was constructed at the same time, but suggests a date of ca. 1329. The monk Paul is named as a second *ktetor*. The exterior of the church is richly decorated with brickwork patterns of all kinds: zigzags, hook patterns, cross-stitch designs, pendant tri-

angles, grill patterns, and hexagon stars. The west façade of the outer narthex was an open arcade. The church is effectively divided into two parts: a naos with central dome on four columns, plus a narthex, is surrounded by a U-shaped ambulatory with galleries and domes at each of the four corners. The interior is dominated by verticality; the proportion of height to width of the central bay is 5:1. The interior was once adorned with mosaics, on the upper levels only, and with frescoes, presumably executed by a Constantinopolitan workshop, perhaps the same that decorated the Church of the CHORA.

LIT. P.I. Kuniholm, C.L. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Architectura* 20 (1990) 1–26. N. Nikonanos, *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1986). C. Stephen, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche* (Worms 1986). M. Rautman, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1984). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 431f. C. Diehl, N. Letourneau, H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris 1918) 189–200. G. Velenis, "Hoi Hagioi Apostoloi Thessalonikes kai he schole tes Konstantinoupoles," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 457–67. —T.E.G.

**HOLY FACE.** See MANDYLION.

**HOLY FOOLS.** See FOOLS, HOLY.

**HOLY MOUNTAIN** (ἅγιον ὄρος). A number of mountains (with their environs) in the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Levant attracted substantial numbers of monks and acquired reputations as "holy mountains." Among the earliest were Mt. AUXENTIOS, Mt. SINAI, and the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN, first settled in the 4th and 5th C. LATROS probably received its first monks in the 7th C., OLYMPOS and ATHOS in the 8th–9th C. Until the first half of the 10th C. Olympos was considered the Holy Mountain par excellence; subsequently Athos took pride of place. Mounts GANOS and GALESIOS became flourishing monastic communities in the 10th and 11th C. METEORA was the last to be founded, in the 14th C.

Holy mountains are usually characterized by relative isolation and rugged terrain, and appealed to the desire of many monks to reside in a remote wilderness area (see DESERT). They housed both hermits and *koinobia*; a number of holy men moved from one holy mountain to an-

other in the course of their careers. Holy mountains often tended to be centers of Orthodox monastic resistance to such unpopular developments as ICONOCLASM (Olympos) or the UNION OF THE CHURCHES (Athos, Ganos); at the same time, new spiritual trends (e.g., PALAMISM) might begin in such a monastic center. Holy mountains tended to limit the access of women, whether as visitors or as nuns in permanent residence. Two of them (Athos and Meteora) strictly prohibited the admission of women to the mountain for any purpose; Latros had no nunneries at all; Galesios, Auxentios, and Olympos each had one, which functioned in part to house female relatives of monks who lived on the mountain (A.-M. Talbot, *GOThR* 30 [1985] 2f). —A.M.T.

**HOLY RIDER**, a modern term encompassing a variety of 5th- through 7th-C. amuletic images distinguished by a mounted figure. Following a well-established Antique iconographic tradition, most examples show the horse at full gallop and the figure, in military garb, impaling a beast or demon beneath the animal's hooves. In some cases, the warrior is identified as Solomon or, more rarely, as St. Sisinnios; the victim is often a semi-nude female, the she-devil Gyllou (or Alabastria). The intent was not to portray a specific figure or historical event, but rather to evoke virtuous power and, more generally, the triumph of good over evil. Most Holy Rider AMULETS take the form of bronze pendants or haematite intaglio tokens, although the motif is found as well on amuletic rings, armbands, fibulae, belt fittings, and earthen tokens.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–326. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 79–82, n.59. —G.V.

**HOLY SEPULCHRE.** See SEPULCHRE, HOLY.

**HOLY SPIRIT** (πνεῦμα ἅγιον), third person of the TRINITY. The Holy Spirit appears in early Christian literature as a primary experience of the community and the individual Christian. His activity is manifested in his gifts, esp. the gift of prophecy which thrived in Syro-Palestine and Asia Minor, particularly in MONTANISM. In Christian experience, the Holy Spirit is encountered in the

baptismal liturgy, in the Trinitarian confession of faith, and in the doxology of the Church.

In the 4th C., the Council of NICAËA set forth a simple confession concerning the Holy Spirit: "We believe . . . also in the Holy Spirit." But at the Synod of Antioch of 341 this simple formula was expanded and the Holy Spirit presented as the eschatological gift and "paraclete" promised by Jesus. These elaborations reveal that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was developed in conjunction with the concept of *homoousios*, the consubstantiality of the Logos with the Father.

The PNEUMATOMACHOI were those who denied the deity of the Holy Spirit and depicted him as a created gift of God. Their most significant opponents were ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and BASIL THE GREAT. In his four letters to SERAPION of Thmuis, Athanasios unites the Holy Spirit to God himself. The Father effects all things through His Logos in the Holy Spirit, involving not only salvation, but creation as well. This Trinity, moreover, is indivisible, constituting one God. At the Synod of Alexandria held in 362, Athanasios argued for an expansion to the Nicæan Creed by condemning those who said that "the Holy Spirit is a creature separate from the essence of Christ" (PG 26:800A). To contemporaries such language approached Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM); MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, for example, had been misunderstood earlier when he said something similar.

A confession concerning the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was formulated for the first time in the theology of Basil and incorporated into the creed of the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The Holy Spirit is "the Lord, the Giver of Life." In other words, he stands at the side of God the creator and redeemer. The formula, "He proceeds from the Father," describes how he is distinguished from the Son within the inner relationships of the Godhead. The unity of worship expressed in the formula, "He is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son," confirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one in essence. "He spoke through the prophets," does not explain the significance of prophecy, but the unity of Old Testament and New Testament and their divine testimonies. The term *homoousios*, after the controversies it provoked in the 4th C., was consciously avoided, but, inasmuch as the Spirit is

introduced as the third hypostasis of the one divine essence, it was not retracted.

A major issue in Byz. theology concerned the *filioque* and the Procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father." That the Son or Logos participates in the Procession of the Holy Spirit was not called into question in either the Byz. or patristic traditions. Apart from some polemical formulas found in the writings of PHOTIOS, no one maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeds "from the Father alone"; rather, the Father is the single "uncaused Cause (*aitia*)" with respect to whom the Son can hold but a mediating position, a concept wholly in line with Greek speculation on first principles. This was expressed in the popular Byz. formula, "from the Father, through the Son" (*ek tou patros dia tou hyiou*). In precisely this sense, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR interpreted the formula used by Pope MARTIN I: the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. As the uncaused *aitia*, the Father is seen to be the "Ultimate Principle" which does not preclude a mediator (PG 91:136AB).

For Byz. theologians the cause of the controversy was not the coordinating formulas used in Western tradition as much as the addition of the *filioque* to the Nicæan-Constantinopolitan creed by Western theologians in the 7th C. The first polemical discussion on this point took place at the Council of Gentilly (767). The prelude to the controversy was set up in the LIBRI CAROLINI, and in the dispute that erupted in 808 over the use of the *filioque* in the liturgy of the Benedictine monks of Jerusalem. When Photios in his encyclical of 867 put forth the view that the *filioque* introduces two principles into the Godhead, thereby dissolving the unity of God ("The monarchy," he says, "is dissolved into a 'dyotheism'"), what had been an ecclesiastical question was now made a dogmatic issue.

The Photian Synod of 879/80 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) expressly declared that the *filioque* introduced a new heresy. Photios and his followers saw in the Procession (*probole*) of the Spirit a unique property that distinguishes the Spirit as a hypostasis in the Trinity. Both the Son and the Spirit come forth (*proodoi*) from a single principle: the Son in the manner of generation; the Spirit in the manner of procession, but apart from any mediation. Only in terms of the economy (*oikonomia*) of salvation does the Son partici-

pate in the sending of the Spirit. Strict Photians, therefore, distinguished between the "economic" and "immanent" models of the Trinity: the Spirit comes forth *ek tou patros*, communicates with mankind *dia tou hyiou* (Theophylaktos of Ohrid, PG 123:1224D). This theme is evident in the Byz. theological controversies with, for example, Peter GROSSOLANO or ANSELM of Havelberg, or the controversy with Rome over UNION OF THE CHURCHES, particularly under Michael VIII Palaiologos, or at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE.

The compromise that the Greek doctrine of mediation expressed by the formula *dia tou hyiou*, "through the Son," has the same meaning as the Latin *filioque* is found already in the teaching of NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA." Some Byz. theologians even held views that approached the Latin position. Nikephoros BLEMMEDES, for example, was originally a strict Photian, but in two of his later writings he maintained that the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession can be differentiated only if the Son participates in the latter. These writings prompted JOHN XI BEKKOS to undertake a detailed study of patristic texts, which led to the Union of Lyons (1274). The study of Bekkos, however, had no impact on Byz. theology, which remained essentially Photian.

LIT. J. Slipyi, "Die Trinitätslehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Photios," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 44 (1920) 538-62; 45 (1921) 66-95, 370-404. Beck, *Kirche* 306-17. -K.H.-U.

**HOLY TILE.** See KERAMION.

**HOLY TOWEL.** See MANDYLION.

**HOLY WEEK** (*ἡ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς*), the week before EASTER, called "great" in Byz. usage, as are its days ("Great Monday," etc.). It originated in the extension to six days of the variable paschal period of FASTING that ended at the Easter VIGIL, a development first seen ca.260 in Dionysios of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Basilidem* 1 (*The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, ed. C.L. Feltoe [Cambridge 1904] 90-105). The Easter vigil was at first the only liturgical service of Easter Week, but Eusebios (*HE*, bk.2, ch.17.21-22) and Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:523.23) already bear witness to the existence of other vigils

during the week, and in 384 EGERIA (*Diary* 30-38) describes a full cycle of stational services in Jerusalem commemorating the Passion week (see GOOD FRIDAY), a cycle confirmed in detail by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem.

The Holy Week services in Constantinople differ little from those of other weeks in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:66-91). But by the 9th C. the more dramatic Jerusalem services had already begun to influence Constantinopolitan usage and were to predominate with the decline of the cathedral liturgy of Constantinople after 1204.

Imperial participation in the services of Holy Week was most evident on Holy Thursday. The emperor assisted at the liturgy, after which he distributed cinnamon and two apples to the dignitaries, then dined with guests (*De cer.* 33). There is no mention here of his participation either in the adoration of the Passion relics or in the WASHING OF THE FEET. According to the *Typikon*, it is the patriarch who washes the feet of 12 clergymen after vespers (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:72f) as the New Testament account (Jn 13) of the event is read aloud. But in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 228.10-229.20) the emperor himself washes the feet of 12 poor people before the start of the liturgy.

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 27-31, 40-47. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paschal'noj sedmice vo sv. Ierusalime IX-X v.* (Kazan 1894). -R.F.T.

**HOMER** ("Ὅμηρος"), "the Poet," was the most widely read and studied ancient author in Byz. For example, Niketas Choniates' *History* contains 134 quotations from the *Iliad* (some used several times) and 58 from the *Odyssey*, whereas the next most popular writer, LUCIAN, is represented by only 24 passages. Byz. schoolmasters and students were constantly occupied with the Homeric poems, esp. the *Iliad*, which became a basic text in the curriculum; students memorized much of it. Thus citations from the Homeric epics are found throughout late antique and Byz. literature, although analysis of papyrological data suggests a decrease of interest in Homer in late antiquity. P. Mazon (*Introduction à l'Iliade* [Paris 1967] 64f) registers 75 fragments of the *Iliad* from the 3rd C., 17 from the 4th, 16 from the 5th, five from the 6th, and one from the 7th (uncertain papyri



such as the 2nd/3rd C. are here omitted). Nevertheless, educated church fathers quoted Homer: thus, Cyril of Alexandria, who barely mentions Homer's name, was influenced by Stoic tradition and saw in Homeric gods symbols of vices and virtues or metonymies of the elements of the cosmos; he rarely polemicized against Homeric polytheism (G. Bartelink, *WS* n.s. 17 [1983] 62–68). Probably in the 6th C. an otherwise unknown female writer, Demo, wrote a commentary, primarily allegorical, on Homer. DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO in 6th-C. Egypt owned the famous Cairo codex of Homer and called him “the best poet.”

Interest in Homer revived in the 9th–10th C. The oldest complete MS of the *Iliad*, Venetus A [= Venice, Marc. gr. 454], which was formerly attributed to the scribe Ephraim and dated before 947 (B. Hemmerdinger, *REGr* 69 [1956] 433f), is probably from the last quarter of the 10th C. (E. Mioni, *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Padova* 1 [1976] 185–93). The oldest copy of the *Odyssey* (Florence, Laur. 32.24) is also of the 10th C. The EPIMERISMS, commentaries of the most elementary nature, were dated by Ch. Theodoridis (*BZ* 72 [1979] 1–5) to the beginning of the 9th C., but A. Dyck (*infra* 7) places them in the 9th–10th C. At the same time collecting of scholia began; many of them are contained in Venetus A, but they derive mostly from Hellenistic and Roman sources (N. Richardson, *CQ* 30 [1980] 265). From Constantinople the knowledge of Homer expanded to Baghdad in the 9th C. (G. Strohmaier, *BS* 41 [1980] 196–200).

The most important Homeric scholarship dates from the 12th C.—the massive commentaries by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and two long commentaries by TZETZES. Eustathios used the vernacular Greek of his time and drew on the customs of peasants and townsmen and recent events to explain the epic. He felt that Homer belonged to this world, sensing no distance between the Homeric past and his own day. Tzetzes' interpretation was more antiquarian (he tried to fill in the gaps in Homer's narrative) and allegorical, aimed at revealing historical, moral, and cosmological ALLEGORY. Among other commentators on Homer were Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos and George LEKAPENOS. Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS com-

posed a paraphrase of the first two books of the *Iliad*, omitting the “Catalog of Ships.” The story of the TROJAN WAR excited the imagination of vernacular authors such as Constantine HERMONIAKOS.

In an utterly unclassical manner, Homer is depicted as a young man with long hair in a 9th-C. MS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig. 96). Together with ORPHEUS and HESIOD he appears among the “theologians” attacked by the church fathers.

ED. *Epimerismi Homeric*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin 1983). H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 7 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). W. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1962).

LIT. Browning, “Homer.” A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *He anagennesis ton grammaton kata ton IB' aiona eis to Byzantion kai ho Homeros* (Athens 1971–72). G. Morgan, “Homer in Byzantium: John Tzetzes,” in *Approaches to Homer*, ed. C. Rubino, C. Shelmerdine (Austin, Texas, 1983) 165–88. Wilson, *Scholars* 161f, 197–99. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten 1955), rev. K. Weitzmann, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 606–16. —A.K., K.S., A.C.

**HOMILY.** See SERMON.

**HOMOIOUSIANS** (from *ὁμοιούσιος*, “of like substance”), a group, often called “semi-Arians,” who refused to accept the term HOMOIOUSIOS but who believed in the perfect divinity of Christ and the similarity of his divine nature to that of the Father. Although these beliefs may be traced back to ORIGEN, the Homoiousians as a “party” came into existence ca. 356 in an attempt to find a compromise between Orthodoxy and ARIANISM. Leading members of the Homoiousians were BASIL OF ANKYRA, Makedonios of Constantinople, and George of Laodikeia; they are to be distinguished from the Homoians, who maintained closer ties to strict Arianism. The movement met opposition on philosophical grounds since nothing can be “like” God's nature; moreover, the assertion of “likeness” also implies difference, leading on the one hand to charges of polytheism and on the other to identification with Arianism (Wolfson, *Philosophy* 336f). The Homoiousians did, however, influence the theology of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS.

LIT. J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode Konstantius* (Leipzig 1900). G. Rasneur, “L'Homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie,” *RHE* 4 (1903)

189–206. A. Spasskij, *Istorija dogmatičeskikh dvizenij v epochu vselenskich soborov*<sup>2</sup> (Sergiev-Posad 1914; rp. Westmead 1970) 365–474. —T.E.G.

**HOMOIOUSIOS** (*ὁμοούσιος*, lit. “consubstantial,” “of the same SUBSTANCE”), term crucial for the understanding of the relationship among the PERSONS within the TRINITY. Not used in the Bible, it was introduced by the 3rd C. in Gnostic interpretation of emanation and probably also in the Sabellian view of God's epiphanies in history as Father, Son, and Spirit. ORIGEN and his disciples seem not to have applied the term to the Son (R. Hanson in *Epektasis: Mélanges Jean Daniélou* [Paris 1972] 293–303), but the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata (268) condemned the consubstantiality of the Father and Son. Paul probably understood consubstantiality in a sense of MONARCHIANISM, perceiving the Son only as an attribute (LOGOS = reason) of the Father, and the accusation was nothing but a dialectic argument against him. The further discussion of the term was provoked by the teaching of ARIUS that the Logos was a creation of the Father, his intermediary in the act of salvation and therefore subordinate to him. The teaching was rejected by the creed of the First Council of NICAËA that formulated the belief in the Son of God, born, not created, consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father. The idea of consubstantiality was to protect MONOTHEISM against the concept of a separate God-mediator. The tendency to identify the substance of the persons, however, introduced the danger of Monarchianism that was interpreted as applying the notions of *monoousios* and *tautoousios* instead of *homoousios* and thus removing the hypostatic difference of the persons.

The term *homoousios* was under attack during the 4th C.; the semi-Arians wanted to replace it with *homoios* (“similar”) as representing a looser relationship or a recourse to Scripture (cf. Jn 5:19). It was the interpretation of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS that brought forth a synthesis and produced the canonical formula “one *ousia* (substance), three HYPOSTASES.” This formulation preserved the concept of substantial identity as well as numerical difference of Godhead and provided Byz. theology with a weapon against the accusation of TRITHEISM (ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981]

105–08). Despite the opposition of the PNEUMATOMACHOI, the term was also applied to the Holy Spirit. Through the definition of CHALCEDON (451) the term entered Christology.

LIT. H. de Riedmatten, *Les Actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* (Fribourg 1952), rev. P. Nautin in *École des Hautes Études, Section des sciences religieuses: Annuaire* (1953–54) 54–58. M. Simonetti, “Ancora su *Homoousios* a proposito di due recenti studi,” *VetChr* 17 (1980) 85–98. Kelly, *Doctrines* 252–63. G.C. Stead, “The Significance of the *Homoousios*,” *StP* 3 [= *TU* 78] (Berlin 1961) 397–412. J.M. Dalmau, “El *homoousios* y el concilio de Antioquia de 268,” *Miscelánea Comillas* 34–35 (1960) 323–40. —K.-H.U.

**HOMOSEXUALITY** (*παιδεραστία*, *ἀρρενομιξία*, *ἀρρενοκοιτία*), also called the “sin of sodomy” (e.g., Makarios the Great, PG 34:224B), was prohibited by the Old Testament (Lev 18:22) and continued to be condemned in Byz. It was common in the late Roman Empire when an abundance of young slaves and EUNUCHS created favorable circumstances for its practice. Many church fathers, esp. John Chrysostom, inveighed against this form of sexual activity. Denounced by the church as criminal and contrary to Holy Scripture, homosexuality was prohibited by Justinian I's novels 77 and 141, which repeated the punishment of death by the sword decreed by *Cod. Theod.* IX 7.3. The same punishment was imposed by the *Ecloga* (17.38) and *Ecloga aucta* (17.6); the latter exempted youths under 15 from the death penalty, sentencing them instead to flogging and confinement in a monastery. Ecclesiastical law punished the sin with two or three years of EPI-TIMION. The *Penitential* of pseudo-John IV Nestetes instructed the confessor to inquire about the sin of *arrenokoitia* (PG 88:1893C) and detailed different forms of homosexuality.

Malalas (Malal. 436.6–15) describes the trial of two bishops accused of homosexuality, Isaiah of Rhodes and Alexander of Diospolis in Thrace. The former was exiled after cruel tortures, the latter castrated and dragged along the streets in an ignominious procession.

Accusations of homosexual behavior sometimes appear in Byz. polemics: thus Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 443.15) lists “the impious lust for men” among Constantine V's vices. Such accusations became less common after the 9th C., probably as a result of the consolidation of FAMILY values and developing masculine ideals; in the last

centuries of Byz., however, complaints about homosexuality (e.g., in the writings of Patr. ATHANASIOS I and Joseph BRYENNIOS) were again heard. Homosexuality was found in both male and female monasteries (*typikon* of PHOBEROU MONASTERY, 80.31–82.9); several *typika* denied access to beardless youths and/or eunuchs in an attempt to protect monks from temptation (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 121f).

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 16–19. Koukoules, *Bios* 6:506–15. J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality* (Chicago-London 1980) 137–66, 335–53, 359–65. D.S. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London 1955). D. Dalla, “*Ubi Venus mutator*”: *Omosessualità e diritto nel mondo romano* (Milan 1987). E. Cantarella, “*Etica sessuale e diritto: L’omosessualità maschile a Roma*,” *Rf* 6 (1987) 277–92. S. Troianos, “*Kirchliche und weltliche Rechtsquellen zur Homosexualität in Byzanz*,” *JÖB* 39 (1989) 29–48. —J.H.

**HOMS.** See EMESA.

**HONORIUS** (Ὠνώριος), Western emperor (from 393), younger son of Theodosios I; born Constantinople 9 Sept. 384, died Ravenna 15 Aug. 423. He was summoned to the West by Theodosios in 394 and assumed power after his father’s death in 395. His elder brother ARKADIOS ruled the East and the whole empire was never again united. Because of Honorius’s youth the court was dominated by the *magister militum* STILICHO, whose two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, were married to Honorius ca.398 and 408, respectively. The double portrait of Honorius on a consular diptych of 401 has persuaded most scholars that he is represented, together with Maria, on a cameo in Paris (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 1, 66). In fear of ALARIC, he moved his residence from Milan to RAVENNA, which henceforth became the primary Western capital. After the death of Stilicho in 408 the patrician Constantius became the power behind the throne and married the emperor’s sister GALLA PLACIDIA. In 421 Constantius was made emperor, but his claims were rejected by Theodosios II, perhaps because Honorius was childless and the Eastern court had ambitions in the West. During the reign of Honorius, Rome was sacked by Alaric. Much of Gaul and Spain fell into barbarian hands. Honorius and his brother Arkadios were represented as consuls on the latter’s honorific column in Constantinople.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–211. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–570. A. Pabst, *Divisio regni* (Bonn 1986). A. De Veer, “*Une mesure de tolérance de l’empereur Honorius*,” *REB* 24 (1966) 189–95. W.N. Bayless, “*The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401*,” *Classical Journal* 72 (1976) 65–67. —T.E.G., A.C.

**HORISMOS** (ὁρισμός, lit. “definition”), term for an imperial decree, known from the late 11th C. onward; it was synonymous with the PROSTAGMA. The rare term *chrysoboullios horismos* designated a less solemn form of the CHRYSOBULL, which had no words written in red ink except for the emperor’s signature. The term could be applied to the charters of an empress (e.g., *Koutloun*, no.8.34), a *doux* (*Lavra* 1, no.64.99), a *despotes*, or a metropolitan (*despotikos horismos*—*Xénoph.* no.32.42).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 109, 127f. —A.K.

**HORMISDAS**, pope (from 20 July 514); born Frosinone, Campania, died Rome 6 Aug. 523. Hormisdas inherited the problem of the AKAKIAN SCHISM but sought reconciliation with Byz. After the revolt of VITALIAN, Emp. Anastasios I was forced to seek accommodation with supporters of the Council of CHALCEDON and addressed the pope as *mediator*; Hormisdas sent his emissaries to Constantinople with a *libellus*—conventionally called the formula of Hormisdas—which required the full acceptance of Chalcedon and the condemnation of both the Nestorians and the Monophysites. The negotiations failed, but in 519 under Emp. Justin I a new papal embassy and Patr. John II (518–20) signed an agreement stating that the names of AKAKIOS and his four successors on the patriarchal throne, as well as those of Zeno and Anastasios I, were to be deleted from the DIPTYCHS. The personal and ideological victory was, however, Pyrrhic (Caspar, *infra* 130), and in fact the pope’s influence over the eastern part of the empire (including Thessalonike) was drastically restricted; this is in contrast to Hormisdas’s funeral inscription (by his son, Pope Silverius) noting “*Graecia’s obedience to your command*.”

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:129–83. W. Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Akacianischen Schisma* (Rome 1939). C. Capizzi, “*Sul fallimento di un negoziato di pace ecclesiastica fra il papa Ormisda e l’imperatore Anastasio I*,” *Storia critica* 17 (1980) 23–54. —A.K.

**HOROLOGION** (ὠρολόγιον) a term that means both a liturgical book and a timepiece.

**Liturgical Book.** Such a book contains the “ordinary” or invariable elements of the Byz. monastic HOURS, beginning with *mesonyktikon* and ending with compline (APODEIPNON). Other material varies from MS to MS. Originally the *horologion* was designed for the monastic office in Palestine; the two earliest surviving MSS of this original *horologion* date from the 9th C. (J. Mateos in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1964] 47–76). The Byz. *horologion*, however, is a hybrid developed in Constantinople gradually from the 8th C. onward; it fuses the early monastic *horologion* with the prayers and DIAKONIKA of the cathedral rite (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) contained in the EUCHOLOGION. The final synthesis of the two was completed only in the 14th C.

LIT. Taft, “*Bibl. of Hours*” 361–65. Idem, “*Mount Athos. La prière des heures: Horologion* (Chevetogne 1975).

—R.F.T.

**Clock.** Any device used to measure the passage of TIME or to mark a specific hour was called a *horologion*. As elsewhere in the medieval world, the Byz. needed timepieces primarily for the scheduling of religious services. In addition to SUNDIALS, which were limited to use in the daytime and in sunny weather, the Byz. continued to use the waterclock (*klepsydra*) devised in antiquity (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:969B), a vessel from which water drained through small holes at a steady rate. It was superior to the sundial because it could be used at night and was not affected by changes in the sun’s path due to season or latitude, although it was susceptible to frost. The monastic rule of Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1704C) mentions a waterclock (*hydrologion*) fitted with some sort of alarm device to rouse the *aphypnistes*, the monk in charge of awakening his brethren for nocturnal services. At monasteries and churches, both BELLS and wooden gongs (SEMANTRA) were used to summon the faithful to services.

There were several public *horologia* in Constantinople, including the one erected by Justinian I at the Milion (Theoph. 216.25) and the magnificent structure at Hagia Sophia, with 24 doors that opened and shut according to the hours of the day. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA has left a detailed description of the elaborate water-driven *horologion* in early 6th-C. Gaza; it was adorned with AUTO-

MATA, including the 12 Labors of Herakles (for the 12 hours of daytime). Unfortunately, Prokopios says virtually nothing about the mechanics of the *horologion*. Pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS (ed. Bekker, 681.21–682.15) states that LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN gave Emp. Theophilos the idea of constructing two synchronized *horologia*, one at each end of a chain of BEACONS (P. Pattenden, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 274–76). There is no evidence that the Byz. ever used the mechanical clocks that began to appear in western Europe in the second half of the 13th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:89f. H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* (Berlin 1917). W.I. Milham, *Time and Timekeepers* (New York 1944) 48–54. —A.M.T.

**HOROSCOPE** (θέμα, θεμάτιον, or διάθεμα; ὠροσκόπος [ὠροσκοπεῖον, ὠροσκόπιον] is the ascendant), the representation of the positions in the zodiac at a certain moment of the planets, of the cusps of the 12 astrological places (*topoi*), and sometimes of other astrological entities such as lots (*kleroi*). They may be either diagrams, in which case they are usually squares, or simple lists of longitudes. The latter is the normal method of presentation in documentary horoscopes (e.g., on papyri), which also usually are without any interpretation; diagrams are often used in literary sources, esp. astrological treatises, where they are normally accompanied by an interpretation.

Horoscopes may be cast for any significant moment in any of the branches of ASTROLOGY, and, if interpreted, may provide information on social, economic, and political as well as biographical aspects of life in Byz. Since the seven planets move at different velocities, each horoscope generally represents a situation that is unique within the two millennia that astrology has flourished. They are, therefore, easily datable. Most interesting are the political horoscopes, which include the following:

1. The horoscope of Constantinople for 11 May 330, cast by Demophilos in ca.990 (D. Pingree in *Prismata* 305–15)
2. The birth of Valentinian III on 2 July 419 (D. Pingree, *Vettii Valentis Anthologiae* [Leipzig 1986] 351)
3. The horoscopes cast by the astrologer of Zeno, dated between 440 and 486 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 30 [1976] 135–50)

4. The horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, dated 2 Sept. 905 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 27 [1973] 219–31)
5. The horoscopes of the coronations of Alexios I Komnenos (on 1 Apr. 1081) and Manuel I (on 31 March 1143) (Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy" 138f, n.29)
6. The horoscope for the year prefixed to his almanac for 1336 by Andrew Libadenos (*CCAG* 7:152–160)
7. The horoscopes cast by John Abramios for Andronikos IV between 1373 and 1376 (Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–96) —D.P.

**HORSE FITTINGS.** See CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

**HORSES** (*ἵπποι*, also *alogā*). Horses were not common in the Roman Empire, where the principal BEASTS OF BURDEN were oxen and mules, and the army relied primarily on foot soldiers. The role of CAVALRY increased in the 4th–6th C. due to the conflict with mounted barbarians, and by the beginning of the 7th C. the cavalry was the most numerous of the Byz. elite troop formations (D.R. Hill in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp [London 1975] 37); its role became crucial with the introduction of the KATAPHRAKTOS. It is plausible to hypothesize that the invention of a new system of harnessing animals to a CART and PLOW increased the use of horses in everyday life. Late Byz. *praktika* suggest that only the richest peasants could afford horses, although two horses in one household are attested (*Lavra* 2, no.99.135); less well-to-do villagers might have "half of a horse" (no.99.126.139). Great landowners like JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS owned large numbers of horses; Kantakouzenos complained that he lost 1,500 mares when his property was confiscated in 1341/2 (*Kantak.* 2:185.5–6). In the 11th C. the Athonite monastery of Xenophon (*Xénoph.*, no.1.154f) possessed 100 dray horses and donkeys. The Byz. appreciated "Arab" horses; it is unclear whether the term refers to a breed or to animals imported from the caliphate. Thessaly was famous for its horses (e.g., *An.Komn.* 1:20.14), and imperial herds of horses were raised in MALAGINA.

As CHARIOT RACES declined in significance after

the 7th C., equestrian SPORTS like polo and tournaments became popular in the higher echelons of society; horses were also used for HUNTING by nobles who chased deer and boar on horseback; the mounted knight, whether the emperor or St. George, was a symbol of manliness. Clergymen and women, on the other hand, were supposed to ride mules, and Jews in 12th-C. Byz. were forbidden to ride horses. The Byz. cared about their horses, and HIPPIATRICA or "horse medicine" was a field of special study. The GEOPONIKA discussed their diseases in book 16, and OPIAN's book on horses was popular.

The main elements of the harness of a saddle horse were the leather saddle attached by the girth strap (P. Connolly in *Roman Military Equipment* ed. M. Dawson [Oxford 1987] 11), the bridle with snaffle bit (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 337, no.2887), and the iron STIRRUP. (See also CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.)

LIT. P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine*, 2 vols. (Nancy 1968). M. Kretschmar, *Pferd und Reiter im Orient* (Hildesheim–New York 1980). —A.K., J.W.N.

**HORTICULTURE**, including arboriculture, was practiced extensively throughout the empire. In addition to FRUIT, the Byz. grew a wide variety of vegetables. Onions and cabbage were esp. important: NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.152.3–5) relates that a village had to supply Hagia Sophia with cabbage (*krambe*) and was therefore exempted from other state taxes. Legumes or pulses (*ospria*) of different kinds were also a mainstay of the DIET. A donation of 1191 (*MM* 4:202.17–21) describes a household that possessed 120 *modioi* of grain and 39 *modioi* of three varieties of legumes—beans (*phabata*) and two sorts of peas (*erebinthia*). In the *proasteion* of Baris in 1073 the ratio was different (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119): 410 *modioi* of wheat and barley and only 5 *modioi* of beans. A judicial decision of 1421 incorporates a list of vegetables raised on a garden farm in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102.23–24), including leeks, carrots, onions, garlic, lettuce, cucumbers, and gourds.

The GEOPONIKA (bk.12.2.3) advises the farmer that three elements are necessary for the successful production of vegetables: fertile soil, water, and manure. The same text prescribes remedies for ridding GARDENS of grubs and insects (bk.12.8).

LIT. P. Skok, "De l'horticulture byzantine en pays yougoslaves," in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* (Athens 1935) 463–69. M. Comşa, "Grădinăritul în mileniul I e.n., pe teritoriul României," *Pontica* 13 (1980) 164–84. —J.W.N., A.K.

**HOSIOS.** See SAINT.

**HOSIOS DAVID**, church in Thessalonike. Located in the northern part of the city, Hosios David is the earliest surviving example of a domed cross plan, dating to the last third of the 5th C. The church, which until 1921 was dedicated to Christ, is 14.75 m on a side; the dome has vanished but the pendentives survive. All but the eastern arm of the cross are accessible from the exterior through doors. In the conch of the apse is a mosaic of the young beardless Christ, seated on a cloud, in a rainbow mandorla over the Four Rivers of Paradise, flanked by the EVANGELIST SYMBOLS and figures thought to represent the prophets Ezekiel and Habakkuk or Isaiah. An inscription below invokes Christ as the source of living waters. The mosaic is now generally dated to the late 5th C., although alternatives as late as the 7th C. have been proposed (Kitzinger, *Making* 141, n.41). Frescoes illustrating four Great Feasts have been discovered in and below the south vault; these date from the third or last quarter of the 12th C. and provide a transition between the style of NEREZI and that of the 13th C., for example, MILEŠEVA (E. Tsigaridas, *Hoi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes kai he byzantine zo-graphike tou 12ou aiona* [Thessalonike 1986]). Other frescoes from the late 13th to early 14th C. have been found elsewhere in the church.

The church served as the *katholikon* of the Latomou monastery, which is first attested in the first half of the 9th C. when JOSEPH THE HYMN-NOGRAPHER took up residence there; it is not mentioned again in historical sources until the Palaiologan period. After the Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike in 1430, it was transformed into a mosque, the Murad Camii.

A legendary tale by the monk Ignatios, *hegoumenos* of the Akapniou monastery in the 11th C., recounts that the daughter of the emperor Maximian secretly converted to Christianity and commissioned a picture of the Virgin. After it was mysteriously transformed into an image of Christ, she had it concealed under a layer of bricks;

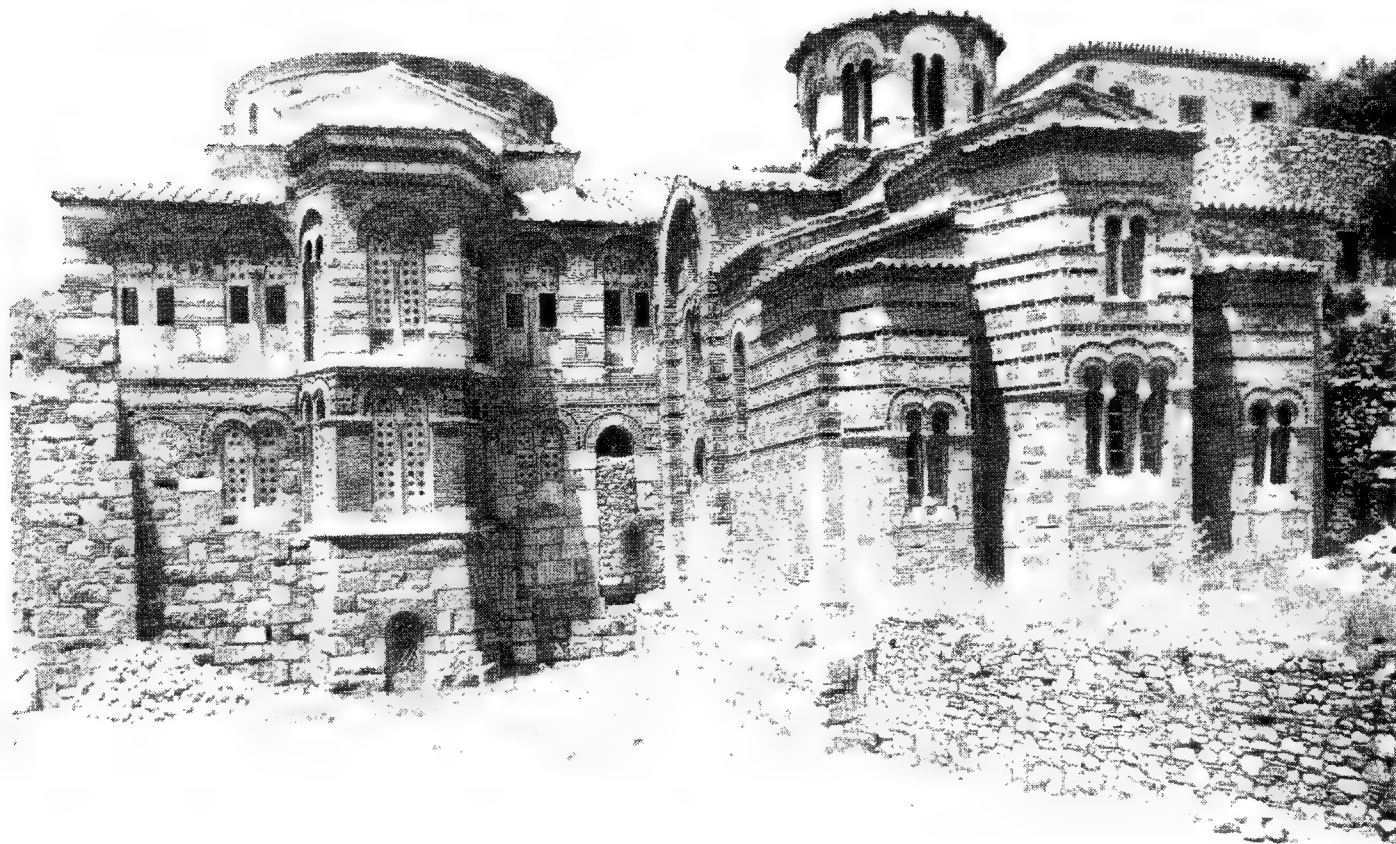
subsequently the Latomou monastery was built on the site. Under the Iconoclastic emperor Leo V, the revetment suddenly fell off, revealing the image beneath (Janin, *Églises centres* 392–94). A 14th-C. icon in Sofia bears the image of Christ, identified by inscription as "Jesus Christ of the miracle of Latomos" (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 289–99); it clearly seems to be a copy of the mosaic in Thessalonike.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 239–41. A. Xyngopoulos, "To katholikon tes Mones tou Latomou en Thessalonike kai to en auto psephedoton," *ArchDelt* 12 (1929) 142–80. P. Grossmann, "Zur typologischen Stellung der Kirche von Hosios David in Thessalonike," *FelRav* 127–30 (1984–85) 253–60. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoietos. Mone Latomou* 2 (Thessalonike 1973) 45–68. —N.P.S., A.M.T., T.E.G.

**HOSIOS LOUKAS**, monastery and pilgrimage site in Phokis (Greece), known for the wonder-working tomb of its eponymous saint, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, in the larger of its two churches. The smaller, cross-in-square church, now dedicated to the Theotokos, may be the same as the Church of St. Barbara mentioned in the vita of Loukas. According to Stikas (*infra*), the smaller church was built between 946 and 955 by Krinites Arotas, *strategos* of the theme of Hellas, who was resident in Thebes. Bouras (*infra*), on the other hand, attributed the Theotokos church to the patronage of Romanos II, dating it shortly after 960 on the basis of the marble reliefs of its drum revetment, templon screen, etc. While the Theotokos lacks painted decoration, that of the adjacent *katholikon* is the oldest mosaic program from the period of the 10th–12th C.

The plan of the larger church, which replaced a little *martyrion* built after Loukas's death (953), is complicated by a domed octagonal core allowing squinches to support the main dome. This fell after an earthquake in 1593, but most of the church's mosaics, including more than 140 images of saints, are preserved. D. Mouriki (*CorsiRav* 31 [1984] 397) has dated them to the 1020s. The Christological mosaics in the narthex are notable for their severe symmetry, as are the iconlike panels in the naos; in the same style and probably contemporary are frescoes in the northwest, southeast, and northeast chapels (this last specifically connected with Loukas's cult), as are those in the narthex gallery and in the crypt around his tomb. No document survives relating directly to





HOSIOS LOUKAS. The two churches of the Hosios Loukas monastery, seen from the east. The *katholikon* is on the left, the Church of the Theotokos is on the right.

the foundation of the *katholikon*. Bouras argues that it was built between 997 and 1031; M. Chatzidakis (*CahArch* 19 [1969] 127–50) suggested the date of 1011, while Stikas proposed that the *κτετορ* was Constantine IX. Similar reliefs are found at a *metochion* of Hosios Loukas at Aliveri in Euboia, dated 1014 by inscription (not 1010, as in A. Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. XXVII–XXVIII, pp. 60f).

Local interest in the monastery in Phokis is indicated in the *typikon* of a CONFRATERNITY of the Virgin in Naupaktos, ca. 1048 (ed. J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, *BZ* 68 [1975] 365.42, 373f), signed by the monastery's *hegoumenos* Theodore Leobachos, scion of a family of Theban *dynatoi*. In March 1436 the monastery was visited by CYRIACUS OF ANCONA (who ascribed its construction to Constantine IX). Stikas restored Hosios Loukas in a campaign concluded in 1964.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *TIB* 1:205f. E. Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon tes mones Hosiou Louka Phokidos* (Athens 1970). Idem, *Ho ktitor tou katholikon tes mones Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1974). Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends" 81–86. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980). Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1982). —A.C.

**HOSIOS MELETIOS**, monastery on the south side of Mt. Kithairon (Myoupolis), on the border between Attica and Boeotia, founded ca. 1081 by MELETIOS THE YOUNGER. The monastery flourished in the 12th to early 13th C.; its *hegoumenos* Ioannikios corresponded with Michael CHONIATES. Initially after 1204 Hosios Meletios remained in Greek hands, but in 1218 it was controlled by the Latins and was plundered, perhaps by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. The monastery is surrounded by a rectangular fortification. The *katholikon* is a cross-in-square of Con-

stantinopolitan type with four columns, perhaps dating to the 11th C.; an exonarthex was added ca. 1150. The surviving frescoes are post-Byz. Outside the monastery several chapels associated with it have been found.

LIT. *TIB* 1:217f. A.K. Orlandos, "He mone tou Hosiou Meletioui kai ta paralavria autes," *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 34–118. H. Deliyanni-Dori, *Die Wandmalereien der Lite der Klosterkirche von Hosios Meletios* (Munich 1975). —T.E.G.

**HOSPITAL** (ξενών, νοσοκομείον). One of the early Christian customs that impressed pagans was the care of the infirm, ill, and the elderly; by the 4th through 6th C., institutions were established that functioned as combinations of hostels and sick bays. Documentation is controversial for hospitals in the early centuries of the Byz. Empire, and scholars define the term hospital differently, but it seems certain that fully operational institutions for health care of the sick were founded by the 9th or 10th C. in the major cities; Miller (*infra*) argues for a date as early as the 6th C. The most meticulously documented hospital is that of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (1136). The monastery's *typikon* describes in detail the institution's use of specialist PHYSICIANS and five pharmacists who compounded drugs on orders from the attending doctors; the 50 beds were divided among five wards separated by diagnosis of various illnesses. The women's ward had a female physician (*iatraina*); two surgeons and two physicians staffed an outpatient clinic. The medical staff included an ophthalmologist, a specialist surgeon for hernia repair, and an attendant who kept the SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS sharp and clean. Other known hospitals include that at the Great LAVRA on Athos (10th C.), and in Constantinople the 10th-C. Xenon of SAMPSON (PG 115:300B–304B) and the LIPS MONASTERY (14th C.). Victims of LEPROSY were treated in specialized hospitals.

LIT. T.S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, Md., 1985); rev. V. Nutton, *Medical History* 30 (1986) 218–21. T.S. Miller, "Byzantine Hospitals," *DOP* 38 (1984) 53–63. R. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich 1983). —J.S., A.M.T.

**HOSPITALITY** (φιλοξενία), an aspect of PHILANTHROPY, which pious Byz. practiced both on a private basis (subject to state approval—cf. vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS 54.2–7) and institution-

alized in the form of hospices (XENODOCHEIA) for passing travelers in the provinces and for needy provincials who had to stay in Constantinople. Most information on such hospitality comes from monastic sources. Most *xenodocheia* built after the 9th C. were attached to monasteries. Two late 11th-C. *typika* indicate the type of food and shelter provided. At Rhaidestos, Michael ATTALEIATES arranged for pilgrims to the Holy Land and other poor wayfarers to be fed and lodged in an annex to his PTOCHOTROPHEION, where two *modioi* of bread and a measure of wine were to be allocated weekly for their sustenance (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 49). Gregory PAKOURIANOS established three *xenodocheia* on the estates of his monastery of PETRITZOS (Bačkov), one at STENIMACHOS near Philippopolis, and two on the coast road near the mouth of the Strymon. The first, equipped with "many beds," a stove, and a portable brazier, provided warm accommodation where sick travelers could stay for three nights, or longer in critical cases. This hostel had a daily allocation of two *modioi* of wheat and two measures of wine—double the amount allocated to each of the other two hostels. In all three, the basic diet of bread and wine was supplemented by a variable cooked dish (*prosphagion*) prepared from dried and fresh vegetables (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 110–15).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 98–110, 144f, 185–221. —P.M.

**HOSPITALLERS**, or Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a military-monastic order founded in the Holy Land in the early 12th C. The predominantly French order played a vital role in the Crusader kingdoms, providing military and medical services. After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291, the Hospitallers embarked upon the conquest of RHODES (1306–10), following a brief interlude on Cyprus. Rhodes remained their base until 1522 when the island was captured by the Ottomans. The Hospitallers exercised a benevolent rule over the local Greek populace, who regarded them as protectors.

Despite their limited numbers and small fleet, the Hospitallers continued their crusading efforts in the 14th and 15th C., primarily against the Turkish emirates on the west coast of Asia Minor, like MENTESHE and AYDIN. In 1344 they were

involved in the Latin recovery of the port of SMYRNA from UMUR BEG and defended the lower fortress until 1402 when it was destroyed by Timur. The Hospitallers had few direct relations with Byz. except during the reign of Manuel II. In 1390 they sent two galleys to Constantinople to help Manuel depose his usurper nephew John VII. In desperation after the Christian defeat by the Ottomans at Nikopolis in 1396 (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:347), THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS sold CORINTH to the Hospitallers in 1397 and the rest of the despotate in 1400. The Hospitallers successfully defended the Isthmus of Corinth against the Turks, but withdrew by 1403, at least in part because of the hostility of the local Greeks. By 1404 Theodore had recovered all of the despotate from the Hospitallers.

LIT. HC 3:278–321. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (London 1978). Idem, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1440* (London 1982). Barker, *Manuel II* 76f, 146, 232f. —A.M.T.

**HOUR** (ὥρα). The Byz. divided both night and DAY into 12 hours each (numbered 1 through 12) so one referred to the “seventh hour of the night” (Theoph. 319.10–11) or the “fourth hour of the day” (ibid. 493.30). Such hours inevitably varied in length according to both latitude and season. The “first hour” (*prote hora*) was at sunrise; the “third hour” (*trite hora*) midmorning; the “sixth hour” (*hekate hora*) noon; the “ninth hour” (*henate hora*) midafternoon. *Hespera* (evening) was one hour before sunset, and *apodeipnon* the period after sunset. In addition to its division into hours, the night could also be divided in accordance with Roman custom into four *vigiliae* or “watches.” The hours were measured by a SUNDIAL or HOROLOGION such as a waterclock.

The unequal length of hours made their further partition into smaller components rather difficult and quite theoretical. For everyday life it was usual to refer to the “half hour” and “quarter hour.” A period of time—a “point” or “moment”—was defined as *stigma* (= Lat. *punctum*). One of the rare sources to mention it is the vita of Loukas the Stylite (ed. Delehay, *Saints stylites* 229.15–17). For astronomical purposes, however, Byz. computists divided the day into 24 equal hours but employed different systems of division. According to that of Psellos, for example, 1 hour

= 5 *lepta*; 1 *lepton* = 4 *stigmai*; 1 *stigma* = 12 *rhopai* (G. Redl, *Byzantion* 5 [1929–30] 257.14–15). On the other hand, an anonymous computist of the 11th–12th C. (ed. F. Karsthalder, *BNJbb* 10 [1934] 5.24–26) measures one hour as equivalent to 5 *stigmai*, 10 *lepta*, 150 *moirai*, 1,200 *ripai*, etc.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 163–65. W. Sontheimer, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2011–23. —B.C.

**HOURS, LITURGICAL** (ὥραι), often called the “Divine Office,” a schedule of daily PRAYER comprising, with variations depending on the tradition, ORTHROS, the “Little Hours” (First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth, or prime, terce, sext, and none), VESPER, APODEIPNON, *mesonyktikon* (nocturns), and occasional VIGILS. To these are sometimes added “intermediate” and “Great” or “Imperial” Hours. The Byz. intermediate hours, or monastic *mesoria*, are said after each of the Little Hours only during the LENT preceding the feasts of the Nativity and Sts. Peter and Paul. The “Great Hours,” also called “Imperial,” a form of Little Hours characterized by three scripture LECTIONS, a prophecy, an apostle, and a gospel, are celebrated on GOOD FRIDAY and the vigils of NATIVITY and EPIPHANY. Great Hours were first created from elements originally found in a single Palestinian Good Friday vigil service at the ninth hour. Great Hours are not found in the HOROLOGION but in the *triadion* and the *menaion* for the days indicated.

The hours are a formalization of early Christian private prayer at set times, based on the New Testament command to pray without ceasing. The full cursus results from monastic developments of the 4th C. when the two original hours (*orthros* and *vespers*) were filled in with services at the other traditional times of private prayers (third, sixth, and ninth hours and at night).

Most Divine Offices are hybrids resulting from a synthesis of cathedral and monastic usages. One such office was created under the aegis of St. Theodore of Stoudios (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). This “Stoudite” office combined the prayers and *diakonika* of the cathedral office of Constantinople, contained in the EUCHOLOGION, with the psalmody and hymns of the monastic office used in Jerusalem, contained in the *horologion*. By the 12th C. this hybrid Stoudite office had spread throughout the Orthodox world, even back to Palestine; there, at the Lavra of St. Sabas, it was somewhat altered

to suit the more austere, less rigidly cenobitic lifestyle of the Palestinian anachoretēs, and a further synthesis was made (see SABAITIC TYPIKA), which eventually took over the field (see BYZANTINE RITE). Its rubrics were codified by Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (PG 154:745–66). There are two extant 15th-C. commentaries on the hours: the *Treatise on Prayer* by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:535–670; tr. H.L.N. Simmons [Brookline, Mass., 1984]) and one by Mark Eugenikos (PG 160:1163–93).

LIT. Taft, “Bibl. of Hours.” R.F. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986). Taft, “Mount Athos.” —R.F.T.

**HOUSES** (sing. *oikia*). In the late Roman Empire houses took two main forms: the *insula* or apartment house, and the *domus* or private residence. Descriptions of the regions of Rome in the mid-4th C. list 46,602 *insulae* and 1,797 *domus*. The excavations at Ephesus unearthed two *insula*-type buildings that were constructed in the 1st C., but underwent numerous remodelings up to the 7th C. The ground floor contained vaulted shops above which were situated modest rectangular rooms. The two-story mansion of a wealthy citizen formed a component of one *insula*. There is no archaeological evidence concerning later *insulae*, but written sources attest their existence in Constantinople, mentioning “five-roofed” (*pentorophoi*) houses and containing complaints about neighbors who kept pigs on upper floors. The ground plan of the *domus* was a peristyle type, containing an inner courtyard (ATRIUM) surrounded by rooms that formed the outer walls of the house. The *domus* was usually a one-story dwelling with many conveniences, including a bath, kitchen, LATRINES, PLUMBING AND HEATING systems, and storage rooms. By the 7th C. the focal point of the house shifted from the atrium to the second floor GALLERY (*hyperoon*), where guests were received (E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 83.24–25).

A series of laws (*Cod. Just.* VIII 10.12) regulated the construction of a new house or the remodeling of an old one. The law ordained that a distance of at least 12 Greek feet had to be maintained between houses. Repairs to an old house were allowed, but not changes to its original plan. Neighbors’ access to daylight and a view of the sea (esp. in Constantinople) were protected. A



Houses. House of Eglon, king of Moab. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 746, fol.473v); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

balcony could not be built over a street less than 12 feet wide. Furthermore, a staircase leading from the street to the balcony was not permitted because it presented a fire hazard or could obstruct traffic in the street.

The Byz. town houses that have been unearthed in excavations and that date from 1000 onward present several building types. One common plan of a private residence (e.g., at Corinth, Athens, Pergamon, Thebes) was a rectangular building with a central open space that had no peristyle, but perhaps an open-fronted roof; the courtyard and the surrounding rooms on the ground floor served as storerooms for agricultural products (with *pithoi* placed in the pseudo-atrium), stables, etc. Workshops (ERGASTERIA) were also situated on the ground floor; living quarters were upstairs. Another common plan was a house without a courtyard or with a narrow courtyard in front of the main façade (e.g., at Pergamon and Euripos). Construction was of poor quality, with frequent reuse of ancient architectural elements. The rooms were small and irregular in shape, and the houses were erected along narrow alleys without any obvious planning.

Written sources demonstrate the same irregularity of the house even in Constantinople. In his foundation charter of 1077 (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 27.159–29.181) Attaleiates describes his mansion in the capital, which consisted of several buildings connected by a common courtyard; the buildings had a ground floor (*katogeon*) and an



upper floor (*heliakos*) that projected over the courtyard; the mansion also included a chapel and a three-story dwelling with a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor. Another important description is found in a purchase deed of 1320 for a house in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.111.16–26): it was made of stone and BRICKWORK covered with TILES; adjacent was a two-story building with a thatched roof. The houses of the wealthy provided separate quarters for women, usually in the inner part of the building.

Houses in the countryside were usually modest: built of wood, unbaked bricks, or even reeds, they were rectangular in plan and consisted of small rooms and a porch (e.g., at Armatova in Elis [Peloponnesos]); some had only one or two rooms, with earthen FLOORS, open hearths, and a timber roof (e.g., at Luni in northern Italy—B. Ward-Perkins, *BSR* 49 [1981] 91–98). Nicholas MESARITES describes village houses made of reeds plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs. In sharp contrast were the mansions of wealthy landowners (like Digenes Akritas), surrounded by GARDENS and defended by walls and towers (PYRGOI).

The architectural decoration of houses was usually simple, but noble mansions and PALACES might be ornamented with polychrome façades, arcades, and balconies as at TEKUR SARAYI in Constantinople, or with a columned front as on the site of the Seraglio, or with niches and blind arcades as in MISTRA (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 1–114). The WINDOW openings, wide on the upper stories and narrower on the ground floor level, were mostly semicircular.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *DChAE* 11 (1983) 1–26. T. Kirova, "Il problema della casa bizantina," *FelRav* 102 (1971) 263–302. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:249–317. A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.—London 1975). G. Velenis, "Wohnviertel und Wohnungsbau in den byzantinischen Städten," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (Berlin 1978) 197–236. J.P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 341–97. S.P. Ellis, "The End of the Roman House," *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76. —S.M.-P., Ap.K., A.K.

**HRABŮR ČERNORIZEC** ("militant monk"), Slavic monk who wrote a brief and enigmatic treatise, *On the Alphabet*; fl. ca.880. The authorship, date, and purpose of the work have been much debated since it first came to the attention

of scholars in 1824. The text opens with a short discussion of the history of the Greek alphabet, drawing on both classical and Christian sources, and of the invention of the Slavonic alphabet by ST. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. It then goes on to a vigorous and passionate defense of the religious use of the CHURCH SLAVONIC language and alphabet against the proponents of the trilingual dogma, who believed that the liturgy could be celebrated only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The consensus today is that the author was a Bulgarian, probably a member of the circle of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA before his accession, and that the treatise was written between 885, when the pupils of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios reached Bulgaria, and 893, when Symeon succeeded his father. During this period there was conflict in Bulgaria between users of the new Slavonic liturgy and Byz. clergy using the Greek liturgy. The treatise shows considerable linguistic discernment.

ED. *O pismenech*, ed. A. Giambelluca-Kossova (Sofia 1980). —R.B.

**HRIP'SIMĒ.** See VALARŠAPAT.

**HUDŪD AL-ĀLAM** (The Regions of the World), an anonymous Persian geographical treatise written in 982/3, and one of the earliest surviving Persian prose texts. A comprehensive descriptive analysis of the world as known to 10th-C. Muslims, it was composed by an armchair scholar utilizing other books (primarily those by IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, Jayhānī, and al-ĪṢṬAKHRĪ) and oral traditions. The early geographical sources for knowledge of Byz. have been identified as the two Byz. prisoners, Abi Muslim al-JARMI (redeemed 845–46) and HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ (late 9th C.). The dates of their information are quite relevant to the anachronistic description that the *Hudūd al-Ālam* presents of Byz., including 14 Byz. provinces (three in Europe and 11 in Anatolia), thus repeating Ibn Khurdādhbeh and QUDĀMA IBN JA'FAR. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, on the other hand, who wrote earlier than the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, lists 12 provinces in the west and 18 in Anatolia. Furthermore, the treatise's evidence on Byz. cities is inconsistent. Of the land of RŪM it says, "It has many towns and villages," and "Each of these provinces . . . has numerous towns, vil-

lages, castles, fortresses . . .," only to contradict itself: "In the days of old, cities were numerous in RŪm, but now they have become few." By the late 10th C. it would seem that the number and size of cities were in fact on the increase.

TR. *Hudūd al-Ālam*. "The Regions of the World." A Persian Geography 372 AH-982 AD, tr. V. Minorsky (London 1970). LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. —S.V.

**HUGEBURC**, 8th-C. Anglo-Saxon nun in the Franconian abbey of Heidenheim who composed the stylistically ambitious but grammatically shaky *Lives* (*BHL* 8966, 8931) of two brothers who were her relatives: Wynnebald, first abbot of Heidenheim (ca.751–61), and Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt (741–24 Sept. 787), collaborators with St. Boniface in the evangelization of Germany. Willibald dictated his account to Hugeburc on 23 June 778; her retelling of his travels (723–29) in Byz. Italy, western Asia Minor, the Holy Land, and Constantinople displays linguistic characteristics distinct from Hugeburc's diction and seems to follow closely Willibald's own words. It focuses on pilgrimage shrines but also sheds light on shipping routes and conditions (via Monemvasia "in Slawinia" and the Aegean, 93.1–94.8, 101.16–102.13), towns (Ephesus, "Strobrolis" [= Strobilos?]), stylites at Miletos (93.15–24), monuments (Jerusalem; tombs of Sts. Andrew, Timothy, Luke, and John Chrysostom in Constantinople; the church in Nicaea, seat of Nicaea I, 101.18–28), general historical conditions (Cyprus's neutrality and peace between Byz. and the Arabs, 95.14–17; plague in Syria, 100.3–9; cf. Theoph. 1:410.19–20), water buffaloes in Palestine (96.10–11), the embassy of Emp. Leo III to Pope Gregory II (100.28–30), and the contemporary state of legends (e.g., an anti-Jewish anecdote about the Virgin's funeral, 97.32–98.5) in one of the most obscure periods of Byz. history. There is no apparent reference to Iconoclasm.

ED. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS* 15.1 (Leipzig 1887; rp. 1925) 86–106. Tr. Rev. Canon Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald* [= PPTS, 3, no.2] (London 1895).

LIT. E. Gottschaller, *Hugeburc von Heidenheim* (Munich 1973). —M.McC.

**HUGH OF VERMANDOIS**, brother of King Philip I of France; died Tarsos 18 Oct. 1101. Leading a magnificently equipped group of French

nobles on the First Crusade, Hugh (Οὐβος) grandiloquently announced his forthcoming arrival to Alexios I, then suffered shipwreck near Dyrrachion. Reequipped by its governor John Komnenos, Hugh reached Constantinople in autumn 1096. Welcomed by Alexios, he was placed under some duress until he swore fealty to the emperor. Rumors that he was imprisoned disturbed the followers of GODFREY OF BOUILLON. When the latter reached Constantinople, Hugh attempted mediation between him and the emperor. Later, after fighting at DORYLAION and against Kerbogha, Hugh was sent by the other leaders to Alexios (July 1098) to offer him Antioch if he would join the Crusade (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 281–84). But Alexios's retreat to Constantinople, where Hugh found him, voided the message, and Hugh returned to France. In 1100, possibly blamed for desertion, he enlisted in a new Crusade. Apparently he accompanied Duke William IX of Aquitaine, was wounded, and escaped with him, only to die of the wound.

—C.M.B.

**HUMANISM**, a scholarly term often used to designate a certain period of cultural development and, in this sense, identical or similar to the concept of RENAISSANCE. Thus, for I.P. Medvedev (*Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* [Leningrad 1976] 4) humanism is the "philosophical and literary stream of the Renaissance period." All the cautionary statements applied to the concept of Byz. renaissance(s) remain valid with respect to Byz. humanism, although we can safely assume the existence of individual humanists in Byz. (e.g., PLETHON) or of certain humanistic features in late Byz. culture. It is doubtful, however, that Byz. ever had a humanistic milieu resembling that of Italy in the 14th and 15th C.

From a different perspective, Hunger (*Reich* 355–69) describes "Christian humanism" as a phenomenon distinct from the Western Renaissance; the core of this humanism is the confluence of Christian and classical elements, a conciliatory attitude toward the ancient heritage. The concept of perpetual humanism meshes better with the idea of Byz. continuity than that of perpetual renaissance since it does not require revivals and their counterpart—cultural gaps or dark ages. Humanism has also been identified with Christian philanthropy and active efforts to alleviate human



misery (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 66). Lemerle (*Humanism* xi) speaks of two Byz. humanisms, the first of which, in the 9th–10th C., “corresponds” (chronologically) to the obscure centuries in the West, whereas the second humanism, that of the Palaiologoi, having been prepared already during the Komnenian period, developed through contacts with the West. Lemerle, however, does not define the notion of humanism.

LIT. V.L. da Nóbrega, “L’humanisme dans la compilation de Justinien,” *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d’études classiques* (Budapest 1984) 315–20. J. Meyendorff, “Humanisme nominaliste et mystique chrétienne à Byzance au XIVe siècle,” *Nouvelle revue théologique* 79 (1957) 905–14. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam 1987) 11–29. —A.K.

**HUMBERT** (Ὁμπέρτος), cardinal of Silva Candida; born ca. 1000, died Rome 5 May 1061. As a monk at Moyenmoutier (Lorraine), Humbert studied Greek; he accompanied Pope LEO IX to Rome and became the principal Greek scholar in the Curia. He translated and responded to the letter on Latin ecclesiastical usages by LEO OF OHRID, sent in 1053 to John, bishop of Trani. Humbert then headed Leo IX’s embassy to Emp. Constantine IX, arriving in Constantinople early in 1054. His letters to Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, treatises against Byz. liturgical practices, and response to Niketas STETHATOS inflamed the patriarch and clergy. His intemperate polemics contributed to a controversy that Constantine IX tried vainly to quell. On 16 July 1054 Humbert deposited on the altar of Hagia Sophia a bull excommunicating Keroularios and his followers (PL 143:1001–04). It condemned the lack of the FILIOQUE in the Creed and various Byz. liturgical customs, esp. the use of leavened bread rather than AZYMES. Following his return, Humbert’s self-justifications helped perpetuate the SCHISM.

LIT. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1924–30). —C.M.B.

**HUMOR.** LAUGHTER was considered in antiquity as a virtue, a divine quality, and writers (including Plutarch) collected jokes and anecdotes often ascribed to famous personages. An anonymous collection of this kind was produced, probably in the 3rd–5th C., under the title of *Laughter-Lover* (PHILOGELOS). Christian society, however, rejected laughter; it was replaced by tears of CONTRITION,

compunction, and a quiet smile, frequently described as a quality of a saint. Attitudes toward humor nevertheless remained ambivalent: not only did the *Philogelos* survive in a number of MSS, but Sokrates (*HE* 6:22) describes a collection of theological jokes attributed to Bp. Sisinnios. Byz. humor might take the form of a PUN; for example, in a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 441.23–27), when Isaac II asked for some salt (*halas*) at dinner, the mime Chaliboures replied, “Let us first come to know these women, and then command others (*allas*) to be brought in.” The Byz. also found humor in improper or absurd situations such as the lascivious dance of the old lady Maryllis, described by Niketas Eugeneianos (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:136). Exaggerated improper situations were frequently used in personal INVECTIVE and religious POLEMIC, and in such genres as SATIRE, PARODY, and EPIGRAM; the elements of self-mockery developed as well. The peak of humor was achieved by Christopher of Mytilene, Psellos, Ptochoprodromos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, and Sachlikes. There was also coarse and graceless humor, consisting of the cumulation of contorted curses.

ED. G. Soyter, *Griechischer Humor* (Berlin 1959) 83–123. LIT. B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover* (Amsterdam 1983) iv–xii. Averincev, *Poetika* 57–83. M. Kyriakis, “Satire and Slapstick in Seventh and Twelfth Century Byzantium,” *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 291–306. G. Morgan, “A Byzantine Satirical Song?” *BZ* 47 (1954) 292–97. —A.K.

**HUNGARY**, country founded by the Magyars or Hungarians, a people whom the Byz. called Tourkoi and, from the 10th C. onward, Oungroi (early evidence for Oungroi is found in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). In the 9th C., Hungarians lived in the basin of the Don River and, according to an Arabic source, sold Slavic captives in Cimmerian Bosphoros to the Byz. In 837 the Hungarians for the first time entered into direct military contact with Byz.: according to a revised version of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, the Bulgarians invited the Oungroi to put down a rebellion of Byz. captives on the Danube, but the Byz. fleet overcame the Oungroi and repelled their attack (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:339f). In the Byz.-Bulgarian war of 894–96 they acted as Byz. allies but, under pressure from the PECHENECS, moved westward and settled in PANNONIA, where they organized their state under the dynasty of the ÁRPÁDS.

In the 10th C., the Hungarians often invaded the Balkans; a Hungarian legend eulogizes the

chief Botond, who allegedly knocked a hole in the gates of Constantinople with his battle-ax. In 948, two Hungarian princes were baptized in Constantinople. In 953 a Greek monk was sent as bishop to Hungary; the mission was temporarily successful, esp. in the eastern and southern parts of the country, but when István (Stephen) I (1000–1038), the first Catholic king, defeated rival Byz. Christian relatives and chieftains, Greek influence began to decline. Even though Greek monasteries were founded in the 11th C. and Greek-speaking monks lived in some religious houses as late as 1210, the country became increasingly Catholic and Latin-oriented. Byz. goldsmith-work, jewels, ecclesiastical vessels, reliquaries, and coins reached Hungary throughout the 11th–12th C., partly by trade, but mostly as imperial gifts; best known among these are the gold treasure of NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS, the so-called Monomachos crown (probably a gift to Andrew I) and the crown given to Géza I (now the lower part of the “Holy Crown of Hungary”; see CROWNS).

After LÁSZLÓ I (Ladislás) penetrated into Croatia and Kálmán (Coloman) annexed Dalmatia, the territorial conflicts between Constantinople and Hungary caused several wars; Hungary often made alliances with Serbia, the Normans, and the principalities of Rus’ against Byz. In the 12th C. the situation became very complicated: while there were many dynastic contacts between the Árpáds and Constantinople, the support frequently granted to Árpád pretenders by Constantinople caused recurrent tension between Hungary and Byz. When BÉLA III—who for a while was expected to unite both states under his rule—returned to Hungary, he turned definitively to the West and, from the 13th C. onward, the intensity of Byz.-Hungarian relations decreased. When, however, the Ottoman threat became serious, Byz. turned to Hungary for help: in 1366, Emp. John V Palaiologos visited Lajos (Louis) I of Hungary; in 1423/4 John VIII sought an alliance with Sigismund of Hungary; and in 1434–36 two Byz. embassies visited Hungary during their trips to the West. János HUNYADI, who had been successful in repelling the Turks from the borders of Hungary, was defeated in 1444 when he mounted a crusade that was crushed at VARNA, and in 1452/3 he acted too slowly to prevent the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970). A.B. Urbansky, *Byzantium and the Danube Fron-*

*tier* (New York 1967). Gy. Székely, “La Hongrie et Byzance aux Xe–XIIe siècles,” *ActaHistHung* 13 (1967) 291–311. Dölger, *Paraspora* 153–77. Zs. Lovag, “Byzantinische Beziehungen in Ungarn nach der Staatsgründung,” *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985) 225–33. E. Darkó, *Byzantinisch-ungarische Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar 1933). —A.K., J.B.

**HUNS** (Ὀύννοι), an Asian (possibly Turkic) people that appears in Roman sources beginning with AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS; it is generally accepted that the Huns are to be identified with the Hsiungnu of Chinese sources and are related to the EPHTHALITES in Central Asia. Around 375 the Huns crossed the Don, conquered the ALANS, and expelled the GOTHs from the steppe north of the Black Sea. They participated in the Visigoth attacks on the empire but after 380 retired north of the Danube. After 450 they moved westward to Gaul. Their attitude toward the empire was ambivalent for several decades: some Huns served as FOEDERATI, others organized raids—in 422, under the command of “King” Ruga, they reached Thrace (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 347–67). In the east, the Huns in 395 crossed the Caucasus but were destroyed by the Romans at the Euphrates. Ruga’s successors were Bleda and ATTILA. Attila created an “empire” that reached from Gaul to the northern Balkans, but after his defeat by AETIUS the empire of the Huns disintegrated quickly.

The Hunnic empire was a conglomerate of various nations, including Alans and some Germanic tribes. The Huns were nomads, although archaeological finds include some agricultural implements. They were horsemen, armed with bows and swords, who astonished Romans by their speed and discipline. PRISKOS of Panion noted that the Huns treated their slaves well and that Roman craftsmen worked for the Huns. A. Bernštam (*Очерк истории гуннов* [Leningrad 1951]) suggests that the Huns played a progressive role in history by destroying slave-owning societies; E.A. Thompson (*A History of Attila and the Huns* [Oxford 1948] 209) asserts that in the West the *magister militum* Aetius, as a representative of the great landowners, looked forward to cooperation with the Huns against the Visigoths and Bagaudae, whereas in the East the ruling class induced Theodosios II to fight Attila.

After the collapse of the reign of Attila, the name Hun was applied to various peoples: some

of them (SABIRI, COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS) may have been related to the Huns, but for others (Bulgarians, Avars, Hungarians, even Ottomans) it was only an archaizing ethnic designation.

LIT. J.O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973; Germ. tr. Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1978). F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1959–62) and rev. by R. Werner, *JbGÖst* 14 (1966) 243–60. J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (Munich 1956). J. Harmatta, "L'apparition des Huns en Europe orientale," *ActaAnthHung* 24 (1976) 277–83. —A.K.

**HUNS, WHITE.** See EPHTHALITES.

**HUNTING** (κυνήγιον). In the Byz. countryside hunting had first of all a practical purpose—protection of the flocks from wild beasts. It also provided MEAT as a supplement to the diet, although it was not as important as FISHING. Farmers snaring hares are represented in MS illumination (e.g., Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations* 179, 225). They also hunted quail: a post-Byz. text describes a great slaughter of quail in Crete in 1494, when a single night's catch netted 4,000 birds (*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, tr. M. Newett [Manchester 1907] 316f).

Hunting played a more important role as a pastime of the upper class and is represented on their possessions, such as silks and an ivory casket in Troyes (Athens Cat., no.52). Three emperors (Theodosios II, Basil I, and John II) died in hunting accidents. There were imperial officials called PROTOKYNEGOS and PROTOIERAKARIOS, and hunting images formed a signal element of imperial symbolism. Hunting was also considered a good substitute for military training (cf. SPANEAS, ed. Wagner, p.6.122–23). Enthusiasm for hunting peaked under the Komnenoi, when special *ekphraseis* on hunting became fashionable (e.g., by Constantine MANASSES and Constantine PANTICHNES). On the other hand, Michael Psellos, who was expressing the intellectual outlook of his time, had no enthusiasm whatsoever for hunting (Psellos, *Scripta Min.* 2:205.3–6).

The quarry of noble hunters was primarily bears, boars, and deer, but smaller animals such as hares and BIRDS were also hunted. The prey of the various social classes—which are distinguishable by their costume—is illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* MS of OPIAN. The spear was the most common hunting weapon. Noble hunters rode

HORSES; the Byz. also trained DOGS and leopards for hunting as well as various birds for HAWKING. Pero TAFUR (ed. M. Letts, 145f) observed that the Greeks were great hunters with falcons, goshawks, and dogs. The equipment of the fowler was simpler: nets, decoy birds in cages, long cords, birdlime, and reeds. His pursuit is treated in illuminated MSS (*Treasures* II, fig.300) as one of the seasonal activities evoked by the Easter homily of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Kynegetika ek tes epoches ton Komnenon kai ton Palaiologon," *EEBS* 9 (1932) 3–33. A. Karpozilos, "Basileiou Pediaite Ekphrasis Haloseos Akanthidon," *EpChron* 23 (1981) 284–98. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 207–11. —Ap.K., J.W.N., A.C.

**HUNYADI, JÁNOS** (Ἰάγγελος ὁ Χουνιάδης, in CHALKOKONDYLES usually Χωνιάτης), Hungarian general and statesman; born between 1407 and 1409, died Zemun 11 Aug. 1456. Probably of Wallachian origin, Hunyadi began his career as a retainer at baronial courts and achieved the high posts of *voivod* of Transylvania and, in 1446–53, regent for the minor László (Ladislás) V. He also amassed great wealth.

In 1442–43 Hunyadi successfully campaigned against the Turks, reconquering Niš and Sofia. However, the crusade of VARNA in which he participated in 1444 ended in disaster. In early 1451 Hunyadi signed a three-year truce with MEHMED II, confirming it on 20 Nov. on condition that the sultan would build no strongholds on the Danube. When Mehmed began preparation for the last siege of Constantinople, Constantine XI sent envoys to Hunyadi. In the fall of 1452, the Hungarians agreed to assist if they received Mesembria as their operational base. After long deliberations, a chrysobull was delivered to Hunyadi that granted him Mesembria (*Reg* 5, no.3545). In Apr. 1453 Hunyadi's ambassadors appeared in Mehmed's camp, threatening to wage war unless the Turks ceased besieging Constantinople. The rumors about Hunyadi's intervention as well as frightening omens in the Turkish camp caused Mehmed to waver, but the military council insisted on maintaining the siege. It was too late for Hunyadi to intervene, but in 1456, when Mehmed besieged Belgrade, Hunyadi won a victory that stopped the Turkish advance for decades. Soon thereafter Hunyadi died of the plague.

LIT. P. Engel in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi*, ed. J.M. Bak, B.K. Király (Brooklyn 1982) 103–24. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 371–82. F. Pall, "Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)," *BS* 30 (1969) 119–26. J. Held, "Hunyadi's Long Campaign and the Battle of Varna 1443–1444," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 16 (1988) 10–27. —A.K., J.B.

**HYAKINTHOS OF CYPRUS**, metropolitan of Thessalonike (ca. late spring 1345–spring 1346); born Cyprus, died Thessalonike before 19 May 1346. Little is known of this anti-Palamite hieromonk; he lived at the monastery of the HODEGON in Constantinople and is probably to be identified with the Hyakinthos who carried letters from Nikephoros GREGORAS to George LAPITHES in Cyprus. Gregory AKINDYNOS praised Hyakinthos in his correspondence as "admirable" and "most holy" (ed. Hero, eps. 52.48–49, 60.54). He was made metropolitan by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, but was unable to enter Thessalonike until fall 1345, when the ZEALOTS regained control of the city. His short tenure was marked by persecution of Palamite clergy and monks. Kyrres (*infra*) argues that Hyakinthos was the metropolitan attacked in the "Anti-Zealot" Discourse of Nicholas KABASILAS for simony, alienation of property, and imposing fixed taxes on monasteries.

LIT. K.P. Kyrres, "Ho Kyprios archiepiskopos Thessalonikes Hyakinthos (1345–6) kai ho rolos tou eis ton antipalamitikon agona," *KyprSp* 25 (1961) 91–122. —A.M.T.

**HYBRIS** (ὑβρις), injury to another person through word or deed; it even includes trespassing. *Hybris* committed in a public place, against a person of standing, or in connection with bodily injury was considered severe *hybris*. Only the injured party had the right to initiate a suit, which could be either private or criminal (*Basil.* 60.21). *Hybris* against a donor or *patronus* led to the forfeiture of the gift or emancipation; children who committed *hybris* against their parents were disinherited (*Basil.* 31.6.6.1; 35.8.41; 48.26.1; 49.2.19).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:439. —L.B.

**HYDATIUS**, Latin historian and churchman; born Lemica (mod. Ginzo de Limia) in northern Spain ca.395, died Galicia? ca.470. During youthful eastern travels, Hydatius met JEROME at Bethlehem. Back in Spain, he was ordained in 416 and by 427 was consecrated bishop of an unknown see,

perhaps Aquae Flaviae (mod. Chaves in Portugal). On a secular trip to Gaul in 431 he met the general AETIUS, toward whom he may be too partial. In 460, the Suevi kidnapped and briefly imprisoned him. As a theologian, Hydatius acquired a reputation as an expert on Priscillianism (see PRISCILLIAN), which he opposed.

His *Chronicle*, a continuation of Jerome's, covers the period 379–469. Albeit not blind to the world at large, Hydatius focuses on Spain. While prone to inflate casualty figures and unduly partisan, he penned a reliable and well-considered account of most events, giving a uniquely rational reason, surprising in a bishop, for the retreat of ATILA from Rome. Hydatius can be a useful source for Byz. history when his part of the world is involved, for example, the Visigothic vicissitudes of GALLA PLACIDIA.

ED. *Chronique*, 2 vols., ed. A. Tranoy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. T. Mommsen in *MGH AuctAnt* 11:3–36.

LIT. E.A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* (Madison, Wisc., 1982) 137–60. C. Courtois, "Auteurs et scribes: remarques sur la chronique d'Hydace," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 23–54. C. Molè, "Uno storico del V secolo: Il vescovo Idazio," *SicGymn* 27 (1974) 279–351; 28 (1975) 58–139. —B.B.

**HYMN** (ὕμνος). A religious poem set to fairly simple music and sung in Byz. sacred services. In early Christianity, the term "hymn" was applied to all devotional CHANT; later it referred only to newly written poems, as distinguished from the scriptural psalms and canticles. The earliest hymns are known to us from the New Testament: the Magnificat, the Song of Symeon, and the short poetic texts quoted by St. Paul in his epistles. Byz. hymns appear first in patristic literature, important early examples being the "Homily on Pascha" (a distant precursor of the KONTAKION) by Bp. Melito of Sardis and the PHOS HILARON and *Ho monogenes hyios* (see MONOGENES, HO), two early TROPARIA, the latter ascribed to Justinian I.

Although no original music for these hymns survives, probably, like their Gregorian counterparts, Byz. melodies were largely based on the principle of one tone to each syllable of the text, which made them suitable for congregational singing. Even the music for the hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE and JOHN OF DAMASCUS is unfortunately lost, but the dramatic character of the texts suggests that they were chanted in a kind of



recitative. Clearly they originally must have had a syllabic musical setting because many hymns are hundreds of lines long and any other kind of performance could scarcely have been feasible. After about the 8th C., when musical responsibility shifted from the congregation to trained choirs, more elaborate styles developed and the hymn texts were subjected at first to melismatic (ornamental) and then to kalophonic (highly florid) treatment (see TERETISMATA).

ED. *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*, ed. W. Christ, M. Paranikas (Leipzig 1871). *Ekloge hellenikes orthodoxou hymnographias*, ed. P.N. Trempelas (Athens 1949).

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). —D.E.C.

**HYMNOGRAPHY**, a fertile and creative area of Byz. LITERATURE. A HYMN can be defined as a poem on a religious topic, primarily intended for liturgical use and to be sung, but also including verse written for private devotional purposes. The decisions of the Councils of Laodikeia (4th C.) and Braga (6th C.) prohibited hymns in the liturgy on other than scriptural themes. Hymn singing was part of Christian worship, as it had been of Jewish practice, from the earliest years. Possible specimens of such hymns can be extracted from the New Testament (e.g., Eph 1:3–14) and from the church fathers (e.g., the Easter Homily of Melito of Sardis), while embedded in the 4th-C. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS are hymns such as "Glory in the highest" and "O, gladsome light" (PHOS HILARON); other similar hymns also survive on papyrus. The limited evidence leads to the conclusion that these early hymns were written in rhythmic prose, used a simple language, and were sung responsorially. From the 5th C. there are a few indications (e.g., the comments of Abba Pambo [Christ-Paranikas, *infra*, xxix–xxx] and the phrases preserved in the Life of Auxentios [PG 114:1416]) that the psalms and canticles were now part of the Orthros and Vespers services and that TROPARIA and STICHERA, stanzas inserted between psalm verses, were in use (although some monastic communities were opposed to music in services). The earliest hymn writers known by name (Anthimos and Timokles) are also recorded from this period, though none of their works can now be identified.

Hymns had also been written in classical meters (e.g., by GREGORY OF NYSSA or SYNESIOS), but these, of limited appeal and intelligibility, were

unlikely to have been intended for liturgical use. There had developed, however, in response to the evolution of the spoken language and under influence from Syriac literary patterns, increasingly elaborate verse forms that built lines using stress rhythms, an equal number of syllables for phrases in corresponding stanzas, and acrostics. These tendencies culminated in the KONTAKION, a metrical homily consisting of a *prooimion* and a varying number of *oikoi*, or stanzas, linked by an ACROSTIC. The *kontakion*, probably chanted by the preacher with the choir singing the refrain at the end of each *oikos*, became the dominant form of the hymn in the late 5th–6th C. Though antecedents for many of its features can be found in earlier phases of Greek literature (e.g., in the late 3rd-C. *Partheneion* of METHODIOS, bishop of Olympos), the most immediate models exist in Syriac and esp. in the works of EPHREM THE SYRIAN. At its best, as in the AKATHISTOS HYMN or the Christmas Hymn of ROMANOS THE MELODE, the leading exponent of the genre, the *kontakion* is characterized by vivid dialogue and striking imagery.

Toward the end of the 7th C. the *kontakion* was replaced by the KANON, for reasons not fully understood, but perhaps connected with a change to a more varied musical setting. As late as the 9th C. *kontakia* were written (notably by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER), but normally in shortened form for use within the *kanon*. A *kanon*, paraphrasing and meditating on the nine biblical canticles which it replaces, consists of nine odes, each made up of an *heirmos* and several *troparia*. Innumerable examples of *kanones*, many as yet unedited, survive either in full or abbreviated service books, such as the MENAION. Notable exponents of the genre include ANDREW OF CRETE, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, and Joseph the Hymnographer.

Though hymns, in the form of *kanones*, *stichera*, and *troparia*, continued to be written until the fall of Constantinople, for all practical purposes by the end of the 11th C. the liturgical calendar was full; few additions were made later. The Orthodox church in southern Italy, led from the GROTTAFERRATA monastery, long remained an active center of hymn writing. Many hymns, like those of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, which were not on scriptural subjects, may have been intended for personal use only.

Hymns of all types, whether long forms like the

*kontakion* and *kanon*, or the shorter elements like the *troparia* and *stichera*, were a vital feature of the services of the Orthodox church, involving *psaltes* (SINGER), choir, and congregation. Their language, drawing on the *koine* of the Old and New Testaments, was rarely complex, though in the *kanon*, communication seems sometimes to have been subordinate to the musical setting. Limited to paraphrasing biblical passages in ways relevant to a particular feast or saint, the authors' ingenuity is frequently admirable.

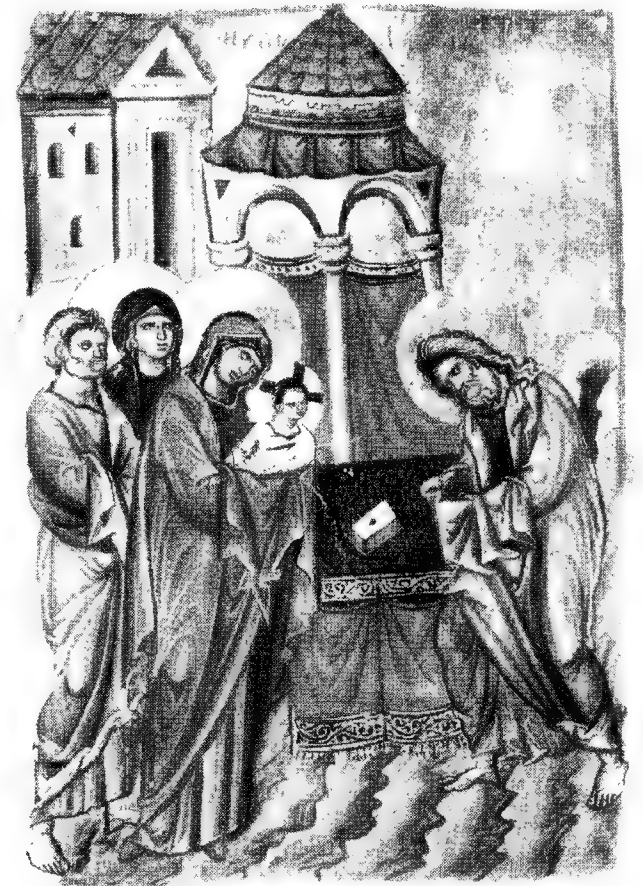
Hymnographers, while predominantly monks and clerics, nevertheless came from all walks of life and included emperors (e.g., Justinian I, Leo VI), some learned scholars (e.g., John MAUROPOUS), and a few women such as KASSIA (E. Catafygiotu-Topping, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 98–111). With the early acceptance of stress meters at a time when literary compositions were struggling to impose the irrelevant archaic quantitative meters, hymn writers acknowledged the fact of linguistic change and the need for accessibility with greater realism than the classicizing secular poets.

ED. W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871; rp. 1963). E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 6 vols. (Rome 1960–66). G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols. (Rome 1966–83).

LIT. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1961). K. Mitsakis, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Thessalonike 1971). —E.M.J.

**HYPAPANTE** (ὕπαπαντή, lit. "meeting"), the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Lk 2:22–38) at the time of Mary's purification, 40 days after giving birth. The Hypapante, one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, is celebrated 2 Feb.

A Presentation feast is first seen in Jerusalem ca.384; it was celebrated on 14 Feb., this being the 40th day after 6 Jan., the feast of EPIPHANY, which at that time in the East comprised the Nativity as well as the Baptism. In 518, Severos of Antioch called Hypapante a recent Palestinian innovation not celebrated in either Antioch or Constantinople (PO 29:246.16–26; cf. 38:400–15). Justinian I decreed its celebration throughout the empire (Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG 147:292A). There is some confusion concerning the date on which the feast was celebrated in Constantinople. Under Justinian it was 2 Feb. (M. van Esbroeck, AB 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44), but in 602 the riot that broke out against



HYPAPANTE. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Miniature from a Gospel book (Getty Museum, 83.MB 69 [MS Ludwig II 5], fol.129v); 13th C. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

Emp. Maurice during his procession to Blachernai to celebrate the feast apparently took place on 14 Feb. (M. Higgins, *Traditio* 1 [1943] 409f).

The Hypapante has one day of forefeast, a *synaxis* the following day, and seven days of afterfeast, which may be foreshortened by an early Lent. Despite the fact that, in the celebration of the feast, the theme of Jesus' encounter with Symeon predominated over that of the Virgin's purification, the Hypapante was considered one of the five Marian Great Feasts and was celebrated by the emperor at the Church of the Virgin at BLACHERNAI.

**Representation in Art.** Rare in art of the 7th and 8th C., the Hypapante attained its standard composition in the 9th C. Usually showing Symeon and Anna standing to the right of a ciborium and altar and the Virgin with the Child and Joseph with his donation of pigeons to the left, the event is presented as a theophanic recognition



of Christ. Symeon, who perceived Christ's divinity, displaces the priest at the altar, often assuming his vestments, and Anna may gesture in ACCLAMATION. An alternative composition, developed in the 9th C. but widespread only in the 12th, emphasizes the themes of Christ's sacrifice and Mary's grief, as Symeon holds the Child over the altar and the Virgin assumes her mourning posture from the Crucifixion. The late 12th-C. image of Symeon alone cradling the Child in the posture of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA derived from this composition, showing Symeon as a prophet of Christ's PASSION. Both variants of the full composition and the condensed "Symeon Glykophilon" ("sweet-beloved") continued into Palaiologan art.

LIT. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem* (Brussels 1978) 2–6. D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB* 28 (1946) 17–32. H. Maguire, "The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 261–69. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

#### HYPARCH. See EPARCH.

**HYPATIA** (Ἰπατία), Neoplatonist teacher; born Alexandria between 355 and 360 (R. Penella, *Historia* 33 [1984] 126–28), died Alexandria 415. Educated at Alexandria, Hypatia owed her zeal for mathematics to her father THEON, whose work she assisted and surpassed, revising the third book of his commentary on the *Almagest* of PTOLEMY; her commentaries on Diophantos of Alexandria and the *Conics* of Apollonios of Perga are lost. Hypatia remained in Alexandria to become that city's most celebrated and adored teacher of mathematics and NEOPLATONISM (the version of PORPHYRY rather than that of IAMBlichos). Pupils (SYNESIOS being her most famous one), populace, and statesmen alike succumbed to her dazzling combination of intellect, beauty, virtue (which disappointed would-be seducers), eloquence, and political acumen. All this and her paganism provoked the hatred of CYRIL of Alexandria, who may or may not have procured her brutal murder by a gang of hospital attendants (PARABALANOI) led by one Peter the Reader.

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vols. 2–3, ed. A. Rome (Rome 1936–43).

LIT. J.M. Rist, "Hypatia," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 214–25. F. Schaefer, "St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Murder of Hypatia," *Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902) 441–53. D. Shan-

zer, "Merely a Cynic Gesture?" *Rivista di Filologia* 113 (1985) 61–66. —B.B.

**HYPATIOS** (Ἰπάτιος), bishop of Gangra, legendary 4th-C. saint; feastday 14 Nov. His major miracle was the killing of a dragon that had taken up residence in the state treasury under Constantius II, thus causing severe financial problems; Hypatios used his staff, topped with a cross, to kill the dragon, and the icon of Hypatios was allegedly placed at the treasury entrance to protect it. After returning to Gangra with the emperor's fiscal privilege, the abolition of the tax called *xylelaion* (Ferri, *infra* 83.1–5), Hypatios was murdered by partisans of NOVATIANISM.

Several vitae and a *passio* are dedicated to Hypatios. It was suggested by Ferri that the earliest vita was written in the 5th C. and the *passio*, teeming with fantastic episodes, between 500 and 700, but F. Halkin (*AB* 51 [1933] 392–95) demonstrated that his argument was ill founded. If the abolition of the *xylelaion* reflects the same measure recorded as a law of Justinian I (Malal. 437.17–18), the vita cannot be earlier than the 6th C.; if the Scythian *basileus* Chobar was modeled on Kouber-KUVRAT, the *passio* was produced after 680.

**Representation in Art.** The *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.181) shows the bishop confronting the dragon by spearing it in the mouth and setting it afire. The saint himself is then killed by a woman throwing stones from an upstairs window (though the title of the page refers to his *koimesis*, or peaceful death). The composition is repeated in the illustrated "imperial" *menologion* in Moscow (Hist. Mus. 183, fol.158).

SOURCES. S. Ferri, "Il Bioso e il Martirion di Hypatios di Gangrai," *SBN* 3 (1931) 69–103. F. Halkin, "Un recueil de légendes hagiographiques: Le MS. Bollandien 1009," *BZ* 44 (1951) 253–57.

LIT. *BHG* 759–759f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 6:562.

—A.K., N.P.S.

**HYPATIOS**, general who was briefly declared emperor in 532; died Constantinople 19 Jan. 532. The nephew of Emp. Anastasios I, he was consul ca.500. In 503 he was sent with Patrikios and AREOBINDUS to command a campaign against the Persians. In 513 he was *magister militum* in Thrace, where his unpopular administration contributed

to the revolt of VITALIAN. Defeated in 514, he was deprived of his position, then reinstated, defeated once more, and captured by the rebels. He was commander again in the East under Justin I and negotiated with the envoys of KAVĀD; the negotiations failed, and after an investigation Hypatios was removed from the court. In 529 he was replaced as the Eastern commander by BELISARIOS. In 532, at the time of the NIKA REVOLT, Hypatios was proclaimed emperor but was executed when the rebellion was quelled. His body was thrown into the sea, but was later washed up and buried in the Church of St. Maura; verses supposedly written for his cenotaph survive in the *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr* bk.7, nos. 591–92). His property was confiscated but later restored to his children.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:577–81. A. Čekalova, "Narod i senatorskaja opozicija v vosstanii Nika," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 24–34.

—T.E.G.

**HYPATIOS**, bishop of Ephesus (from 531); died ca.541. Early in his bishopric he presided at the conference convoked at Constantinople by Justinian I to reconcile SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites, whom he confounded by showing the spuriousness of the writings ascribed to DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (J. Gouillard, *REB* 19 [1961] 75). He was also the orthodox spokesman at the Council of Constantinople in 536 that anathematized Severos and other Monophysites. In the interim, Hypatios had taken Justinian's request for a ruling on THEOPASCHITISM to Pope John II (533–35) at Rome. Fragments remain of at least two books titled *Miscellaneous Questions*, answers to the questions of his suffragan, Julian of Atramyttion (H.G. Thümmel, *BS* 44 [1983] 161–70). They include an important statement on the cult of images in which church art is defended as an appropriate aid for uneducated people to progress from material to spiritual contemplation of the divine. The many citations in biblical catenae suggest his authorship of commentaries on Psalms, the Twelve Prophets, and Luke. An inscription (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.108) found at Ephesus in 1904 preserves his instructions on the obligations of Christian burial.

ED. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 109–53. Partial Eng. tr., Mango, *Art* 116f.

LIT. S. Gero, "Hypatios of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*,

*Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1975) 208–16. P.J. Alexander, "Hypatios of Ephesus: A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR* 45 (1952) 177–84. —B.B.

**HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI**, saint; born Phrygia ca.366, died near Chalcedon 466, on 30 June, according to J. Pargoire (*BZ* 8 [1899] 451); feastday 17 June. A *scholastikos*, Hypatios's father educated his son well, but after a family conflict Hypatios left home for Thrace and became a shepherd. At about 20 he joined an ascetic, Jonas, and assisted him in building the fortified monastery of Halmyrissos. Circa 400 Hypatios founded the monastery of ROUPHINIANAI; from 406 he was its *hegoumenos*. From 436 onward, he was considered the "father" of all the monks of Constantinople. His monastery was a community of laborers; the monks earned their living by making woolen garments and baskets and by gardening (pp. 100.14–16, 248.7–14). Hypatios struggled against pagan traditions; he prevented the prefect Leontios from restoring Olympic games in Chalcedon and caused the disappearance of ARTEMIS, a giant female demon (pp. 270–72). He supposedly resisted Nestorianism even before the Council of EPHEBUS and was connected with the AKOMETOI (E. Wolfe, *BZ* 79 [1986] 302–09). The preamble of Hypatios's Life says that it was written by his disciple Kallinikos and discovered by an anonymous "editor" who corrected the style, esp. mistakes caused by "the Syriac dialect." Bartelink (*infra* 12) trusts this claim and dates the Life to 447–50. If, however, the preamble is fictitious, the author must have lived later—in the 6th C., according to Beck (*Kirche* 404).

SOURCE. *Callinikos, Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. and Fr. tr. G.J.M. Bartelink (Paris 1971). Ital. tr. C. Capizzi (Rome 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 760. G.J.M. Bartelink, "Text Parallels between the *Vita Hypatii* of Callinikos and the Pseudo-Macariana," *VigChr* 22 (1968) 128–36. —A.K.

**HYPATOS** (ὑπάτος), Greek term for CONSUL. *Hypatos* and *apo hypaton* (ex-consul) became honorific titles by the 6th C. and declined in importance thereafter. A letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT shows that in Constantinople one could obtain *cartas exconsulatus* for 30 librae (C. Courtois, *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 54f). The seals of *hypatoi* and *apo hypaton* are numerous from the 7th–9th C.; the title is usually combined with modest func-

tions, bureaucratic and fiscal, even though sometimes the *hypatos* could serve as *strategos* (e.g., Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 918–19). In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *hypatos* is a title following that of SPATHARIOS, and owners of several seals are titled *spatharios* and *hypatos*. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial *hypatos* appears as an office—according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 325) with judiciary functions. The texts of the 11th C. again present *hypatos* as a title but of a higher rank than the PROTOSPATHARIOS; the title seems to have disappeared after 1111. (See also ANTHYPATOS; DISHYPATOS.)

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 296. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 342–46. —A.K.

**HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON** (“chief of the philosophers”), title of the president of the school of PHILOSOPHY in Constantinople. F. Fuchs (*Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig-Berlin 1926] 29f) suggested that the office already existed in the 10th C., but the chrysobull of Romanos I that mentions the *hypatos ton philosophon* Paul Xeropotaminos (*Xerop.* 227.18) is a forgery, and Constantine, under Emp. Constantine VII, was *kathegetes* and not *hypatos*. Thus the title was apparently introduced in 1047 (or slightly earlier) by Emp. Constantine IX for Michael PSELLOS, whose successors were JOHN ITALOS and THEODORE OF SMYRNA (ca.1112). The office reappears ca.1165 or 1167, when the future patriarch MICHAEL III received this post. While the first *hypatoi* were serious scholars who contributed much to the development of philosophy, Michael’s appointment had a different purpose, to control the followers of “pagan” philosophy and to defend the purity of Orthodox tenets. The office continued to exist in later centuries: in the 14th-C. lists of functionaries, the *hypatos* occupies a place between the *logothetes tou dromou* and *megas chartoularios* (pseudo-Kod. 300.21–22, 321.48) or is named in the same breath as the “first of the rhetors,” *dikaiophylox* and *nomophylax* (338.143–45), probably an anachronistic statement reflecting the situation of the 11th C. The *hypatoi* of the 13th and 14th C. were teachers acting under the supervision of the patriarchate (Fuchs, *ibid.* 50–52).

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, “Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque,” *TM* 6 (1976) 231–33, 242f. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der*

*Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 83. Browning, *Studies*, pt.IV (1961), 181–85. —A.K.

**HYPERBOLE** (ὑπερβολή), one of the TROPES, an exaggerated statement whose goal was the embellishment of speech. Byz. theoreticians, following their ancient predecessors, considered hyperbole as an exaggeration beyond verisimilitude (e.g., George CHOIROBOSKOS in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:252.25–29). However, a modern critic may view the term beyond its limited role of stylistic ornamentation and consider the Byz. vision of the cosmos as hyperbolic. This was expressed, on the lowest level, through frequent use of prefixes such as *poly-* or *archi-* or superlatives (to stress the extreme of certain qualities). It was also expressed, on a higher level, through means used in other medieval literatures as well: endowing the hero (or antihero) with exaggerated qualities such as irresistible power, overwhelming beauty, immeasurable cruelty, or an extraordinary ability to endure pain or deprivation. The hyperbolic vision of people and objects was typical of certain genres, esp. hagiography, hymnography, and epideictic oratory. Rhetorical hyperbole could be traditional, tinged with antiquarian allusions. Thus Attaleiates asserts that his hero’s generosity surpassed the riches of the gold-bearing rivers Pactolus and Chrysorrhoe (*Attal.* 273.22–274.3; cf., e.g., Strabo 13:4.5), but the same Attaleiates could make more innovative comparisons, as, for example, his description of a victory so bloodless that not a single nose was bloody (*Attal.* 271.8–9). The use of hyperbole is also found in Byz. art as in depictions of the priest Symeon flying through the air to meet the infant Jesus in the temple (Maguire, *Art and Rhetoric* 84–90).

LIT. A. Quacquarelli, “Note sull’iperbole nella sacra Scrittura e nei Padri,” *VetChr* 8 (1971) 5–26. —A.K.

**HYPEROON.** See GALLERY.

**HYPERPYRON** (νόμισμα ὑπέρπυρον, lit. “highly refined”), the gold coin of standard weight (4.55 g) but only 20.5 carats fine, introduced by ALEXIOS I in 1092 and continued by his successors, though a few earlier 11th-C. references show the name already had been applied to NOMISMATA. The term continued in use until the end of the empire, but after gold coins ceased to be struck

at Byz. in the mid-14th C. it became a money of account, divided notionally into 24 KERATIA. The shortened forms *perperum* (Lat.) and *perpero* (It.) are Western. In the Balkans and southern Slavic borderlands it provided in various forms (e.g., *perper*, *iperpero*) a convenient name for a number of denominations, usually silver, and moneys of account.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 215–17. Hendy, *Economy* 513–17. —Ph.G.

**HYPOBOLON** (ὑπόβολον), the term used from the time of Leo VI for the wedding gift of a man to his wife. Formerly called DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS, it had been obligatory since the reign of Justinian I. Leo VI promulgated three novels on the *hypobolon*. According to the novels, the *hypobolon* should be of less value than the DOWRY. In the case of childlessness and the predecease of the husband, it fell in full to the wife; if the wife died before her husband, it reverted to him (nov. 20). If there were children, the surviving spouse obtained a portion of equal value to the inheritance of a child—as in Justinianic law—but the portion was not calculated on the value of the *hypobolon* (or dowry) but on that of the entire property of the predeceased (novs. 22 and 85). The amount of the *hypobolon* to be provided by the husband, or his family, varied. According to the *Peira* and the treatise *De hypobolo* by Eustathios RHOMAIOS (ed. D.R. Reinsch, *FM* 7 [1986] 239–52), in cases of uncertainty the *hypobolon* amounted to half the dowry; lower amounts were also possible. According to the SYNOPSIS MINOR (Y 4), in default of other agreements, the *hypobolon* amounted to a third of the dowry.

LIT. Simon, “Ehegüterrecht” 225–30. J. Beaucamp, “Proikoūpobolon-Hypobolon-Hypoballo,” in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 153–61. L. Margetić, “Bizantsko bračno imovinsko pravo u svjetlu novele XX Iava Mudroga,” *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 19–50. —M.Th.F.

**HYPOCAUST** (ὑπόκαυστον), Roman system of radiant heating in which hot air circulated under a floor made of square or circular brick or tile and raised on low piers (*suspensurae*); heat could also rise through flues in the walls. Hypocausts can be found throughout the Roman world in public and private BATHS and in palaces and upper-class housing. Until at least the 6th C. Byz. builders continued the hypocaust system throughout

the empire, both maintaining Roman structures (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 49f) and adding new hypocausts, even in monasteries (A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Munich 1982] 102–07; Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 100–08).

LIT. P. Magdalino, “The Bath of Leo the Wise,” in *Maistor* 225–40. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Čaričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977) 130–45, 349–52. H. Hunger, “Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern,” *SbWien* no.367 (Vienna 1980) 353–64. —K.M.K., W.L.

**HYPOMNEMA** (ὑπόμνημα), term designating various kinds of documents (e.g., in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67303, II 67131). A *hypomnema* petition was addressed to the emperor; the response to it was called *lysis* (see RESCRIPTUM) or *semeiosis*. A letter of Patr. Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1774) mentions *hypomnestika* as short documents compiled in the patriarchal chancellery and goes on to complain about the greed of copyists who made such compilations; it is plausible that the patriarch was referring to petitions. Usually, however, the patriarchal chancellery defined the term differently. In earlier documents *hypomnema* designated synodal decisions or minutes (e.g., synodal *hypomnemata* of 29 Sept. 394—*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.10), but evidently from the 10th C. onward it applied to a patriarchal decree. The first case of its use is allegedly a lost act of Nicholas I Mystikos of 923 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.684), but it is only called a *hypomnema* by Patr. Nicholas III in 1084. A patriarchal *hypomnema* (e.g., the act of Matthew I of 1398—*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3066) was a solemn decree provided with a seal and signature; the designation *sigilliodes hypomnema* was sometimes employed (SIGILLION from the mid-13th C. onward). A *hypomnema* decision or record could be produced in other offices; thus Theodore of Nicaea (mid-10th C.), in a letter to the eparch Constantine, mentions that officials’ “wise *hypomnemata*” (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 304.7).

A special official, the *hypomnematographos*, is mentioned in the 10th-C. *taktikon* of Benešević (Oikonomides, *Listes* 251.26) and later texts. In the above-cited letter of Patr. Athanasios, *ho epi ton hypomnematon* is one of the senior officials of the patriarchal chancellery. *Hypomnema* was also a form of panegyric of a saint, e.g., the *hypomnemata* on the Twelve Prophets (BHG 1591).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 82–85. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 362f, 399–426. —A.K.

**HYPOSTASIS** (ὕποστασις, lit. "substance"), an ancient term used by philosophers and scientists primarily to designate individual or real existence; PLOTINOS applied it to his supreme principles—the One, Intellect, and Soul. The word appears in the New Testament five times without having any technical meaning, and in its use by 3rd-C. theologians it was not clearly distinguished from *ousia* (SUBSTANCE); at the First Council of Nicaea it was used as a synonym for *ousia*. As late as the Council of SERDICA hypostasis was conceived of as real existence, and the acceptance of individual divine hypostases proclaimed heretical. Only at the Council of Alexandria in 362 did ATHANASIOS of Alexandria approve the difference between the terms hypostasis and *ousia*, and in the wake of the creed of the First Council of Constantinople in 381 the Cappadocian interpretation of the TRINITY as three hypostases and one *ousia* became canonical.

Hypostasis was contrasted to the substance or NATURE of the divinity, and defined as the individual property (*idiotes*) of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, whereas *ousia*—as an individual reality—was the element they shared (*koinon*) that presupposed a Stoic ontology. In Christology hypostasis was equated with the concept of PERSON at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). This teaching was further developed by JOHN OF CAESAREA and LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM who defined the hypostasis as "being-for-itself" (*kath' heauten einai*), discerning two degrees of individuation, the nature and the person; this formula was analyzed by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 22.4.85–86 [p.303]).

The distinction between *ousia* and hypostasis was not fully understood in the Latin West, which tended to translate both terms as *substantia*; this accounted for the Eastern opinion that the West was Nestorian, that is, that the concept of two natures was in fact the concept of two hypostases in CHRIST. This linguistic misunderstanding appears in John of Caesarea and Anastasios of Sinai.

LIT. H. Dörrie, *Hypostasis* (Göttingen 1955). A. de Halleux, "Hypostase et 'personne' dans la formation du dogme trinitaire," *RHE* 79 (1984) 313–69, 625–70. Prestige, *God* 162–90. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 319–21. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. Idem, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor," in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn (Fribourg 1982) 223–33. —K.-H.U.

**HYPOTHEC** (ὑποθήκη, lit. "deposit, pledge"), in Roman law, a type of pledge or security. It differed from a PIGNUS in that the object pledged remained with the debtor, even though the rights of possession were vested in the creditor. Justinianic law and Byz. legal textbooks retained the Roman distinction between hypothec and *pinus*; thus, a scholion to *Basil.* 25.1.1 rejects as mistaken the application of the term *hypothekē* to a *pinus* (*enechyron*), arguing that the *pinus* was contracted by the physical transfer of the object, the hypothec "by simple agreement (*symphonon*)." A pledge without any actual physical transfer of the object was known in late Byz. practice: an act of 1285 describes the case of Theodore Branas who loaned a man 1.33 *litrai* of silver; when the man died and his widow could not repay the loan, she pledged olive trees to Branas equivalent to the amount of the debt. She retained the right to regain her trees after having repaid the loan; no interest is mentioned (MM 4:114.21–28).

The term "general *hypothekē*," however, is used in documents with the meaning of "guarantee" (e.g., *Docheiar.* no.3.3–4; *Lavra* 1, no.53.6), applied not to a pledge but to the sale or exchange of land. The term *rhethē hypothekē*, in the will of Theodore Kerameas of 1284, refers to a certain piece of land used as security for a loan (*Lavra* 2, no.75.40–42).

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 475f. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.251.4. —A.K.

**HYRTAKENOS, THEODORE**, early 14th-C. writer and teacher in Constantinople; born in Hyrtakos on the Kyzikos peninsula (F. Dölger, *BZ* 31 [1931] 411f). Hyrtakenos (Ἰρτακηνός) is known only from his writings, which include an *enkomion* of Andronikos II and monodies for Michael IX, Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat, and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a panegyric of the Theotokos and an *enkomion* of the anchorite Aninas the miracle worker. His *ekphrasis* on the Garden of St. Anne is based on a picture that he reports having seen.

His 93 surviving letters are addressed to such luminaries as Andronikos II, Patr. John XIII Glykys (S.I. Kourouses, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 344–53), Nikephoros Choumnos, and esp. Theodore Metochites (21 letters). In them, he complains about his straitened circumstances (surely exaggerated)

and appeals for a *siteresion* (payment in money or grain) for his services as a teacher and placement on the state payroll. One letter includes a request for a coat lined with fox fur. Other letters describe his exchange of books with friends, requests for copies of MSS, and references to his own library. Constantine Loukites, who was in Trebizond, commissioned him to purchase a copy of the *Odyssey* in Constantinople (ep.56). Hyrtakenos was well

read in classical literature; his correspondence contains an unusual number of mythological allusions and citations of ancient authors.

ED. Letters—ed. F.J.G. LaPorte du Theil, in *Notices et extraits* 5 (1798) 709–44; 6 (1800) 1–48. *Enkomia*, monodies, and *ekphrasis*—ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:248–92; 2:409–53; 3:1–70.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 691. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:184. *Tusculum-Lexikon* 776. —A.M.T., Ap.K.



**IAMBlichos** (Ἰάμβλιχος), Neoplatonist philosopher; born Chalkis (in Coele-Syria) ca.250, died ca.325. Iamblichos supposedly learned about NEOPLATONISM from PORPHYRY in Rome. Later he established his own school at Apameia in Syria, where he expounded a mixture of Neoplatonism, Pythagorean thought, and eastern mysticism to the detriment of the theories of PLOTINOS, further dazzling his students with genuine or stage-managed feats of clairvoyance and levitation. His name became talismanic among the pagan rearguard opposition to Christianity, esp. Emp. JULIAN.

His extant writings comprise a Life of Pythagoras, a *Protreptikos* (or *Exhortation to Philosophy*), and three mathematical treatises; the authorship of *On the Mysteries*, a defense of magic, is disputed but it is probably an authentic work of Iamblichos. A fragment of his treatise on rhetoric survives. Commentaries on Plato, Aristotle, and the Chaldean oracles are mostly lost, as are the essays *On the Soul* (some fragments survive in STOBAIOS) and *On the Gods*. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (*Lives of the Sophists* 458 [p.362]) deprecates his uncouth style. Iamblichos influenced the course of Neoplatonism through both his writings and his pupils, eclectically importing all manner of superstitions and eastern beliefs, perverting mysticism into magic, and fitting these new elements into an ever more expanding and abstruse system with a heavy reliance on trinitarian subdivisions.

ED. *De vita pythagorica liber*, ed. L. Deubner (Leipzig 1937; rp. Stuttgart 1975). *Protrepticus*, ed. E. Pistelli (Leipzig 1888; rp. Stuttgart 1967). *Les mystères d'Égypte*, ed. E. des Places (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. T. Taylor (London 1968). *Theologoumena arithmeticae*<sup>2</sup>, ed. V. de Falco (Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 294–301. B.D. Larsen, *Jamblique de Chalcis* (Aarhus 1972). J.F. Finamore, *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (Chico, Calif., 1985). J. Vanderspoel, "Iamblichus at Daphne," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 83–86. —B.B.

**IAMBOL** (Διάμπολις), city in eastern Bulgaria on the river Tundža, sometimes identified as late Roman Diospolis. On the route from Adrianople to the passes over the Balkan range, Iambol played

an important role in hostilities between Byz. and Bulgaria as well as in confrontations with invaders from the steppes. Ceded to Bulgaria by Justinian II in 705, it was recaptured in the mid-8th C. by Constantine V and retaken in 812 by KRUM. After John I Tzimiskes captured it in 971, it remained in Byz. hands for two centuries. In 1049 the Byz. general Constantine Arianites was defeated by the Pechenegs at Iambol, and in 1093/4 the city surrendered to the Cumans, who held it briefly. From ca.1190 it was incorporated in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the late 13th C. Iambol changed hands several times; during the 14th C. it was a Bulgarian frontier city, twice taken and briefly occupied by the Byz. An inscription records the setting up of a column, no doubt to mark the frontier, by IVAN ALEXANDER in 1356/7. In 1373 the Ottoman Turks conquered Iambol.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Jambol v epochata na pŭrvata i vtorata bŭlgarskata dŭržava," in *Istoriya na grad Jambol*, ed. Z. Atanasov (Sofia 1976) 43–69. Ph. Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften der Hämus-Halbinsel, 1: Die bulgarischen Inschriften* (Thessalonike 1979) 84–86. —R.B.

**IASITES** (Ἰασίτης), a noble family known from ca.1000. Some were generals, such as Nikephoros, *strategos* of Cherson, and Michael, *archon* of Iberia, who commanded the troops sent in 1047 against Leo TORNIKIOS. Another (Michael?) Iasites married Eudokia, Alexios I's daughter, ca.1110, but soon fell from imperial favor and was expelled from the palace; perhaps his support of JOHN ITALOS caused his dismissal. The Iasitai were also related to the KEROULARIOI. Some of them founded a monastery in Constantinople before 1158. Later Iasitai are known as judges (Constantine, *epi ton deeseon*), fiscal officials (Iasites, *praktor* of Bulgaria before 1108), courtiers (Leo, *komes tou staulou*), members of the clergy (Michael, metropolitan of Nikomedeia, 1285–89), and literati (the monk and hagiographer JOB in the 1270s, Gregory in the 14th C.).

LIT. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 139–41. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253, 923. *PLP*, nos. 7956–60. —A.K.

**IASOS** (Ἰασός), coastal city on a peninsula in CARIA, west of MYLASA. It appears in written sources only as a base of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme and as a suffragan bishopric of APHRODISIAS; it is last mentioned in the 12th C. Its excavated remains, however, provide considerable information about the life of a small Byz. city. During late antiquity, Iasos maintained its civic buildings, added several churches, and expanded to the adjacent mainland where large houses, whose remains indicate much activity in processing agricultural products, were built. Its forum was demolished in the 6th C. After the 7th C., the apparent date of a new fortification wall, some parts of the city were abandoned and others changed as public and private structures were ruined and built over with small houses. The remains of these domestic buildings have provided evidence for manufacture of pottery, glass, and iron products. Iasos had evidently become smaller and poorer by the time of the dated evidence (9th–10th C.). Remains indicate occupation through the 13th C.; the region fell to the Turks before 1269.

LIT. *Annuario della scuola italiana di archeologia di Atene* 39/40 (1961/2) 505–71; 43/4 (1965/6) 401–546; 45/6 (1967/8) 537–90; 47/8 (1969/70) 461–532. C. Laviosa, "Iasos 1984," *AnatSt* 35 (1985) 193f.

**IATROSOPHISTES** (ιατροσοφιστής), term applied to teachers of medicine and skilled PHYSICIANS. *Iatrosophistai*, who survived as a class through the 7th C., were often suspected of cryptopaganism: Sophronios of Jerusalem, in the *Miracles* of KYROS AND JOHN (ed. Marcos, ch.30.2), tells of Gesios, an Alexandrian *iatrosophistes*, who allegedly was baptized under compulsion and uttered a Homeric couplet while in the font. Only after the saints cured his painful illness (which his own professional skill had been unable to correct) did Gesios convert to Christianity. The cults of healing martyrs such as Kyros and John or ARTEMIOS competed with the *iatrosophistai* for clients by publishing miracle collections that criticized the *iatrosophistai* for arrogance, high fees, and clinical failure. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis in *Panarion* 64.67.5 speaks of "iatrosophistic trickery," associating medical skill with magic. The term is used occasionally in later texts (e.g., Theophilos Protospatharios and the *Souda*), but Theophanes the Con-

fessor prefers a "separated" form, and speaks of a *sophistes* of medical science (Theoph. 382.18).

—F.R.T.

**IATRUS** (Ἰατρὺς), late Roman stronghold (*phrou-rion* in Prokopios, *polis* in Simokattes) in MOESIA II on the Danube, near the modern Bulgarian village of Krivina, east of NOVAE. It was founded after 293, probably in the early 4th C., as a military station, and is characterized by a uniform building plan (around the *via principalis* leading to the headquarters) and a relative uniformity in the ceramic types found there. Iatrus flourished ca.370–420, the barbarian invasions having no recognizable impact on its prosperity. At this time it acquired the character of a civilian settlement, with more diversified buildings and ceramics (28 amphora types, as opposed to 12 during the previous period). The invasion of the Huns in 422 destroyed Iatrus, and when it recovered at the end of the 5th C., the settlement was smaller and humbler; however, a basilica of the 6th C. has been discovered. Iatrus was probably abandoned by the Byz. soon after 600 and replaced by a village with semisubterranean habitations and local (possibly DACO-GETAN) ceramics. The Slavic infiltration (8th–9th C.) was slow and peaceful, typical Slavic ceramics existing side by side with the late Roman provincial types. The settlement seems to have been destroyed by the Hungarians in 895/6 and again by SVJATOSLAV in 968/9. The discovery of Byz. coins of the 11th C. and of a badly preserved seal of "str[at]ego[s] [D]emetr[ios] [K]ata[kalon?]" (*Iatrus-Krivina* [*infra*] 1:207) indicates a Byz. presence in the area.

LIT. *Iatrus-Krivina*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1979–86). T. Ivanov, "Schriftquellen und geographische Karten zur Geschichte von Iatrus," *Klio* 47 (1966) 5–10. G. von Bülow, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des spätrömischen Limeskas-tells Iatrus in Niedermösien," *BS* 41 (1980) 181–87.

—A.K.

**IBAS** (Ἰβᾶς), bishop of Edessa (435–49, 451–57); died Edessa 28 Oct. 457. A professor in the school of Edessa, Ibas is said to have translated works of Aristotle, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Diodoros of Tarsos into Syriac. An adherent of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL and an ardent anti-Monophysite, Ibas was at loggerheads with RABBULA, the bishop of Edessa. In 433 he had to leave

the city, but after Rabbula's death succeeded him as bishop. He was, however, unable to maintain peace in the church: he was accused of Nestorianism, and, although vindicated at hearings conducted in Tyre and Berytus, he was deposed by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449. The Council of CHALCEDON returned him to his see, where he remained until his death.

Of Ibas's works only a letter to Mari, bishop of Ktesiphon (Seleukeia on the Tigris), has survived—in a Greek translation of the original Syriac text (ACO, tom. II, vol. i, pt.3.32–34). Although Ibas reproached Nestorios for rejection of the title Theotokos, all his polemics were directed against CYRIL of Alexandria whom Ibas saw as the successor of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia. The fathers of Chalcedon approved the theology expressed in his letter, but Ibas's views continued to be controversial long after his death, and he was condemned in 553 during the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. After Ibas's death many of his partisans, teachers and students of the school of Edessa, moved to Nisibis.

LIT. A. d'Alès, "La lettre d'Ibas à Marès le Persien," *RechScRel* 22 (1932) 5–25. J.-M. Sauget, *DPAC* 2:1735f.

—T.E.G.

**IBERIA** (Ἰβηρία), northeasternmost theme of the Byz. Empire, created by Basil II from the inheritance of DAVID OF TAYK/TAO. The precise date of its creation is controversial; the theme was probably organized soon after Basil's campaign of 1001 and considerably earlier than 1022, when it was consolidated by the emperor's Iberian campaign. The territories of the theme first consisted of David's domains, stretching southward along the eastern Byz. frontier and into central Armenia, where it included the city of MANTZIKERT. In 1045, the lands of the BAGRATID kingdom of ŠIRAK became part of the theme and its administrative center shifted to ANI. The Seljuks captured this city in 1064, but in 1064/5 the Bagratid kingdom of KARS entered the theme, which included southern TAYK/TAO, Basean, and Kars, until it disappeared in the 1070s when the Seljuks advanced into imperial territory.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* (XI v.) (Erevan 1980) 108–35. Hr. Bartikjan, "O feme 'Iverija,'" *Vesnik obščestvennyh nauk Arm.* AN 12 (1974) 68–79. K.M. Yuzbashian,

"L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 154–83.

—N.G.G.

**IBERIANS** (Ἰβηροί). The term "Iberia" was used in Greek with various meanings. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 23) notes that it could mean Spain or Georgia in the Caucasus. Georgian Iberia corresponds with K'art'li, the eastern part of the medieval Georgian kingdom (see GEORGIA), and is to be distinguished from the theme of IBERIA, which included part of northern Armenia but not K'art'li. The various peoples of the Caucasus were often confused; thus John TZETZES calls the Iberians, Abchasians, and Alans one people (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 208).

"Iberian" was also used for Armenians who belonged to the Chalcedonian rather than the Gregorian Monophysite church (V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* [Erevan 1980]), those whom Armenian sources pejoratively call *cayt'* (see TZA-TOI). Hence the *typikon* of Gregory PAKOURIANOS permits only "Iberians" in his monastery. The term "Iberian" could also be applied to inhabitants of the theme of Iberia or, in its narrowest sense, to a monk from the monastery of IVERON.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "'Iver' v vizantijskikh istočnikach XI v.," *Bamber Matenadarani* 11 (1973) 46–67.

—R.T.

**IBERON MONASTERY.** See IVERON MONASTERY.

**IBN AL-ʿADĪM** (or Kamāl al-Dīn), Arab historian and Ayyūbid official; born Aleppo 1192, died Cairo 1262. He was a member of a prominent family that discharged various official responsibilities under the successive dynastic regimes in Aleppo (see BERROIA). He himself, after studies in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and the Hijaz, served in Aleppo as a diplomatic secretary, as a judge, and later as the chief minister of the Ayyūbid regime. In 1260, as the Mongols approached, ibn al-ʿAdīm fled from Aleppo to Egypt. When they withdrew, he revisited his native city, found it destroyed, and returned to Cairo.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm wrote several works, the most important of which are his two major books on Aleppo. *The Ultimate Quest of the History of Aleppo*, of which ten unpublished MS volumes survive, is an alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of men connected with Aleppo. His second historical book, *The Quintessence of Aleppo's History*, offers a chronological presentation of material gathered for the dictionary. The chronicle ends in the year 1243. It has the great merit of compiling all sources, and of recording various opinions on historical events and presenting the events in chronological order or according to political states. It includes Aleppo's relations with the Byz. during the 10th C. and the Crusader period.

ED. *Ultimate Quest*—partial Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:695–732. *Quintessence*, partial ed. S. Dāhhān, 3 vols. (Damascus 1951–68). Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:577–732. E. Blochet, "Histoire d'Alep de Kamāl-al-Dīn," *ROL* 3 (1895) 509–65; 4 (1896) 145–225; 5 (1897) 37–107; 6 (1898) 1–49.

LIT. S. Dahan in Lewis-Holt, *Historians*, 111–13. B. Lewis, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 3:695f. —A.S.E.

**IBN AL-ATHĪR**, or ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū'l-Hasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, Arab historian; born Jazīrat ibn ʿUmar (on the Tigris) 13 May 1160, died Mosul June 1233. Born into a prosperous scholarly family well connected with the ZANGIDS, he received an excellent education and became a private scholar enjoying official patronage. He traveled frequently, esp. to Syria, where he witnessed some of the campaigns of SALADIN and eventually settled in Aleppo.

He composed several biographical works and a history of the Zangids but is best known for his *Consummate History*, a vast work (from Creation to 1231) considered the acme of Arabic annalistic historiography. The earlier chapters, though largely based on al-ṬABARĪ, contain valuable accounts (mostly on military campaigns) from other sources now lost. For the 12th–13th C., he writes from personal knowledge and contemporary informants; though unquestionably preoccupied elsewhere, he offers a fragmentary but useful view of Byz. military history for 1164–1228. He describes the maneuvering between the various powers in Asia Minor and the reception of refugee Muslim princes in Constantinople, recounts several disastrous expeditions of the Komnenoi in Asia Minor, and provides details on the Third Crusade, including Byz. efforts to repel Frederick

I Barbarossa and the fall of Cyprus to Richard I Lionheart in 1192. The Latin conquest of Constantinople is described in detail. Later reports, though recounting continuing decline, portray Byz. as a still-formidable power.

ED. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Leiden 1851–76); rp. with corr. and add. as *Al-Kāmil fī'l-tārīkh*, 13 vols. (Beirut 1965–66). Extracts tr. J.T. Reinaud, C.F. Defrémery, RHC *Orient.* 1:187–744, 2:1–180.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:345f, supp. 1:587f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:129–62. F. Rosenthal, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 3:723f. D.S. Richards in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan (London 1982) 76–108. —L.I.C.

**IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ**, Arab historian of Muslim Syria; born Damascus ca. 1072, died there 17 March 1160. A member of a prominent family of Damascus, he twice served as its chief municipal official (*rāʾīs*). He is best known as the author of the chronicle *Continuation of the History of Damascus*, used heavily by several later generations of Muslim historians. It covers a dramatic period of Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian history extending from the mid-10th C. to 1160, overshadowed by the changing fortunes of Byz., Fātimid, Crusader, and Zangid protagonists. For anterior historical events, ibn al-Qalānisī relied on Syro-Egyptian archives and minor chronicles, but he based the coverage of contemporary developments on his own observations, eyewitness accounts, and documentary evidence. Although the work of ibn al-Qalānisī mainly deals with politico-social life in Damascus and in central Syria and Palestine, it constitutes a unique chronicle of the first 60 years of the Crusader period written from the Arab vantage point.

ED. *History of Damascus 363–555 a.h.*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut-Leiden 1908). *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb (London 1932). *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, tr. R. Le Tourneau (Damascus 1952).

LIT. C. Cahen, "Note d'historiographie syrienne, la première partie de l'histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass.—Leiden 1965) 157–67. —A.S.E.

**IBN BAṬṬŪṬA**, more fully Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, celebrated Arab traveler; born Tangier 1304, died Morocco ca. 1369 or 1377. A jurist by education, his extensive journeys by land and sea covered all Islamic lands and most other countries of Asia and Africa

and included visits to the Crimea, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. His *Travels* were dictated in 1355 at the request of the sultan of Morocco. Although scholars have minor qualms about his veracity, chronology, and the "editorial" role of his scribe, the *Travels* of ibn Baṭṭūṭa are an invaluable primary source for 14th-C. history. His account of Asia Minor (visited 1331–33) records the rise of the Ottoman principality under ORHAN; it is esp. illuminating on the processes of islamization, turkification, and Byz. decline. His report on the Crimean TATARS records their relations with the Palaiologoi, including the marriage of a Byz. princess to their khan. During a five-week visit to Constantinople (late 1331), having arrived via the Crimea with the caravan of the returning Byz. princess, ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Emp. Andronikos III and toured markets, churches, and monasteries. Valuable because of the uniqueness of his "private" visit, his sympathetic account also enriches our knowledge of the topography of 14th-C. Constantinople and Byz.-Islamic mutual perceptions.

ED. *Voyages*, ed. C. Defrémery, B.R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols. (Paris 1859–1922; rp. 1982), with Fr. tr. *Travels*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1958–71).

LIT. H.A.R. Gibb, "Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa en Asie Mineure et en Russie," in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1 (Paris 1962) 125–33. I. Hrbek, "The Chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels," *Archiv Orientalní* 30 (1962) 409–68. A. Miquel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 3:735f. R.E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986). —A.Sh.

**IBN BĪBĪ**, Arab author of a history, written in Persian, of the SELJUKS of Asia Minor (Rūm); fl. 13th C. His father served as secretary at the chancellery of the Seljuk sultan in Konya and went on several diplomatic missions. Ibn Bībī himself made a career at the same court, becoming the head of the chancellery of the secretariat of state.

Ibn Bībī's work, *ʿAlāʾid Commends* [i.e., of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay-qubādh I] *Concerning ʿAlāʾid Affairs*, completed in 1281/2, draws from his personal experiences at the court and covers events, including Seljuk-Byz. relations, from the end of the 12th C. until 1282. It is the only source of information about his own life. Apart from the main text (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 2985), there exist an abbreviated Persian version, *Mukhtaṣar*, composed in 1284/5 by an unknown writer while ibn Bībī was still alive, and a Turkish adaptation,

written in the early 15th C. by an Ottoman court historian, Yazıcıoğlu ʿAlī.

ED. *El-Evāmīrū'l-ʿAlāʾiyye fī'l-Umūrū'l-ʿAlāʾiyye*, ed. N. Lugal, A.S. Erzi (Ankara 1957). *Die Seltchukengeschichte*, tr. H.W. Duda (Copenhagen 1959).

LIT. P. Melioranskij, "Sel'džuk-name kak istočnik dlja istorii Vizantii v XII i XIII vekach," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 613–40. —A.S.E.

**IBN ḤAWQAL**, more fully Abū al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Naṣīb, Arab geographer of the systematic school (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS); born Nisibis, died after 988. His *Picture of the Earth* is a primary document for the historical geography of the Islamic world, Byz., and other lands. As a merchant-scholar, he traveled widely between 943 and 973, visiting the Caspian Sea region, Fātimid Egypt, North Africa, Sicily, Spain, and southern Italy. He knew the Arab-Byz. frontier region well and participated in Arab military expeditions into eastern Anatolia.

His book (first published before 967 and revised twice, ca. 977 and 988), though begun independently, is essentially a recast of the *Routes and Kingdoms* of al-Iṣṭakhrī, which the aging author requested him to edit when the two met in Baghdad (951–52). A comparison of the two works, with reference to Byz., the Thughur (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), Sicily, and Mediterranean trade, reveals ibn Ḥawqal's independent judgment and sense of history, as well as his concern for detail. His maps are also more developed and show some Byz. themes and towns. Equally important are his insightful remarks on Islamic Sicily, the policies of the ḤAMDĀNIDS, the military and financial policies of Nikephoros II Phokas, the decline of the Islamic Thughūr, and the impact of the Byz. *reconquista*. Of particular interest is his account of the Banū-Ḥabīb of Nisibis, cousins of the Ḥamdānids who, during the reign of John I Tzimiskes, converted to Christianity and cooperated with the Byz. in their campaigns against the Muslims. Ibn Ḥawqal reflects subtle FĀTIMID propaganda and is severely critical of the Ḥamdānids.

ED. *Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden 1938). *Configuration de la terre*, tr. G. Wiet, revised J.H. Kramers (Paris-Beirut 1964).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 198–205. A. Miquel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 3:786–88. —A.Sh.

**IBN JUBAYR**, more fully Abu al-Ḥusayn ibn Jubayr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Arab traveler and man of letters; born Valencia 1145, died



Alexandria 29 Nov. 1217. After working as a government secretary in Arab Granada for a time, he made two major and eventful sea journeys to Mecca and back (1183–85 and 1189–91) and a less eventful one in 1204 (Kračkovskij, *infra*) or 1217 (Pellat, *infra*). Only the first journey is recorded in his extant *Travels*. Ostensibly a pilgrim to Mecca, his main itinerary included Ceuta, Sicily, Alexandria, Cairo, Jedda, Mecca, Madina, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Tyre, Acre (the last two were in Crusader hands at the time), again Sicily, Cartagena, and Granada. He traveled on Genoese ships both ways with Christian and Muslim pilgrims and merchants.

His *Travels*, written in a diary form giving the names of Muslim and Christian months, is an important document for political, economic, and social conditions not only in Islamic lands but also in the Mediterranean world. In particular, it notes the conflicts and peaceable contacts between Crusaders and Muslims; Byz.-Genoese relations; and Sicily under WILLIAM II, including the conditions of Muslims. It gives, moreover, a valuable description of the cathedral of Palermo and a unique account of the Norman court. He also alludes to Byz.-Norman relations and records the curious echoes in Sicily of recent Seljuk victories over Byz. Especially interesting is his report on Andronikos I's use of Muslim troops in seizing the throne in Constantinople in 1182 (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 33).

ED. *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden-London 1907; rp. New York 1973). *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London 1952).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 304–07 (Fr. tr. in Canard, *L'expansion*, pt.XIV [1960–61], 64–69). C. Pellat, *ET*<sup>2</sup> 3:755. —A.Sh.

**IBN KHURDĀDHBEH**, more fully Abu al-Qāsim 'Ubaydallāh ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khurdādhbeh, author of the earliest surviving Arabic administrative geography, including vital details on Byz.; born Khurāsān ca.825, died Iraq ca.912. Of Persian origin, he grew up in Baghdad, where he studied Arabic philology, literature, history, and music. He was director of posts and intelligence in al-Jibāl (ancient Media) and a boon companion of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'tamid (870–92).

Of his ten books, including a world history, only extracts of *On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*, containing references to Byz. music, and an incomplete version of his *Routes and Kingdoms*

(composed ca.846–70, revised ca.885) survive. His fame rests on the latter book, which is a primary source for Islamic administrative and economic history as well as Byz. military administration. His account of Byz. is based mostly on the lost writings of the Arab prisoner al-JARMĪ (released 845), but also on official documents. It preserves a curious report of an Arab scientific expedition to the cave of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. More important is his concise information on Constantinople; topography, routes, distances, towns, and fortresses of Asia Minor; official Byz. hierarchy; army strength, revenues, and organization; and the first known Arabic list of Byz. THEMES, with the earliest mention of Cappadocia and Charsianon as military districts. His work also refers to Byz.'s north-east neighbors and international trade.

ED. *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje [= BGA 6 (1889)], with Fr. tr. *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Lahw wal-Malāhī* (*On Music and Entertainment*), ed. I.A. Khalifé (Beirut 1969).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 147–50. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxi, 87–92, 2:396–99. M. Hadj-Sadok, *ET*<sup>2</sup> 3:839f. Gelzer, *Themen* 81–96, 100–06, 114–26. —A.Sh.

**IBN RUSTA.** See HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ.

**IBN SHADDĀD.** See BAHĀ' AL-DĪN.

**ICON FRAMES** (sing. *περιφέρριον*, e.g., *Pantel.*, nos. 7.21, 53) are usually slightly raised from the surface of the icon and display figural representations, floral or geometric ornament, and bosses. From the 11th C. onward they are frequently recorded in church inventories but may have been in use at least a century earlier. The most elaborate examples were made of precious metals, enamels, and stones or glass beads (*Treasury S. Marco* 172) or, more frequently, of repoussé silver (M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Palamos* [Athens 1985] nos. 1–2). Another technique—cloisonné silver without enamel inlay—appears on numerous frames of the late 13th–14th C. (M. Chatzidakis, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 79–81).

The figural decoration of icon frames consists of busts (*laimia*) of saints or whole-figure representations (*stasidia*), sometimes including donor portraits. These form a DEESIS composition complementary to the main subject of the icon. Others display Gospel scenes or events from the life of

the depicted saint. Most of the elaborate frames surround venerated icons of the Virgin. They were less often employed on icons of Christ or a church's patron saint and only rarely on icons of Gospel and other scenes. Simpler frames are restricted to geometric or floral ornament.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge* (Venice 1975). —L.Ph.B.

**ICONIUM.** See IKONION.

**ICONOCLASM** (from *εἰκονοκλάστης*, "image-destroyer"), a religious movement of the 8th and 9th C. that denied the holiness of icons and rejected icon veneration. Clerical opposition to the artistic depiction of sacred personages had its roots in late antiquity (Baynes, *Byz. Studies* 116–43, 226–39). In the 4th C. EUSEBIO'S OF CAESAREA, evidently drawing on the christology of ORIGEN, denied the possibility of artistically delineating Christ's image (G. Florovsky, *ChHist* 19 [1950] 77–96). There was also an Iconoclast movement in 7th-C. Armenia (Alexander, *History*, pt.VII [1955], 151–60). In the early 8th C. several bishops in Asia Minor, notably Constantine of Nakoleia and Thomas of Claudiopolis, condemned the veneration of images (G. Ostrogorsky in *Mél. Diehl* 1:235–38), citing traditional biblical prohibitions against idolatry. Their views became a movement when Emp. LEO III began to support their position publicly in 726 (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 5–41). His order to remove an icon of Christ from the CHALKE gate caused a riot. In 730 Leo summoned a *silention* that forced Patr. GERMANOS I to resign and issued an edict commanding the destruction of icons of the saints. Persecutions under Leo appear to have been limited to instances of destroying church decorations, portable icons, and altar furnishings; there is no solid evidence of martyrdom.

The usurper ARTABASDOS temporarily restored icon veneration, but CONSTANTINE V broadened the theological base of Iconoclasm by personally writing treatises and organizing *silentia*. Constantine introduced an explicit christological aspect into Iconoclasm by asserting that a material depiction of Christ—who as God is uncircumscribable—threatened either to confuse or separate his two natures. In 754 Constantine summoned a council in HIERIA, which condemned icon vener-



ICONOCLASM. Iconoclasts whitewashing an image of Christ. Marginal miniature in the Khludov Psalter (Moscow gr. 129, fol.67r); 9th C. State Historical Museum, Moscow. The Iconoclast with the wild hair is thought to represent the patriarch John VII Grammatikos.

ation as diabolical idolatry and insisted that the EUCHARIST was the only appropriate, nonanthropomorphic image of Christ. Constantine reportedly rejected worship of RELICS and attacked the cult of EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON, but the 754 council affirmed the efficacy of the intercession of saints and denied only the propriety of venerating them through material depictions.

The acts of the 754 council were not strongly enforced until the 760s, when several ICONOPHILES were executed, including STEPHEN THE YOUNGER. Constantine rigorously persecuted Iconophiles in Constantinople, esp. monks; *strategoi* such as Michael LACHANODRAKON extended this antimonic campaign into the provinces. Yet outside the capital Iconoclasm was irregularly supported and often restricted to redecorating churches with secular art. In the capital, according to the vita of Stephen the Younger, Constantine

replaced pictures in the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai with "mosaics [representing] trees and all kinds of birds and beasts. . . ." Yet images of Christ and the saints remained in the *sekreta* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, until 768/9, when Patr. Niketas I (766–80) had them removed (Nikeph. 76.21f). Iconoclasm waned after Constantine's death: Leo IV persecuted only a small group of officials in Constantinople in 780, and in 787 Constantine VI, Irene, and Patr. TARASIOS secured an official condemnation of Iconoclasm at the Second Council of NICAIA.

The emperors of the AMORIAN DYNASTY revived Iconoclasm, but it lacked the vigor of the 8th-C. movement. Leo V deposed Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and summoned a synod in 815 that renounced the restoration of icons and rehabilitated the Hieria council (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66; idem, *History*, pt.IX [1958], 493–505). Michael II, although an Iconoclast, did not force the issue. Theophilos, influenced by JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, prohibited the production of icons and persecuted prominent Iconophiles, including EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS, THEODORE GRAPTOS, and the painter LAZAROS, but in 843, Empress THEODORA and THEOKTISTOS engineered the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. Although several church councils in the 860s and 870s condemned Iconoclasm again (F. Dvornik, *DOP* 7 [1953] 67–97), it was no longer a major issue.

While Byz. sources blame external factors like Jewish magicians and Caliph YAZĪD II for influencing Leo III and his supporters, modern scholarship offers various explanations for the development of Iconoclasm. Many specialists favor an ideological interpretation: Iconoclasm was the revival of ancient polemics against religious art (Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 6–22), which harbored vestiges of paganism (Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*); Leo III was attempting to purify religious doctrine and practice because God was punishing the Byz. for idolatry by sending Arab attacks and natural disasters, such as an earthquake on Thera in 726 (C. Mango in *Iconoclasm* 2f). Other scholars emphasize economic motives: the emperors used Iconoclasm to confiscate monastic and ecclesiastical property (M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, *Učenyje zapiski Sverdlovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948] 48–110). More recently, scholars have stressed the role of imperial power: Iconoclasm was the climax of CAESAR-

OPAPISM (G. Ladner, *MedSt* 2 [1940] 127–49); the reestablishment of the traditional imperial cult (L. Barnard, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 13–29); or the effort of emperors to establish their authority in ecclesiastical matters at a time when they were under pressure to regenerate Byz. society and ward off its external enemies (J.F. Haldon, *BS* 38 [1977] 161–84). Another explanation considers Iconoclasm against the backdrop of the crisis of early Byz. CITIES: for the secular clergy, particularly bishops, the potentially centrifugal nature of the cult of saints—physically localized and emotionally privatized by holy men, icons, relics, and monasteries—threatened their ability to retain a centralized ecclesiastical authority that could define the holy and shore up the weakened structures of Byz. civic life (P. Brown, *EHR* 88 [1973] 31f).

Economic and political factors played important roles in the development of Iconoclasm, but the central issue of the controversy was the doctrine of SALVATION. By the 8th C. the Orthodox victory in the dispute over Christ's human and divine natures had affirmed the possibility of man's ascent to God, but without delimiting the instrumentality of salvation or the position of the holy in Byz. society. Iconoclasts were genuinely concerned that increasing devotion to icons, by effacing the distinction between the material image and its spiritual prototype, was encouraging idolatry (E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 8 [1954] 82–150) and thus blurring the crucial distinction between the sacred and the profane. The Iconoclasts accepted only the Eucharist, the church building, and the sign of the cross as being fully holy, because only those objects had been consecrated by God directly or through a priest and were thus capable of bringing human beings in contact with the divine, whereas icons and relics were illegitimately consecrated from below by popular veneration (Brown, *supra*).

The outcome of Iconoclasm was a partial victory for both sides. The Iconophiles, aided by thinkers such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS, won the theological battle by formulating a theory of images that regarded ICONS as efficacious vehicles of the holy and having it formally endorsed as Orthodoxy. Yet the Iconophiles owed their triumph to sympathetic emperors, whose authority over church affairs was thereby strengthened. In particular, imperial jurisdiction over monasteries

was established: strong, centralized monasteries (see STODIOS) were undermined and increasingly replaced by smaller, less cenobitic monasteries under state patronage and control. Moreover, religious dissidents (see THEODORE OF STODIOS) failed in appeals to Rome to counter imperial efforts to dictate religious policy. The flight of many active monastic Iconophiles to the West permitted conformists like PHOTIOS and EUTHYMOS to hold the patriarchate. Among other consequences, the Iconoclasts' reliance on nonrepresentational religious art contributed to the exaltation of the cult of the CROSS (J. Moorhead, *Byzantion* 55 [1985] 165–79), while in the West imperial support for Iconoclasm provoked denunciations from popes GREGORY II and GREGORY III and pushed the papacy further toward dependence on the Franks (see also LIBRI CAROLINI).

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute," *SettStu* 34.1 (1988) 319–407. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: Le dossier archéologique*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1984). D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreites und seine Entwicklung* (Munich 1980). H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum* (Leiden 1969). —P.A.H., A.C.

**ICONODULES.** See **ICONOPHILES**.

**ICONOGRAPHY**, the demonstrative subject matter of Byz. works of ART, imbued above all with Christianity and the cult of the EMPEROR. While HISTORY PAINTING, PORTRAITS, and PERSONIFICATIONS were inherited from antiquity and remained abiding subjects, in other areas of content marked changes are discernible. As early Christian concern with TYPOLOGY declined, Old Testament subjects tended to disappear save where themes such as the ARK OF THE COVENANT were newly interpreted. By the 6th C. a broad range of motifs from the New Testament and Apocrypha was in use, as well as an extensive hagiographical repertory. The 9th–11th C. saw new themes created under the influence of the LITURGY and homiletic sources; developments intensified in the 12th C. when special attention was paid to such motifs as the Melismos (see FRACTION) and pathetic aspects of Christology. A secular repertory drawing on classical mythology was used already in the 10th C., enriched with motifs taken from

both everyday life and the West, esp. in the Komnenian era. The multiplication and extension of monumental cycles, often dependent on HYMNOGRAPHY, and the elaboration of PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, are marked characteristics of 13th- and 14th-C. art.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* (Princeton 1968). G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1916). C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London 1982). S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes iconographiques dans la peinture monumentale du début du XIVe siècle," in *Symp. Gračanica* 29–38. —A.C.

**ICONOPHILES** (εἰκονοφίλεις, "lovers of images"), also iconodules (εἰκονόδουλοι, "servants of images"), a term apparently coined during the period of ICONOCLASM—it occurs as early as the 8th C. (Lampe, *Lexicon* 410)—to denote those who defended the holiness of ICONS and the propriety of icon veneration; they called their opponents iconoclasts (εἰκονοκλάσται, "image-breakers"). Among the most prominent iconophiles were Patr. GERMANOS I, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STODIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, STEPHEN THE YOUNGER, THEODORE GRAPTOS, and EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS. Monks were the most ardent iconophiles and suffered particularly under Constantine V and at the hands of Michael LACHANODRAKON. —P.A.H.

**ICONOSTASIS.** See **TEMPLON**.

**ICONS** (sing. εἰκών, "image"). In its broadest sense an icon is any representation of a sacred personage, produced in many media and sizes, monumental as well as portable; in its narrowest sense icon most often refers to a painted wooden devotional panel (see "Painted Icons," below).

**Icon Veneration and the Theory of Images.** The term *eikon* was ambiguous, applied even to ancient statues, while other terms of pagan vocabulary, such as *stèle* or *agalma*, could be used for images of Christ. On the other hand, the Byz. tried to contrast *eikon* with *eidolon* (idol), which was an embodiment of pagan cult; sometimes, however, the difference between them disappeared as in the story about a heathen *ektypoma* that turned out to be an image of the Archangel Michael (Malal. 78f).

Christianity inherited a hostile attitude toward



images from the Old Testament prohibition of Exodus 20:4 ("Thou shalt not make . . . any graven image") and from the era of persecutions, when Christians were forced to sacrifice in front of imperial images. Many early church fathers (e.g., EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus) disapproved of icons, esp. those of Christ, since he should be worshiped as an "image (*eikon*) of the invisible God." Nevertheless, Christians decorated their CATACOMBS and eventually their churches with images that were considered to be holy. Church fathers such as BASIL THE GREAT defended the veneration of images as offered not to the picture but to the prototype (PG 32:149C).

The dispute became acute in the 8th and 9th C. during the controversy over ICONOCLASM. The Iconoclasts argued that portrayal of Christ leads either to Nestorian separation of humanity from divinity or Monophysite confusion of humanity and divinity; they considered the eucharistic elements as the only proper "icon" of Christ. ICONOPHILES, the defenders of icon veneration (primarily JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I), developed Basil's idea and elaborated the concept of three levels of image: Christ as the natural image of the Father; man as the divine image by adoption and imitation; and the icon as an artistic image of Christ or the saints. Consequently, they also developed a terminology to differentiate the veneration of icons: they distinguished the relative veneration (*timetike/schetike proskynesis*) of the icon and saints from the genuine worship (*latreia*) of the object depicted and stressed that the purpose of veneration was to arouse devotion. Attacking the Iconoclasts, they connected the latter's anti-iconic attitude with Manichaean (Paulician) and Jewish tenets. John of Damascus emphasized the didactic role of icons, esp. for the illiterate, whereas the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS and saints' vitae describe the wondrous power of icons, which could heal the sick and bring retribution on assailants.

The principles of icon veneration were summarized at the Second Council of NICAEA (787), which, however, laid greater emphasis on the tradition of miracle-working icons (such as the MANDYLION and other ACHEIROPOIETA, likenesses "not made by human hand") than on theological subtleties. Doubts about icon veneration remained alive even after the defeat of Iconoclasm (J. Gouillard, *AnnEPHE*, 5e section, 86 [1977/8] 29–50).

LIT. G.B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *DOP* 7 (1953) 1–34. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8 (1954) 83–150. Th. Nikolaou, "Die Ikonenverehrung als Beispiel ostkirchlicher Theologie und Frömmigkeit nach Johannes von Damaskos," *OstSt* 25 (1976) 138–65. S. Gero, "Cyril of Alexandria, Image Worship, and the Vita of Rabban Hormizd," *OrChr* 62 (1978) 77–97. L. Barnard, "The Theology of Images," in *Iconoclasm* 7–13. M. Loos, "Einzig strittige Fragen der ikonoklastischen Ideologie," *BBA* 51 (1983) 131–51. P. Henry, "The Formulators of Icon Doctrine," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. P. Henry (Philadelphia 1984) 75–89. —G.P., R.S.

**PAINTED ICONS.** The painted wooden panel is the most copiously preserved and longest-lived genre of that very distinctive form of Byz. art, the portable devotional icon. Its history can be studied best from the panels at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Sinai, the only comprehensive collection of Byz. examples that survives. The earliest preserved panel-painted icons—some 27, all at Sinai—belong to the 6th–7th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.1–B.31). All are on wood and are from 14 to 92 cm high. They use antique media, either encaustic (pigment suspended in wax) or tempera (pigment suspended in egg yolk, the medium found in most post-Iconoclastic panels). Their forms—likewise antique—include single rectangular panels, DIPTYCHS (derived from writing tablets), and TRIPTYCHS (recalling Late Antique devotional triptychs with images of the gods); no round examples survive, but they are depicted in other media and so may have existed. Their portrait compositions echo Late Antique commemorative PORTRAITS and imperial *lavrata*. Thematically varied, with New Testament theophanies, Old Testament scenes promising salvation, and full- and half-length portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, prophets, and major saints, they reflect not so much liturgical formulas as private devotions. Chronologically, these panels coincide with extensive evidence in other media and in saints' vitae of images mediating the holy. Thus they seem to reflect a significant stage in the development of the icon, as it moved from private use into more public visibility. The diverse subjects and formats of these earliest panels indicate that most came into the church as private VOTIVE donations, and their use remained extraliturgical, focusing individual devotions.

Panels of the 8th and 9th C.—surviving only at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.32–B.41)—



ICONS. Painted icon; late 13th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. St. Peter is depicted holding a scroll and a long-handled cross; his keys hang around his neck. Probably of Macedonian origin.

are exceedingly scant and probably of provincial origin. Examples of the 10th and 11th C. are less rare. They reflect the centralized character of the Byz. world at this time, as art was linked firmly to liturgy and the liturgy itself was regularized. Thematically, art was thoroughly coordinated with liturgy by exhibiting established liturgical feasts: images were attached to particular feasts and their compositions standardized to represent both the event or person commemorated and the feast itself. This set repertoire of liturgically determined representations was adopted in all media, including panel painting, displacing the earlier heterogeneous devotional imagery. Functionally, the painted panel—though never adopted into the actual liturgical ceremony—was similarly coordinated with liturgical practice when the church

TEMPLON emerged as the focus for its public display. Normally stored on hooks in aisles or the sanctuary, panels were moved to the templon—or to a PROSKYNETARION in front of it—on the day of the feast they represented. Shifted in accord with shifting feasts, the panels remained portable, seldom exceeding the height of about one meter accommodated by the templon. In shape, however, they adapted to the rectangular intercolumniations of the templon, and only private panels retained the varied antique forms.

Panels of the mid-11th through 12th C. are characterized more by innovation and proliferation than by standardization. The liturgy, now thoroughly regularized, was enriched emotionally by the incorporation of evocative ceremonies, esp. those of HOLY WEEK. This opened the way for artistic invention within liturgical boundaries, generating new, emotionally charged images based on hymns and prayers: the MAN OF SORROWS, variants of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, Symeon Glykophilon (see HYPAPANTE), the major bilateral icons (see below). These new themes were suited to, and probably originated as, devotional panels. They coincided with an expanded use of panel-painted icons in both public and private devotion. Richer patterns for the disposition of panels in church and templon emerged, generating new and distinctively Byz. shapes: the long, narrow templon beam displaying a Great DEESIS or GREAT FEASTS cycle; the panels hung in the templon's intercolumniations, usually showing Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, or the church's patron saint; the holy (or "royal") doors in the templon adorned with the ANNUNCIATION; the Crucifixion mounted above the templon; the calendar icons, whose registers display the feast images for entire months; and the hagiographical or "vita" icons, showing a saint surrounded by scenes from his or her life. While such images may often have been made of precious materials in the churches of Constantinople, panel painting was generally adopted, proving preferable in scale, weight, adaptability, and affordability. Many more panel paintings survive from the 12th C. than from any earlier century. Sinai itself was fully refurbished with panel-painted icons then, and panel painting began to take on a local cast in the byzantinizing cultures of Russia and Italy.

The climactic proliferation of panel painting came in Palaiologan art. The 14th is the first



century in which panel paintings dominate works in other media both numerically and artistically. More panels are preserved than icons in other media; for the first time they survive from all parts of the Orthodox world, reflecting numerous local traditions. Their imagery expands, embracing complex allegories and arcane New Testament and hagiographical events. Other media imitate them: MS illumination contracts to frontispieces resembling icons; monumental painting exhibits grids of iconlike rectangular pictures; in the realm of precious materials, the miniature mosaic (see "Mosaic Icons" below), which attempts to imitate the fluid modeling of panel painting, displaces the more abstract media like enamel. The templon develops into the *iconostasis*, the opaque screen of fixed icons, tier upon tier.

Little is known about icon painters. Though some were monks, others were clearly laymen, and many practiced in a variety of media (see ARTISTS).

LIT. Belting, *Bild und Kult* 11–330. M. Chatzidakis, "L'icône byzantine," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 2 (1959) 9–40. W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonmalerei* (Olten-Lausanne 1956). Soteriou, *Eikones*. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," *DChAE* 12 (1984) 63–116. K. Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York 1982). —A.W.C.

**BILATERAL ICONS.** The term *bilateral* is usually reserved for panel-painted icons of fair size, displaying thematically related compositions on both faces. Some 37 Byz. examples survive; the earliest is of the 11th C. The obverse generally shows the Pantokrator, the Virgin Mary, or a saint and the reverse a Christological or Marian feast, or scenes from the life of the saint. Most widespread is the pairing of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA and CRUCIFIXION. In fact, the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople seems to have originated the whole genre: being the object of special veneration on Good Friday, the Virgin icon was at some unknown point furnished with an image of the Crucifixion on its reverse. From this model, apparently, sprang the idea of pairing a church's patron saint with a GREAT FEAST and esp. the idea of pairing the Virgin prescient of her infant's death with an image of that death itself. The actual use of bilateral icons remains unclear; hung ordinarily on the templon screen, they were surely displayed on special occasions in processions or on stands (PROSKYNETARIA), where their conjunction of im-

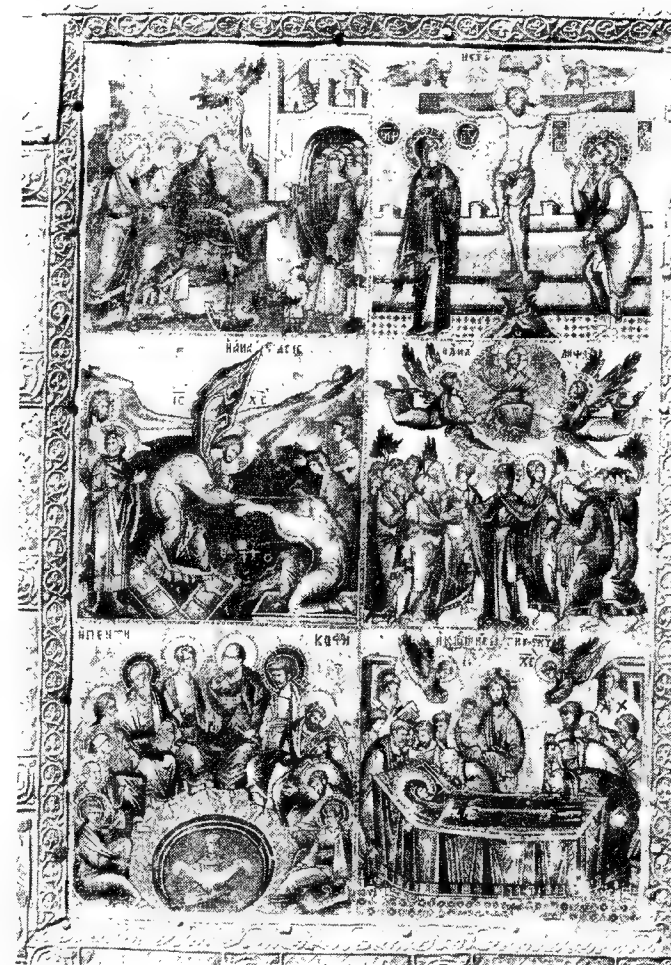
ages could be appreciated. Though some icons, such as the great palladia—the Hodegetria and the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR—may have become bilateral as cult practices developed around them, other icons were bilateral from the start.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 89–97, 308–32. —A.W.C.

**METAL ICONS.** Vulnerable because their material could be reused, few icons in precious metals survive today. They were numerous in the Byz. era, however, in both public and private contexts. In private use, gold, silver, bronze, cloisonné ENAMEL, and CAMEOS were formed into icons for personal adornment on AMULETS, PENDANTS, BELTS, and RINGS. Byz. wills refer to devotional icons of silver and copper. Silver examples do not survive, though several small bronze panels seem to copy more costly silver models, just as the gilded bronze triptych in London reflects models in ivory (K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* [New York 1978], fig.E). In the public realm, cloisonné icons adorned not only imperial and ecclesiastical vestments and vessels, but also church furniture. The PALA D'ORO in S. Marco in Venice preserves Byz. enamels both from the church's 12th-C. *antependium* (altar front) and from the templon beam of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. These represent Christ, apostles, angels, and GREAT FEASTS. Individual metal icons most often show single figures: Christ, the Virgin Mary, an archangel or a major saint (military saints, Nicholas of Myra). The most spectacular surviving examples are the two cloisonné and relief panels of St. MICHAEL in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, nos. 12, 19); the paired cloisonné plaques there (nos. 9, 14), now used as bookcovers, may originally have been used as devotional panels in Byz.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii (IX–XII vv.)* (Moscow 1978) 64–71. Eadem, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (Leningrad-Moscow 1966), pls. 159–63, 180–85. —A.W.C.

**MOSAIC ICONS.** Some 48 Byz. mosaic icons survive from the 11th through 14th C. Artistic hybrids of outstanding luxury, they unite the portability of panel paintings with the mosaic technique of mural art and the precious materials of metalwork. Wax or resin on wood serves as a setting bed for jewellike tesserae of solid gold and silver, semiprecious stones, ivory, and enamel flux. One



ICONS. Mosaic icon, early 14th C. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Right half of a diptych showing six of the Great Feasts: Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, Dormition of the Virgin.

group, which includes the earliest examples, contains relatively large panels (23–34 × 62–92 cm) that reproduce greatly venerated single-figure prototypes, esp. of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and reflect the setting techniques of mural mosaic. Many of these originated on templon beams and were not initially portable. By the 12th C., the technique of this group came to be dominated by the diminutive, densely set tesserae and opulent colors developed for a second group. This second group, preeminently of 14th-C. examples, comprises tiny mosaics of 6–10 by 18–26 cm. Showing single saints or GREAT FEASTS and often set like gems in ornate silver frames, these tiny examples were surely made for private devotion, most probably in Constantinople. Of consummate craftsmanship, they use tesserae of 1 sq. mm, set so

densely that they appear seamless and breathtakingly illusionistic. Sometimes their media are mixed, with molded haloes of gilded gesso around mosaic figures or mosaic highlights in painted fields (Florence diptych).

LIT. I. Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico* (Milan 1979). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 87–119. A.-A. Krickelberg-Pütz, "Die Mosaikikone des Hl. Nikolaus in Aachen-Burtschied," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 50 (1982) 56–141. —A.W.C.

**IC XC NIKA**, partly abbreviated form of the Greek Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικά, "Jesus Christ, conquer," or Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, "Jesus Christ conquers" (DOC 3.1:231). Inspired by Constantine I's vision at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, the slogan was repeated during acclamations in the Hippodrome. The sigla occur on various objects, for example, on a commemorative inscription of 740–41 on the walls of Constantinople and cantoned within the arms of the cross on pages of the Paris Gregory and the Bible of Leo Sakellarios. In this form they served generally as invocatory or apotropaic signs at the entrances to houses and churches, on bread stamps, and on the backs of icons and ivories. On coins, a similar formula ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ was introduced in 641 (DOC 2.1:101); although it was replaced by IC XC NIKA under Leo III, it reappears in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Frolow, "IC XC NIKA," *BS* 17 (1956) 98–113. —A.C.

**IDACIUS.** See HYDATIUS.

**IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM**, an individualized form of monastic life. The term *idiorhythmia* (ἰδιο(ρ)ρυθμία), meaning "following one's own devices," is found as early as the 5th C. (Mark the Hermit, PG 65:1037A), but this type of monasticism did not become at all common until the Palaiologan era and has a negative connotation throughout the Byz. period. In general, idiorhythmic monasticism has been condemned by the Eastern church (as in the *typikon* for the monastery of AREIA, 249.13–14) because of its deviation from the traditional ideals of the KOINOBION, or cenobitism. Nonetheless, by the late 14th C. the idiorhythmic regime appears to have become established in some monasteries on Mt. ATHOS as

an alternative to the cenobitic or eremitic form of monasticism. Idiorhythmic monks are permitted to acquire personal property; through their labor they earn income to purchase food and clothing. They take their meals separately in their cells rather than in a communal refectory and may eat meat. The organization of an idiorhythmic monastery also differs from its cenobitic counterpart; instead of the absolute rule of a HEGOUMENOS elected for life, the affairs of the monastery are administered by an oligarchic council (*synaxis*) of *proistamenoï* who make decisions and two or three *epitropoi* who execute them.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 5, 27–30, 78–81, 291–98. E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des caloyers: Le Mont-Athos* (Paris 1955) 45–47, 85–91. Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 57–64. —A.M.T.

**IDOL** (εἶδωλον), a generic disdainful term used by Christian apologists to characterize pagan gods and their images, idolatry being synonymous with pagan worship. The Christians emphasized that idols were dead and that their veneration was instigated by DEMONS. The term also designated phantoms, ghosts, and hallucinations, but it was applied to statues without derogatory connotation (Av. Cameron, J. Herrin in *Parastaseis* 31). The

multiple meanings of the term became obvious during the dispute over ICONOCLASM when the Iconodules were accused of idolatry and had to elaborate a strict distinction between the dead idol that did not represent anything but itself—wood, stone, or metal—and the ICON that as the image of God, the Virgin Mary, or saints had to be distinguished from its material in the same way that the parchment, ink, and paint on manuscripts were distinguished from the word of the Lord. —A.K.

**IDRISĪ, AL-**, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Arab geographer, cartographer, and botanist; born Ceuta (North Africa) 1100, died Ceuta ca.1165. Educated in Islamic Cordoba, he traveled throughout Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean world. In 1138 he was invited by ROGER II to settle in Palermo, where he led a team of cartographers and researchers that produced a spherical map and a world geography. The resulting *Yearning Man's Journey*, or *Book of Roger* (begun 1139, completed Jan. 1154, under Roger's official patronage), is perhaps the best work of medieval cartography, marking the climax of Arab geography and demonstrating

Norman Sicily's intellectual achievement. Al-Idrīsī wrote a summary of this for William I.

Besides his description of Sicily, Italy, Spain, northern Europe, and Africa, some of his material on Byz. is original, though he freely uses earlier Arab geographers. The assumption that he visited Constantinople or Asia Minor is based on a misreading of his statements. He adds new information on later developments, topography, towns, ports, and economic and commercial activity in Byz., Seljuk Asia Minor, Armenia, Trebizond, and the Balkans. His work on *Materia Medica* seems to distinguish between ancient and Byz. Greek.

ED. Al-Idrīsī *Opus Geographicum*, ed. E. Cerulli et al., 9 fasc. (Naples-Rome 1970–84), esp. fasc. 7 (1977). Fr. tr. P.A. Jaubert, *La géographie d'Edrisi*, vol. 2 (Paris 1840) 122–41, 286–319, 391–99.

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 281–96. B. Nedkov, *Bulgarija i susednite i zemi prez XII vek spored "Geografijata" na Idrisi* (Sofia 1960). K. Müller, *Weltkarte des Arabers Idrisi vom Jahre 1154*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart 1981). G. Oman, *EL*<sup>2</sup> 3:1032–35.

—A.Sh.

**IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK**, writer; fl. 1389–1405. Ignatij (Ignatios) traveled from Moscow to Constantinople in 1389 in the entourage of Metr. Pimen. After Pimen's death (Sept. 1389) and the appointment of KIPRIAN, Ignatij remained in Constantinople at least until 1392 and probably in the Balkans and on Athos until ca.1405. The three works soundly attributed to him—a *Journey to Constantinople* (1389–92), a *Description of Thessalonike and the Holy Mountain*, and parts of an *Abbreviated Chronicle* to 1404—together form a selective diary of Ignatij's observations. The meticulous details and chronologies make Ignatij's works valuable and varied repositories of information. Topics on which he is the sole or main eyewitness source include the Don River route to Constantinople; the struggle for the throne between John VII and Manuel II in 1390–91, as reflected in the life of the capital; and the coronation of Manuel II in 1392. Ignatij also provides a list of churches in Thessalonike and the earliest Eastern Slavic description of Athos. His *Journey* relates his own visits to the sacred sites in chronological order; he neither presents a systematic itinerary nor details legends and stories about the monuments. He does, however, employ some of the formulas and phraseology of the "pilgrim book" genre.

ED. *Choždenie Ignatija Smol'njanina*, ed. N. Prokof'ev, in *Literatura drevnej Rusi*, 2. *Sbornik trudov* (Moscow 1978) 123–50. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 48–113, 388–436, with Eng. tr.

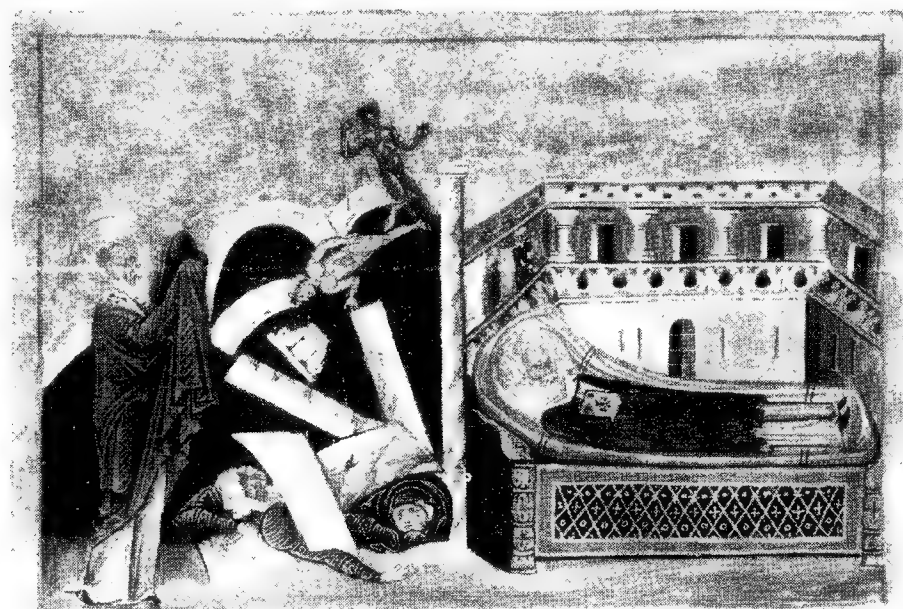
LIT. K. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung der dem Ignatij von Smolensk zugeschriebenen Werke," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 345–69. M.N. Tichomirov, "Puti iz Rossii v Vizantiju v XIV–XV vv.," *VizOč* (1961) 4–10. —S.C.F.

**IGNATIOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (4 July 847–23 Oct. 858; 23 Nov. 867–23 Oct. 877) and saint; baptismal name Niketas; born Constantinople ca.797/8, died Constantinople; feastday 23 Oct. He is sometimes called Ignatios the Younger (*ho neos*) to distinguish him from the 1st-C. church father Ignatios Theophoros. After the deposition of his father, Emp. Michael I Rangabe, in 813, Ignatios, together with his brothers, was castrated and forced to take monastic vows. He became *hegoumenos* of three monasteries that he had founded on the Princes' Islands. In the aftermath of the Iconoclast controversy, Empress THEODORA appointed him to succeed METHODIOS I as patriarch without convening an elective synod, since she wanted to avoid stirring up enmity between the Stoudites and the moderates. Ignatios found a *modus vivendi* with the Stoudites but aroused the opposition of the moderates led by Gregory ASBESTAS. The patriarch's position deteriorated when Caesar BARDAS took power and exiled Theodora; deprived of her support, Ignatios was forced to resign.

He was replaced by PHOTIOS, who had to give some guarantees to the former patriarch and his followers, but the guarantees were soon broken; the appointment of Asbestas to the see of Syracuse became the external cause of the clash. Ignatios, who had been temporarily exiled by Bardas to the island of Terebinthos, was allowed to return to his mother's palace in the capital. He remained moderate, but the Ignatians attacked Photios and attempted to draw Pope NICHOLAS I to their side. At first Nicholas was reluctant to support them, stating that Ignatios had been elected noncanonically, but eventually the pope used this conflict as a means to intervene in the affairs of the church of Constantinople.

In 867 Basil I, in his search for a Western alliance, restored Ignatios to the patriarchal throne and banished Photios, but Ignatios refused to yield to the papacy; he managed to draw Bulgaria into the Byz. ecclesiastical orbit and probably sub-

IDOL. St. Cornelius causing the destruction of a pagan temple and its idols. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.125). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. At the right, the death of the saint.





jected the young church in Moravia to Constantinople. This active anti-Western policy of Basil I and Ignatios made senseless their antagonism to Photios; the latter was released from exile, succeeded Ignatios after his death, and contributed to the sanctification of Ignatios. A unique mosaic portrait of Ignatios preserved in Hagia Sophia was probably created shortly after 886. The vita of Ignatios by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON is permeated by hatred for Photios and contains more derision of Photios than eulogy of Ignatios.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 444–55, 498–507. F. Dvornik, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7:351f. R. Janin, *DTC* 7 (1930) 713–22. P. Stephanou, "La violation du compromis entre Photios et les ignatiens," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 291–307. —A.K.

**IGNATIUS OF NICAEEA.** See **IGNATIUS THE DEACON**.

**IGNATIUS OF SMOLENSK.** See **IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK**.

**IGNATIUS THE DEACON**, writer; born ca.770–80, died after 845, if the *kanon* on the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION (ed. V. Vasil'evskij, P. Nikitin, p.80.44) ascribed to "Ignatios" belongs to him and not to one of his numerous namesakes. A pupil and collaborator of Patr. TARASIOS, Ignatios was ordained by him deacon and became *skeuophylax*; after Tarasios's deposition (806) Ignatios sided with the Iconoclasts and was later elected metropolitan of Nicaea. He later regretted this change of heart. At some point he became a monk on Mt. Olympos.

The SOUDA lists his works, including the vitae of Tarasios and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, funeral elegies, letters, and (now lost) iambics against THOMAS THE SLAV. On a stylistic basis Ševčenko attributed to him the vitae of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS and GEORGE OF AMASTRIS (in *Iconoclasm* 121–25). Probably Ignatios also wrote several poetic works, such as verses on Adam (a dialogue between Adam, Eve, and the Serpent), verses on Lazarus and the rich man, moral sentences in alphabetical order; the existence of other Ignatioi prevents certain identification. A member of the generation that followed THEOPHANES and THEODORE OF STOUTDIOS, Ignatios revealed interest in the ancient heritage, esp. in Sophocles and Euripides (R. Brown-

ing, *REGr* 81 [1968] 405–07), and emphasized the rhetorical adornment of his speech. Lipšic (*Očerki* 404–05) hypothesized that Ignatios was represented with Patr. John VII in a caricature in the Khludov PSALTER.

ED. For list of his works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 360–61. LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatiis," *TM* 4 (1970) 329–60. C. Mango, "Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea," *TU* 125 (1981) 403–10. —A.K.

**IGNATIUS, PSEUDO-**, conventional name for the author of the interpolations made perhaps ca.360–380 in the text of the letters of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (died ca.107). The interpolations mainly concern the role of the bishop. The interpolator appears to be a follower of ARIANISM, and various candidates have been proposed, for example, Akakios of Caesarea (died 366), EUNOMIOS, Silvanos of Tarsos (O. Perler, *HistJb* 77 [1958] 73–82), and JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS. It is possible that he is to be equated with the author of the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

ED. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 166–277, with Eng. tr. LIT. J. Rius-Camps, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius, the Martyr* (Rome 1980). R. Joly, *Le dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels 1979). —B.B.

**IGOR**, prince of Kiev, successor of OLEG; died 945. In 941 Igor led a fleet of small boats (*monoxyla*) against Constantinople. Byz. ships under command of the *patrikios* THEOPHANES met them at Hieron on 11 June and prevented Igor from attacking the capital. He probably left for Kiev after this failure, but the boats from Rus' remained in the area for two months, plundering the Bithynian coast (from Pontic Herakleia to the border of Paphlagonia, according to the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). The government of ROMANOS I recalled some troops of John KOURKOUAS from the eastern frontier and dispatched Theophanes with a fleet; he used GREEK FIRE and on 15 Sept. destroyed the boats of the Rus' near the Thracian coast; the remnants of their army headed homeward by land. According to common scholarly opinion, in 943 or 944 Igor again launched his forces against Byz., but Byz. envoys met the army at the estuary of the Danube; after negotiations a new treaty was signed that provided Kievan merchants with less favorable conditions than

those established in the treaty signed by Oleg. Soon thereafter Igor was murdered while collecting tribute from the Drevljane, a neighboring tribe.

LIT. Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 128–71. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 209–58. N.Ja. Polovoj, "K voprosu o pervom pochode Igorja protiv Vizantii," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 85–104. G. Vernadsky, "The Rus' in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945," *Byz-Metabyz* 1.1 (1946) 249–60. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "Les invasions russes dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 141–45. —A.K.

**IKONION** (Ἰκόνιον, now Konya), city of PISIDIA in the mid-4th C., metropolis of LYKAONIA from ca.370, incorporated into the ANATOLIKON theme in the 7th C. The execution of Isaurian prisoners in 354 at Ikonion provoked the great Isaurian revolt. St. THEKLA was believed to have miraculously saved Ikonion from a later Isaurian attack. Its first metropolitan was St. AMPHILOCHIOS. From the 8th to 10th C., Arabs frequently attacked Ikonion and its neighboring fortress, Kabala. Plundered by the Turks in 1069, Ikonion was the scene of the revolt of ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL. It fell to the Seljuks in 1084 and flourished as their capital. The city was briefly occupied by the Crusaders in 1097, its suburbs were ravaged by Manuel I in 1146. Most of its Byz. monuments, including the 11th-C. Church of St. Amphilochios, have disappeared, but the Byz. fortress of Kabala and the rock-cut churches of Sille, both in the immediate vicinity of the city, survive.

LIT. *TIB* 4:176–78, 182f, 224f. G. Goodwin, *ET* 5:253–56. —C.F.

**ILARION** (Hilarion), author of *Discourse on Law and Grace* [*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*] (ca.1049) and a *Confession of Faith* (ca.1051?); metropolitan of Kiev (1051–ca.1054). The *Discourse*, the most sustained and erudite rhetorical work of Kievan Rus' (see **RUS'**, **LITERATURE OF**), celebrates the conversion of Rus' within the context of sacred history: the Grace of Christianity superseded the Law of Moses, just as Sarah the free woman superseded Hagar the bondmaid, and reached Rus' through the divinely inspired free choice of VLADIMIR I. The homily ends with an *enkomion* to Vladimir and a prayer for the land of Rus'. The *Discourse's* language, typology, style, and structure owe much to Byz. rhetoric and exegeses, leading to conjec-

ture that Ilarion read Greek (F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 67–102). Influence from CZECH LITERATURE is also possible (N.N. Rozov, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 71–85). The appointment of Ilarion, the first native metropolitan of Kiev, by Prince Jaroslav of Kiev and the composition of the *Discourse* are sometimes interpreted as anti-Byz. acts. The circumstances of Ilarion's election are unknown, however, and the *Discourse*, proclaiming Vladimir to be a "likeness of Constantine the Great," manifestly presents Byz. as the cultural prototype rather than as a political or ecclesiastical threat.

ED. L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden 1962). *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona*, ed. A.M. Moldovan (Kiev 1984). Eng. tr. N. Ickler, *Comitatus* 9 (1978) 19–54.

LIT. L. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich 1971). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 41–60. E. Hurwitz, "Metropolitan Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*," *Russian History* 7 (1980) 322–33. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 84–87. —S.C.F., P.A.H.

**ILIAD.** See **HOMER**; **TROY TALE**.

**ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN** (νόθοι), also called *spourioi*, were, according to the *Codex Justinianus*, children born to a concubine (see **CONCUBINAGE**), an unmarried woman, or a prostitute (see **PROSTITUTION**); progeny from the union of a free woman and slave were also considered illegitimate. Illegitimate children were legally deprived of the right to inherit from their father, but had the same relationship with their mother as legitimate children. The classical jurists did not give serious attention to this discrepancy; it was Justinian I who corrected the situation by making the father liable for supporting his children by a concubine. In novel 89 he considered ways of legitimizing *nothoi*: the most recommended method was to ascribe them to the *curia*, another valid method was to assign a "charter of dowry" to the mother of a *nothos*, whether she was freeborn or a freedwoman, or the testamentary statement of a man who had fathered only illegitimate children that they were his heirs. High-born mothers were prohibited by both civil and canon law from making gifts of any sort to their natural children; legitimate offspring were thus protected from any form of disinheritance (J. Beaucamp, *CahCM* 20 [1977] 158).



Later Byz. law essentially retained the rules established by Justinian. In the 13th C. illegitimate progeny still had no right to inherit if there were legitimate descendants, even if they were collateral descendants (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 295f). Patr. Nikephoros I considered the case of a father's refusal to recognize his natural son (PG 100:468B); the tribunal had to determine whether they had a physical resemblance; if not, the child was proclaimed *ekphylos*, "without family."

Despite such disadvantages, some *nothoi* (usually the children of emperors and courtiers) reached high positions, like the *parakoimomenos* BASIL THE NOTHOS (son of Romanos I), and children of Manuel I and Andronikos I. Illegitimate sons might serve as important hostages, and several illegitimate daughters of emperors were married to foreign rulers as diplomatic pawns.

LIT. P.A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'Empire byzantin* (Louvain 1975) 232–36. H.J. Wolff, "The Background of the Postclassical Legislation on Illegitimacy," *Seminar* 3 (1945) 21–45. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine," *Annales DH* (1973) 80f. —A.K., J.H.

**ILLOS** (Ἰλλος), rebellious general of ZENO; died fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. An Isaurian by birth, Illos together with his brothers Aspalios and Trokoundos supported Zeno's rise to the throne. In 474 he fought successfully against the barbarians in Thrace; the same year, however, he switched his allegiance to BASILISKOS, who sent him to besiege Zeno in Sbide, an Isaurian stronghold; there he again changed sides (Theophanes explains this saying that Basiliskos failed to fulfill "promises") and helped Zeno recover his throne. He became *patrikios* and *magister militum* and, according to Malalas, administered the empire. Zeno's wife ARIADNE and mother-in-law VERINA conspired against Illos unsuccessfully in 477 and 478; as a result, Verina was banished. In 479 Illos suppressed the revolt of Verina's son-in-law Marcian. In the winter of 481/2 Ariadne organized a third plot against the general. During the assault on him, Illos lost an ear. In 482–84, while in Antioch, Illos prepared a revolt against Zeno; at this time he gained the support of Verina, who crowned his ally LEONTIOS. They were defeated by Zeno's *magister militum* John the Scythian in 484 and took refuge in the fort of Papyrios (J. Gottwald, *BZ* 36 [1936] 88f). Illos and Leontios

held out for four years. They were eventually betrayed and executed. With regard to religious policy Illos appealed to the Orthodox against Zeno's Monophysite tendencies, but he was also sympathetic toward paganism. The soothsayer PAMPREPIOS was his adviser during the rebellion. A district in Constantinople was known as *ta Illou*, and his house there became a church of St. John.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–99. *PLRE* 2:586–90. P. Lemerle, "Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundus," *Syria* 40 (1963) 315–22. H. Hunger, "Die Bauinschrift am Aquädukt von Elaiussa-Sebaste," *Tyche* 1 (1986) 132–37. —T.E.G.

**ILLUMINATORS** of Byz. MSS are rarely documented in COLOPHONS or otherwise. The common term for an illuminator was *zographos*, "painter" (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 [1962] 245, n.6), but probably around the 9th C. another term, *chrysographos*, "one who writes in gold," appeared—first mentioned in an obscure author, MELETIOS THE MONK, from the theme of Opsikion (PG 64:1309B). A few illuminators are known by name: PANTOLEON and his team; Theodore of Caesarea, who wrote and illuminated the THEODORE PSALTER in 1066; Michael Koresis, who "wrote in gold" a Georgian Gospel book in the late 12th/early 13th C. (E. Takaichvili, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 659f). In verses accompanying a dedicatory miniature, the monk THEOPHANES claimed to be the donor, scribe, and illuminator of the Melbourne Gospels, but donors often took credit for making the object of their generosity. Finally, in the late 14th C. THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," described as an illuminator of books and a painter of churches, was asked to paint a leaf to be inserted in a MS. The practice had long been used by Byz. illuminators, but became increasingly frequent in the Palaiologan era. Generally the SCRIBE wrote the text of the MS, leaving space for the illuminator, who made a preliminary underdrawing, applied the gold ground, and then began to paint, concluding with the faces. (See also ARTISTS.)

LIT. Belting, *Illum. Buch* 3–17.

—R.S.N.

**ILLUSTRIS** (ἰλλούστριος), the highest title of SENATORS in the late Roman Empire. The term was used as a vague epithet much earlier, but acquired a specific technical meaning in the last quarter of the 4th C. First it was bestowed on major officials such as PRAETORIAN PREFECT, UR-

BAN PREFECT, MAGISTER MILITUM, CONSULS, and PATRIKIOI, and eventually on all senators. In the 6th C. the most important *illustres* were called GLORIOSI. Not being a hereditary title (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:66f), it provided certain privileges, both fiscal (immunity from certain obligations) and ceremonial. The term remained in use in the 7th C. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (PG 91:644D) addressed a correspondent as "magnificent *illustris*," and the Miracles of St. DEMETRIOS (ed. Lemerle 1:161.7) speak of the "so-called *illoustrioi*." The term *illustris* does not appear in the TAKTIKA, although both legal and hagiographic texts (until the 11th C.) equate the title PROTOSPATHARIOS with it (e.g., A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 355.12–13).

LIT. A. Berger, *RE* 9 (1914) 1070–85. Jones, *LRE* 1:528–36. —A.K.

**ILLYRICUM** (Ἰλλυρικόν), a Roman province in the northwestern part of the Balkans. In the 4th C. attempts were made to create a prefecture of Illyricum, encompassing PANNONIA, MACEDONIA, and DACIA. After 395 this vast territory was divided into *Illyricum occidentale* and *Illyricum orientale* with capitals at Sirmium (?) and Thessalonike, respectively. Latin was the lingua franca in western Illyricum. Beginning in the 2nd C. Christianity spread through western Illyricum, the two metropolitan sees, SALONA and Sirmium, being of principal importance.

In the 5th to 7th C. Illyricum underwent various invasions by Ostrogoths, Huns, Lombards, and Avars; Sklavenoi (second half of the 6th C.); Serbs and Croats (7th C.); and, after 680, Bulgars, who began to play a decisive role in Illyricum. The ancient cities declined and assumed a rural character (V. Popović in *Palast und Hütte* [Mainz 1982] 545–66). Those townships that survived were forced to come to terms with new masters (by paying tribute). During the reign of Justinian I, western Illyricum was under the rule of Constantinople, with the center of Illyricum as a whole at JUSTINIANA PRIMA and, for a time, probably at Sirmium. According to the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE the capital was transferred from Sirmium to Thessalonike; whether it was in fact from Sirmium (Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:50) or from Justiniana Prima (A. Vasiliev, *Traditio* 4 [1946] 115–47) is difficult to determine. It is

unclear how long Illyricum continued to exist, but by the 9th C. it had been replaced by the theme of Thessalonike; the name *Illyricum* lost its precise meaning and was used as a descriptive designation for the region of DYRRACHION (as in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene), including Serbo-Croatian territory.

Ecclesiastically, the former *Illyricum occidentale* remained under the direct authority of the pope. In the 8th C., however, the Iconoclast emperors tried to subordinate it to Constantinople—according to M. Anastos (*StB* 9 [1957] 14–31) in 732/3, according to V. Grumel (*RechScRel* 40 [1952] 191–200) two decades later. The papacy never recognized this act. By the end of the 9th C. the Byz. founded the theme of Dalmatia, but they had to abandon the region by 1069; they briefly held it again from 1165 to 1180 (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 141–49).

LIT. R. Rogošić, *Veliki Ilirik (284–395) i njegova konačna dioba (396–437)* (Zagreb 1962). *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984). J.-R. Palanque, "La préfecture du prétoire d'Illyricum au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 5–14. Lj. Maksimović, "L'administration de l'Illyricum septentrional à l'époque de Justinien," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 143–57. —O.P.

**‘IMĀD AL-DĪN**, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, Arab writer, poet, diplomat, and chronicler; born Iṣfahān 1125, died Damascus 1201. In 1175, following a colorful career in the service of the ‘ABBĀSIDS and of NŪR AL-DĪN, ‘Imād al-Dīn joined SALADIN to become his ardent friend, counselor, chief diplomatic secretary, and chronicler. After Saladin's death, ‘Imād al-Dīn returned to private life and devoted himself to literary work. His tomb adjoins that of Saladin.

‘Imād al-Dīn's books, *Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem* and *The Syrian Lightning*, constitute firsthand sources on Saladin's wars and politics, with frequent references to his relations with the Byz. Although only the third and fifth parts of *The Syrian Lightning* have survived, its first (?) part is preserved in al-Bundārī's abridgment, *The Splendor of the Syrian Lightning*. Equally important is ‘Imād al-Dīn's *The Assistance of the Weak*, the first history of the Great SELJUKS. It is based on the lost Persian memoirs of Anūshirvān ibn Khālid (died 1137), which ‘Imād al-Dīn rendered into Arabic. Its precious information on

the Seljuk penetration and conquest of Asia Minor includes a lengthy account of the battle of MANTZIKERT. In addition to the full version, extant in a unique MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, al-Bundārī's abridgment (1226) survives. 'Imād al-Dīn also produced a voluminous anthology of 12th-C. Arab poets. As a rule, a virtually untranslatable, overly flowery style characterized 'Imād al-Dīn's work. Al-Bundārī's abridgments strip away the stylistic redundancies but retain all the facts.

ED. *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq par al-Bondārī, d'après Imād ad-dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (Leiden 1889). *Al-Fath al-Qussī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salah ed-dīn*, ed. C. de Landberg, vol. 1 (Leiden 1888). Fr. tr., H. Massé, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (Paris 1972). Al-Bundārī, *Sanā al-Barq al-shāmi*, ed. R. Şeşen, pt.1 (Beirut 1980).

LIT. H. Massé, *ET* 3:1157f.

—A.S.E.

**IMAGO PIETATIS.** See MAN OF SORROWS.

**IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA** (Ἰμπερίος καὶ Μαργαρώνα), a romance of chivalry in just under 900 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, composed probably in the late 14th C. Surviving in five MSS that, despite barely reconcilable variants, derive from a single archetype, the romance continued to circulate widely in the post-Byz. period in a printed rhymed version. A free adaptation of the French prose tale, *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* (widely known throughout Europe from the late 13th C. and serving as a foundation legend for the monastery of Maguelonne, France), *Imberios and Margarona* came in popular tradition to be used as a foundation legend for the monastery of DAPHNI. Attempts to provide a secure historical setting for *Imberios and Margarona* in 13th- and 14th-C. events in the Morea have failed to convince (see, e.g., M. Pichard, *REB* 10 [1952] 84–92 and R.-J. Loenertz, *Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 40–46). With its accounts of the hero's precocious youth, his prowess in tournaments, and the hazards endured with his beloved, *Imberios and Margarona* has much in common with the ACHILLEIS as well as with PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA. Its assumptions and descriptions reflect the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the Palaiologan Peloponnese.

ED. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 199–249.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 143–47. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt.I (1971), 122–60.

—E.M.J., M.J.J.

**IMBROS** (Ἰμβρος, mod. Imroz), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea that, along with TENEDOS, controls the entrance to the HELLESPONT. In late antiquity Imbros was part of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.2), and by the 9th C. it almost certainly was part of the theme of the Aegean Sea. Although not specifically mentioned in *De thematibus*, Imbros provided a primary line of defense for Constantinople against the Arabs. Assigned to the Latin Empire after 1204, it was effectively controlled by Venice; after 1354 it was in the hands of the Genoese descendants of FRANCESCO GATTILUSIO. By the time CYRIACUS OF ANCONA visited Imbros in 1444, the island was again Byz. and his guide was the Imbriot Michael KRITOBoulos. The latter asked Mehmed II to grant the island independence after 1453, but it was assigned to the Gattilusi of Lesbos. In 1460 Imbros was part of the appanage given to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. A bishop of Imbros, not mentioned previously, was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157); he was a metropolitan (21.75) after 1453.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Imbros," *MDAI AA* 33 (1908) 81–112. M. Karas, *He nesos Imbros: Symbole eis ten ekklesiastiken historian tes* (Thessalonike 1987) 35–41, 80–87.

—T.E.G.

**IMITATION** (μίμησις) was considered by the ancient theoreticians as an important element of intellectual activity. The imitation of Attic culture was recommended both in late antiquity and in Byz. The Byz. rejected INNOVATION, and even great minds, such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS, emphasized the imitativeness of their works. Mimesis could have different aspects: direct imitation, such as the CHRISTOS PASCHON, which is a pastiche of existing verses by ancient poets; writing in the style of a predecessor, like dialogues imitating LUCIAN. Rhetorical exercises on ancient or biblical topics and borrowing of the stock elements of ancient literature or patristics or using overt or concealed citations were also practiced. Materials that were borrowed or imitated included not only writings of the remote past but works of more recent Byz. authors as well. Sermons, saints' vitae, and historical works teem with such stock elements and citations. The ideological underpinning of mimesis can be found in the declarations of ecumenical councils, such as that in Trullo, which embraced adherence to "the ancient types" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:493.3).

The purposes of imitation were diverse: the author could, by engaging in imitation, demonstrate how well versed he was in literature; he could also, by referring to the knowledge of his audience, stimulate reminiscences and create allusions. He could, by making parallels with biblical or Roman history, stress the eternity of certain phenomena or contrast present times with the glorious (or infamous) past. Truly skillful imitation consisted in employing the same general pattern to emphasize certain details or distinctions or to produce, from the available "bricks," a completely new idea and image. Imitation could also have the force of PARODY. Byz. literature produced an enormous amount of purely imitative, plagiaristic material, but in talented hands mimesis could become a powerful vehicle of expression. Imitation, then, was not purely servile but an intrinsic part of Byz. CULTURE.

Even while it must be distinguished from customary observance of canonical forms, imitation in the visual arts was more central than in literature to the working methods of craftsmen and more pragmatic in purpose. Using established CHURCH PLAN TYPES, builders replicated venerable models, sometimes with the intention of evoking associations with *loca sancta* and pilgrimage sites. Painters such as Kallierges could copy entire compositions, yet adaptation and the "quotation" of elements, rather than wholesale appropriation, were more characteristic practices. When an ancient treasure like the PARIS PSALTER was tapped some 250 years after its creation, its miniatures were not merely copied but made the basis for the invention of new images.

LIT. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XV (1969–70), 17–38. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt.II (1975), 3–18. H.-G. Beck, "Antike Beredsamkeit und byzantinische Kallilogia," *AntAb* 15 (1969) 91–101. A. Kazhdan, "Looking Back to Antiquity: Three Notes," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 375–77.

—A.K., A.C.

**IMMUNITY**, a concept borrowed from the terminology of western European FEUDALISM to denote a privilege granted by the emperor that forbade state officials from entering the beneficiary's domains and performing certain fiscal, judicial, and administrative functions there. Ostrogorsky, among others, viewed EXKOUSSEIA as synonymous with immunity. On the basis of the EXEMPTION formulas found in documents, he concluded that, during the 10th–12th C., immunity implied fiscal rights, that is, freedom from taxa-

tion, and that only in the 14th–15th C. did judicial immunity develop, that is, the right for privileged landlords, lay and religious, to judge their PAROTKOI; Ostrogorsky limited this right, however, to low justice. While fiscal immunity did exist in Byz., though to an extent perhaps not as widespread as in the West, there is some question as to whether judicial immunity existed at all. Some scholars in fact consider the application of the Western medieval concept of immunity to Byz. as inappropriate and misleading and prefer the more limited concept of exemption.

LIT. P.A. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* (Juriev [Tartu] 1908). G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 165–254. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 433–36.

—M.B.

**IMPERIAL CULT.** Worship of the divinity of the EMPEROR, which had begun as a means for Greek cities to assimilate their relationship with the Roman Empire (S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power* [Cambridge 1984]), culminated in the adoption of Hellenistic divine kingship by the TETRARCHY. Constantine I's conversion excluded outright sacrifice to imperial divinity, although ambiguities persisted (e.g., the temple to his family erected at Hispellum [*ILS*, no.705]). On the local level, priests of the imperial cult probably shed religious functions but continued their political role in city and provincial assemblies well into the 5th and 6th C., esp. in Africa (F.M. Clover in *Romanitas-Christianitas* [Berlin 1982] 661–74). In the capital, the emperor's status as God's representative on earth maintained and even expanded aspects of the imperial cult, esp. the sacredness of imperial persons and institutions concretized by ceremony and by divinizing epithets. Although Constantine avoided *divus* for his person, his successors revived the custom, whence arose the Byz. usage of *theios* for the imperial person and institutions and *sakra* for documents. PROSKYNESIS of the emperor and his haloed image, the image's privilege of asylum and placement on church altars, the custom of receiving objects from the emperor with covered hands, silence, incense, and lighted candles in his presence stemmed ultimately from the imperial cult and characterized Byz. rulership. The church itself transformed and fostered the imperial cult, as posthumous *consecratio* gave way to elaborate Christian funerals (S. Price in Canadine-Price, *Rituals* 56–105), imperial obits were commemorated in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*,

and the emperor obtained unique liturgical prerogatives reflecting his sacral status.

LIT. L. Bréhier, P. Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain* (Paris 1920) 35–73. A. Chastagnol, N. Duval, "Les survivances du culte impérial dans l'Afrique du Nord à l'époque vandale," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 87–118. A. Wlosok, *Römischer Kaiserkult* (Darmstadt 1978). P. Schreiner, "Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," *Saeculum* 35 (1984) 132–51. —M.McC.

**IMPOST BLOCK**, a stone block shaped like an inverted, truncated pyramid, placed on the capitals of COLUMNS destined to carry an arcade. The impost block probably evolved from the Roman practice of projecting short ENTABLATURE spurs over capitals of columns placed in front of walls, as at the Porta Aurea of the Palace of Diocletian at Split. The capitals of the paired columns of S. Costanza, Rome, support a short entablature block that functions as an impost block. According to Deichmann, the mature form had its origin in the 5th-C. Greek East, but fully developed impost blocks appeared by ca.400 in Italy at S. Giorgio Maggiore in Naples and in the Basilica Ursiana in Ravenna. Impost blocks, often SPOLIA, were used in Byz. architecture as late as the 14th C. They were placed directly on column shafts in the cisterns of Constantinople and, on a smaller scale, appear directly on columns or posts dividing windows, e.g., at Daphni, Hosios Loukas, and on the exterior of the Holy Apostles, Thessalonike. The impost block is frequently decorated with elaborate patterns of ACANTHUS leaves and Christian symbols. In the 5th C., the impost block and capital merged to form the IMPOST CAPITAL.

LIT. F. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Baden-Baden 1956) 41–45. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 20f, figs. 7, 12, 39. R. Olivieri Farioli, *La scultura architettonica* (Rome 1969) 77–91. —M.J., W.L.

**IMPOST CAPITAL**, a uniquely Byz. CAPITAL created possibly in Constantinople by merging the function of the IMPOST BLOCK with the mid-5th-C. forms of the Corinthian capital. The merger was facilitated by the development of the Corinthian capital into cup- and kettle-shaped forms, covered with abstract floral ornament incised and drilled, rather than carved, into the block; in both

shape and decoration this late Corinthian capital approached the form of the more geometrically conceived impost block. Some impost capitals show a much diminished impost block on top; some exhibit small volutes at the base or at the top, faint reminders of the Ionic capital. The stages in this development from the mid-5th C. to its climax in Justinian I's Hagia Sophia have been traced by Strube (*infra*). The creation of the impost capital marks the end of the classic capital and the appearance of a new form that carries the eye more fluently from column shaft to the arches above.

LIT. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 102–10, figs. 62–65, 80–88, 95–98. M. van Lohuizen-Mulder, "Early Christian Lotus-panel Capitals and other so-called Impost Capitals," *BABesch* 62 (1987) 131–52. —W.L.

**IMRU' AL-QAYS**. See QAYS.

**INCANTATION** (ἐπωδή), a magic song recited over a person or a charm to effect a cure, fend off evil, transfer evil to another, or evoke an erotic response in a member of the opposite sex. Incantations were similar in format, whether of Christian, pagan, or syncretistic provenance. The reciter of the incantation invariably summoned an angel or *daimon*, without which the charm was believed ineffective. Byz. writers often mention incantations in connection with MAGIC, but seldom quote the actual words used. Canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia (4th C.) forbade Christian clerics to invent or recite incantations. In the 12th C. Balsamon and Zonaras commented on the practice. Many examples of incantations survive on magical papyri, metal sheets, and small objects. An illiterate but dramatic 7th-C. incantation on an amulet calls upon Beliar, the inventor of the EVIL EYE, to flee in the name of Christ from the limbs of the owner (who was perhaps paralyzed?) (CIG 4, no.9065). Syncretistic incantations often used the names of apocryphal angels of Jewish tradition and "barbaric words." Pagan incantations are reported in Anatolia and Sicily as late as the 7th–8th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:239–49. H. Hunger, "Eine frühbyzantinische Wachstafel der Wiener Papyrussammlung," *Serta Turymiana* (Urbana 1974) 489–94. T. Schermann, *Spätgriechische Zauber- und Volksgebete* (Munich 1919). *Papyri graecae magicae*<sup>2</sup>, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74). —F.R.T.

**INCARNATION** (σάρκωσις or ἐνσάρκωσις) refers to the appearance of the Logos in the history of salvation (*oikonomia*), distinguished from his generation within the Godhead. It is the classical formula of those Christologies oriented toward John 1:14, "And the Word became flesh." It is distinguished from a Christology that lays emphasis on the Preexistent One "becoming man" (*enanthropesis*—cf. Gal 4:4). The Logos-sarx model, which distinguishes theologians in the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, competed with the Logos-anthropos model of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. When the two-natures formula of the Council of CHALCEDON was accepted by the imperial church, the difference lost meaning since flesh in this Christology no longer implied a theological devaluation of the soul and human freedom of CHRIST. It meant, rather, the full reality of human existence as it was assumed by the Logos without sin (Heb 4:15; cf. FREE WILL). *Sarx* refers not to the sinful, fleshly existence of fallen humanity (in the Pauline sense), but to human nature as such: to the *logos*, not the *tropos tes hyparxeos*. In some texts one encounters the view that this *sarx* is not an individual reality, but MANKIND as a whole. SOTERIOLOGY finds its basis in the incarnation, or assumption of the flesh, by the Logos. —K.-H.U.

**Iconoclastic Views on Incarnation**. Debate over the relevance of the Incarnation to the depiction of Christ on icons was a key feature of the polemic on ICONOCLASM. The Council at Hieria (754) declared that the "illicit" craft of the painter violated the doctrine of the Incarnation, attributing to artists the notion that they painted the image of the flesh alone (Mansi 13:256A), which, in truth, cannot be separated from the Logos. —A.C.

**INCENSE** (θυμίαμα), resins, esp. frankincense from the gum resin of the *boswellia* tree, that produce fragrant smoke when burned; also the smoke thereof. Incense, imported primarily from southern Arabia, held an important place in Roman medicine and in the imperial cult; it became therefore for Christians a symbol of pagan worship, and church fathers (Tertullian, Eusebios, Augustine) rejected its use (W. Müller, *RE* supp. 15 [1978] 761–64). A change in the Christian attitude toward incense began by the end of the 4th C. Ephrem the Syrian refers to it; John Chrysostom mentions its use in processions to martyrs'

shrines and even in church; and Christian CENSERS of the 4th C. have been found. In the liturgy, incense is burned over charcoal in fixed burners or, more usually, in portable censers.

Christian use of incense is (1) fumigatory, as perfume, as at funerals; (2) honorific, when objects (such as icons, gifts, or the altar), or persons are censured in veneration; (3) exorcistic, chasing away evil spirits, as when the church is incensed at the beginning of a service; and (4) oblationary, when burnt in offering, as a sign of prayer or propitiation, a notion found esp. in the Syrian and Coptic traditions. In Byz. usage only ministers in major orders (deacon, priest, bishop) cense at services. In Constantinople incense was carried in processions at the EUCHARIST or a LITE, etc. At VESPERS incense is burned (in conjunction with Ps 140:2) as a sign of penance and prayer. At the SUNDAY resurrection vigil of festive *orthros* (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 280f, 288f) it symbolizes the service of the MYRROPHOROI.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 149–62. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 67–71. E. Fehrenbach, *DACL* 5.1:2–21. —R.F.T., A.K.

**INCEST** (αἰμομιξία, lit. "mixing of blood," a term unknown in ancient Greek; Lat. *incestus*) was treated in different manners in Roman and in Oriental law, the latter condoning matrimonial relations between close relatives. In the 3rd C. Roman jurists, yielding to the Oriental system, distinguished between marriages with lineal relatives that were considered illicit and collateral marriages that were permissible although not recommended (*Digest* 23:2.68). The attack on incestuous marriages began with Diocletian's law of 295 (F. Klingmüller, *RE* 9 [1916] 1248) who proclaimed them "barbarian monstrosities" and threatened execution as punishment. Diocletian's attitude toward incest was supported by the church fathers (for instance, BASIL THE GREAT, ep.160, ed. Y. Courtonne 2 [Paris 1961] 88–92, more closely defined by canon 54 of the Council in Trullo) and civil legislators; special attention was paid to consecutive marriages of a man to two sisters and a woman to two brothers as well as marriage to a niece. Though the threat of the death penalty appears in some laws (e.g., Constantius II in 342—*Cod.Theod.* III 12.1), other legislators lessened the punishment.

The extension of the concept of incest de-



pended on changes in the definition of consanguinity (see RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF): the church endeavored to extend this notion whereas the aristocracy tended to reduce it. Spiritual paternity was considered as a MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENT, and therefore sexual relations between a godfather and the widowed mother of his spiritual child were viewed as incestuous (canon 53 of the Council in Trullo). In real life people frequently neglected prohibitions of incest: the marriage of Herakleios to his niece MARTINA was viewed as scandalous but valid, and in the 12th C. both Manuel I and Andronikos I had nieces as mistresses. Even ecclesiastics were accused, rightly or wrongly, of incest, esp. with spiritual daughters.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 215–53. E. Mangelot, *DTC* 7 (1930) 1545–47. A.D. Lee, "Close Kin Marriage in Late Antique Mesopotamia," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 403–13.

—J.H., A.K.

**INCISED WARE.** See SGRAFFITO WARE.

**INCUBATION.** The practice of spending the night at a sacred precinct, pagan or Christian, until the god or saint of the shrine appears to the suppliant in a dream and cures him of disease, injury, or insanity, has continued from antiquity to the present day. Pagan temples often had dormitories, but Christian churches usually allocated an aisle of the basilica to those seeking cures. Pagan incubation endured throughout the 5th C. Constantine I suppressed the shrine of ASKLEPIOS at Aegae in Cilicia but other sites continued to function, among them the temple precincts at Epidaurus in Greece (at least until 354) and the temple of Isis at Menouthis on the Nile Delta (until the 5th C.). The temple, dormitory, and sacred spring of the Asklepieion in Athens probably housed a Christian healing cult from the second half of the 5th C., and the inscription "Saint Andrew" (J.S. Creaghan, A.E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 16 [1947] 29) permits the hypothesis that the basilica was dedicated to the apostle Andrew. Incubation became popular in Christian churches in the 6th C., as the Acts of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS attest. Incubations at rural *martyria* developed as a social protest against the incompetence of, and high fees charged by, physicians. Among places where incubation was practiced in the 7th C. were the basilica of St. Isidore on Chios

and the *martyrion* of St. ARTEMIOS in Constantinople. Miraculous HEALING by incubation is attested throughout the Byz. period; in the 14th C., for example, a man was exorcised of a demon by sleeping next to the coffin of the patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasios I (A.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* [Brookline, Mass., 1983] 18f, 78–80).

LIT. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. Lawson, *Folklore* 45–63. N.F. Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la Incubación Cristiana* (Madrid 1975).

—F.R.T.

**INDIA** (Ἰνδία) maintained both economic and political relations with the late Roman Empire. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA relates that Constantine I received ambassadors from India, allegedly as an acknowledgment that his sovereignty extended to the ocean; according to Philostorgios, Constantine dispatched a certain Theophilos to India, where he found some Christian followers of the apostle Bartholomew. The Indians also sent embassies to Emp. Julian—probably in connection with his preparations for war against Persia—and Malalas mentions an Indian ambassador to Constantinople ca. 530. Late Roman coins, esp. those of Arkadios and Honorius, have been discovered in India.

Trade with India, testified to by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, took four routes: via the Euphrates and Persian Gulf to Taprobana (CEYLON); via the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean; by overland caravan routes via Persia; and by caravan travel north of the Caspian Sea and across Central Asia. The primary exports from India were spices, incense, and probably precious stones: "the wealth of India," according to the *Vita Basilii*, decorated the chapel of St. Clement in the Great Palace.

Kosmas provides some factual information about India, but from antiquity onward many legends were created about this distant land; India was portrayed as the home of pious and wise gymnosophists (a reflection of the Brahmins). NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS wrote an epic poem on the god DIONYSOS's expedition against India and his victory over the Indian king Deriades, achieved with the help of a fleet summoned from Arabia.

After the Arab conquest of the Near East in the 7th C., Byz. contacts with India were severed. Knowledge of India's location grew vaguer and it was often confused with ETHIOPIA ("the inner

India" of earlier sources). Byz. legends (BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ALEXANDER ROMANCE, vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME) dwelt on the miraculous features and extreme piety of India, a country located somewhere near Paradise. JOHN OF KARPATOS wrote a tract addressed to Indian monks, but for him India was a nebulous notion. Photios expressed an antiquarian interest in India by including in his BIBLIOTHECA (cod. 72) the description of the country by the 5th-C. B.C. author Ktesias—full of legendary data such as the *mantichora*, a beast with a human face, and people with dogs' heads. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 2:10.2–5) ridiculed a man who allegedly traveled to Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. Some Indian influences reached Byz. via Persian, Syriac, or Arabic sources: thus Symeon SETH produced a Greek version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* and PLANOUDES a tract entitled *Calculation According to the Indians*.

Personifications of India or representations of its inhabitants have been recognized in floor mosaics and the BARBERINI IVORY. These are usually identified by their double-horned fillets; more certain attributes are the tigers that accompany the women on a silver plate in Istanbul (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl. 43).

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Vizantija i Indija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 66–71. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India* (Westminster 1901) 156–216. E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*<sup>2</sup> (London–New York 1974) 139f. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). C. Datema, "New Evidence for the Encounter between Constantinople and 'India,'" in *After Chalcedon* (Leuven 1985) 57–65.

—A.K., A.C.

**INDICTION** (ἰνδικτίων or ἐπινέμησης), initially an extraordinary tax in produce imposed by the emperor in order to meet specific needs. It was regularized on a yearly basis by Diocletian (five-year cycle) and finally under Constantine I became a 15-year cycle (starting in Sept. 312) during which the amount of the indiction was to remain unchanged. In spite of this, extra indictions (*extraordinariae*, *superindictiones*) were occasionally imposed. Because the fiscal and calendar years coincided (1 Sept.–31 Aug.), the word indiction acquired a chronological meaning that it kept after losing its fiscal one: it indicated one year within the 15-year cycle, without specifying which cycle. According to K.A. Worp (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 33 [1987] 91–96), indiction-dating in the papyri was not a result of the edict of 472 but

became mandatory after Justinian I's novel 47 of 537. In spite of its lack of absolute chronological precision, the Byz. used indictional dating in everyday life and in administration. In order to calculate the indiction corresponding to a given year of the Christian era, add 3 to the year, then divide the total by 15; the remainder is the indiction (if the remainder is zero, the indiction is 15).

LIT. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 138–41. Jones, *LRE* 451–56. Grumel, *Chronologie* 192–206. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978) 2–35.

—N.O.

**INFAMY** (ἀτιμία), the deprivation of honor, appears in Justinianic law as a PENALTY for wrong or unseemly conduct, such as not obeying trade regulations, disgraceful behavior in the army, misconduct in family relations, and certain criminal offenses. Infamy brought with it the restriction of certain rights or privileges, for example, the right to act as WITNESS. The *Ecloga* (2:8.1) considers as *atimos* the widow who enters a second marriage before completing the 12-month term of mourning—she would lose any right to her former husband's property. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (e.g., 18:5) punishes infringement of trade relations with flogging, cutting off the hair, a parade of infamy (*thriambos*), and exile. The public disgrace of infamy was used in political and religious struggles (e.g., to humiliate monks during Iconoclastic persecutions); the victims, sometimes made to ride backward on an ass or mangy camel, were preceded by a herald announcing their crime; their faces might be blackened, and they were ridiculed, beaten, or pelted with stones by the crowd. The parade could be followed by exile (e.g., Patr. Euthymios) or even execution (Emp. Andronikos I).

LIT. A.H.J. Greenidge, *Infamia: Its Place in Roman Public and Private Law* (Oxford 1894). Ph. Koukoules, "He diapompeusis kata tous byzantinous cinonous," *Byzantion* 1.2 (1949) 75–101. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et le blason pénal du corps," *Du châtement dans la cité* (Rome 1984) 416f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 135, n.12, 142f, 182, n.206.

—A.K.

**INFANCY OF CHRIST**, specifically the period from the ANNUNCIATION through the FLIGHT INTO EGYPT (Mt 1:18–25, 2:1–23; Lk 1:26–55, 2:1–52; PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, chs. 11–21). Christ's infancy was illustrated esp. extensively during the centuries of the Christological contro-

versies (4th–7th C.): cf. S. Maria Maggiore in ROME (5th C.); Cathedra of MAXIMIAN and St. Sergius, GAZA (6th C.); Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE. These cycles include numerous apocryphal scenes from the Protoevangelion that enhance their miraculous, theophanic content. With the exception of churches in GÖREME and the huge, byzantinizing churches in KIEV, Norman SICILY, and VENICE with their vast wall spaces, the Infancy cycle was reduced in 10th- through 12th-C. monumental painting to its major liturgical feasts: Annunciation, NATIVITY, Presentation of Christ (HYPAPANTE). Likewise liturgically inspired is the 11th-C. Sinai icon conflating the many events celebrated on 25 Dec. (Nativity, story of the Magi), 26 Dec. (Flight into Egypt), and 29 Dec. (Massacre of the Innocents) (K. Weitzmann, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai* [London 1968] 23). Only certain densely illuminated Gospel and Lectionary MSS of the 10th–12th C. retained lengthy narrative cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS; Athos, Dion. 587, 11th C.—*Treasures* I, figs. 247–52, 260). Palaiologan art saw a rich resumption of Infancy imagery in both monumental painting (CHORA) and the MSS illustrating the AKATHISTOS HYMN (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 671–702).

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium*, see index, 2:380. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:197–241. —A.W.C.

**INFANTRY** (πεζικόον). Modestly equipped and slow to move, Byz. infantry nevertheless fulfilled an important defensive role in support of CAVALRY. It secured routes, guarded fortresses and encampments, and provided a mobile base for cavalry on campaign. Infantry was also indispensable for sieges and in terrain unsuited to cavalry. Foot soldiers were usually deployed in a square formation that they maintained in battle, on the march, and in CAMP. To judge from the totals given in the STRATEGIKA, infantry made up the bulk of the the army, outnumbering the cavalry by a ratio of 2:1 or 3:1. Three types of infantrymen are distinguished: heavy infantry armed with spears and swords, protected by corselets, caps, and shields; archers; and light infantry, armed with javelins and slings. A fourth type, *menaulatos*, armed with a heavy pike (see WEAPONRY), was created in the 10th C. for use against armored cavalry (E. McGeer, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 53–57). Byz. and Armenians were preferred as heavy in-

fantry, while foreign MERCENARIES (such as the Rus') served as light infantry. The 10th-C. Escorial TAKTIKON mentions the *hoplitarches* or commander of the infantry force in expeditionary armies and his subalterns, the TAXIARCHAI (also *chiliarchai*), who commanded units of 1,000 men (Oikonomidès, *Listes* 335f).

The sources offer scant details about the economic status of infantrymen. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:506.3–8) lists them below CAVALRY and above SAILORS in levels of military service (STRATEIA); it seems likely that they were drawn from the poorer STRATIOTAI who could at least afford the simple equipment used by infantry (W.T. Treadgold in *Okeanos* 624f).

LIT. E. McGeer, "Infantry versus Cavalry: The Byzantine Response," *REB* 46 (1988) 135–45. —E.M.

**INFERTILITY** (στεῖρωσις) was considered by the Byz. as a terrible misfortune; there are abundant stories of barren couples who sought the help of physicians, holy men, shrines, or magic in order to overcome this condition. A passage in DIGENES AKRITAS (Grottaferrata version VII 180–88, ed. E. Trapp, p.342) evoked the grief of the childless Digenes and his wife Eudokia as they prayed daily for a baby. The vita of ANTONY THE YOUNGER indicates the enormous sums paid to doctors to cure barrenness. AMULETS were a popular means of increasing fertility. Men's sterility could also be remedied by a saint as evidenced by John Moschos's tale (PG 87:2977D–2980A) about a precocious baby who at the age of three weeks was able to point out his father, who was previously thought to be sterile. The biblical prototype of the barren Sarah rewarded with fertility only at a venerable age was often used in hagiographical texts.

—J.H., A.K.

**INGOTS** (μάζαι, μαζία, *massae*), fixed weights of metal cast into bars or related shapes for convenient transportation and distribution. Gold, silver, and copper COINS and bullion collected as taxes at provincial treasuries were melted and formed into ingots. These were weighed and stamped by officers of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM before being sent to MINTS for the striking of coins. As the SOLIDUS was struck 72 to the pound, it is supposed that mints were issued with gold bars of this weight. Numerous gold and silver ingots

survive from the late 4th C., particularly from the Western Empire; they often bear one or more stamps, similar to the SILVER STAMPS applied to objects. Occasionally found together with imperial anniversary dishes, these ingots may (like LARGITIO DISHES) have been used to pay military and other government personnel.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:436. Hendy, *Economy* 380–94. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22.

—M.M.M.

**INHERITANCE.** See HEIR; SUCCESSION.

**INITIALS, ORNAMENTAL.** Compared with Latin scribes, Greek copyists, always more faithful to ancient traditions, were slower to enlarge and decorate initial letters. In the 6th C., small initials were filled with miscellaneous designs or outlined with dots. In contrast, the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY contains large jeweled and floriated initials, accompanied by birds and snakes, and an *epsilon* with a blessing hand, later a common motif. Small figural initials also appear in the period, but the apogee of the decorated letter was in the 11th and 12th C. The 11th C. saw inventive combinations of animals, but it was the influential painters of the 12th-C. MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS who established long-lasting conventions for zoomorphic initials. Figural initials began to depict narrative scenes as well as single figures of the text's author or narrator. Particularly in lectionaries, the person represented may belong to a larger group displayed about the page, thus pictorially uniting the entire surface. Figural initials are less common in the MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE and all but disappear in the Palaiologan period, but zoomorphic initials continue to be used for centuries.

LIT. C. Franc-Sgourdeou, "Les initiales historiées dans les manuscrits byzantins aux XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> s.," *BS* 28 (1967) 336–54. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm 1970). Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339," 171–76.

—R.S.N.

**INK** (μέλαν, μελάνιον) in antiquity was made of soot; this durable black ink is still very well preserved on papyri. In Byz. MSS various kinds of inks with metallic components are to be discerned, a brown gallnut ink being one of the most wide-

spread. For writing on purple codices, silver or gold ink was used. Sometimes other colors such as light blue or greenish also occur in MSS. Red ink serves to emphasize a heading (LEMMA), initials, or other prominent words, letters, or text passages. PURPLE ink has a particular function in imperial documents: the emperor signed with purple ink, and the head of the imperial chancery, the KANIKLEIOS, wrote *logos* in a designated spot, also using purple ink. This official therefore wore an ink bottle attached to his garment, as is sometimes seen in miniatures. Some antique ink bottles and a few Byz. ones have been preserved, among them a silver bottle with metrical inscription in the treasury of the cathedral at Padua.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:202–17. H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:477–79. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 28–31, 34–36. Hutter, *CBM* 3.1:392. M. de Pas, "Recherches sur les encres noires manuscrites," in *PGEB* 55–60. M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 305–08. —W.H.

**INN.** Privately owned inns (*pandocheia*, lit. "accepting everything") in both town and countryside provided accommodations for all kinds of travelers and their animals. John Chrysostom (PG 56:111.50–53) states that *pandocheia* were established everywhere along the roads so that travelers and beasts of burden could stop and rest. Nicholas Mesarites in the 12th C. vividly described an inn in the small *kastellion* of Kyr George near Nicaea (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] 2.2 [1923] 40f): his companion awoke in the morning, kindled a fire in the hearth from the previous day's ashes, put an earthenware pot on an iron tripod, and began his breakfast, holding the meat in his left hand and cutting it into pieces with a knife, washing down the meat and bread with wine, while poor Mesarites suffered from the smoke that filled the room. Inns were not only places to sleep, eat, and drink, but also to find sexual pleasures: the mother of THEODORE OF SYKEON worked as a prostitute in a country inn (*Vita*, ed. Festugière, vol. 1, ch.3.6–14) and, according to legend, Helena, the future mother of Constantine I, was a whore in an inn owned by her father (AB 77 [1959] par.2.3). The vita of Andrew the Fool refers to brothels as "inns of fornication" (PG 111:652C).

The remains of a late Roman inn survive today,

17 km southwest of Urfa: there are three rock-cut caves, two of which were animal stables, and a cistern; the rooms for travelers were in a separate structure, now destroyed. An inscription, probably of the 3rd C., identifies the site as "an inn [*pandokeion*], well, and caves" built by Aurelius Dasius, governor of Osrhoene "so that travelers may enjoy refreshment and repose" (C. Mango, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 [1986] 223–31).

Distinguished from *pandocheia*, which were profit-making establishments, were *XENODOCHEIA*, guest-houses founded in a spirit of *PHILANTHROPY* to offer Christian hospitality. The *MITATON* for Syrian merchants in Constantinople was a type of inn as well. The world as a temporary abode was compared to an inn by Didymos the Blind (PG 39:780D) and other authors. —A.K., A.M.T.

**INNOCENT II** (Gregory Papareschi), pope (14 Feb. 1130–24 Sept. 1143). He was the scion of a noble Roman family, whose election to the papacy led to a schism within the curia; his adversaries elected antipope Anacletus II from a rival family of the Pierleone, who was supported by ROGER II of Sicily. Innocent sought German assistance, but CONRAD III was slow to act; the papal expedition against Roger ended in Innocent's defeat and capture and the treaty of Mignano (27 July 1139), in which the pope recognized Roger as king.

Innocent disapproved of the claims of Emp. John II Komnenos on Antioch; in a letter of 28 Mar. 1138 he excommunicated the emperor and prohibited Latins from serving in the Byz. army. Several months later, however, the pope changed his position and opened negotiations with John in an effort to establish friendly relations with Byz. No positive results were achieved.

LIT. J.G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks (1122–1153)," *ChHist* 28 (1959) 115–22, 126–30. —A.K.

**INNOCENT III** (Lothar of Segni), pope (from 8 Jan. 1198); born Anagni 1160/1, died 16 July 1216. The collapse of German power after the death of HENRY VI in 1197 allowed Innocent to accomplish the moral and administrative restructuring of the Roman church and to acquire great influence throughout the Western world. He also tried to expand papal jurisdiction over Armenia and Bulgaria. He worked toward union with the

Greek church on condition that Byz. recognize papal *PRIMACY*, but in the beginning, at least, he was willing to discuss differences in rite.

The organization of the Fourth Crusade put the problem in a new light: at first Innocent apparently hoped to use the Crusader army against the Saracens in Sicily (E. Kennan, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 246–48). Even though the pope supported the German king Otto IV (1198–1218), the rival of PHILIP OF SWABIA, he accepted Philip's appointee BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT as leader of the expedition. The Crusaders' capture of ZARA created a new political and moral dilemma. The pontiff disapproved of the attack on a Christian city but recommended continued collaboration with the Venetians, whose resources were necessary to execute the plan (A. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). M. Zaborov (*VizVrem* 5 [1952] 152–77) argued that diversion of the Crusade toward Constantinople was Innocent's own scheme; this may be an exaggeration, but the Latin seizure of Constantinople in 1204 seemed to be a political success for the reformed papacy.

Innocent's predecessors usually denied Constantinople's claim to the status of patriarchate. Now, with Constantinople in Western hands, Innocent endorsed the Greek concept of five patriarchates and associated Constantinople with the activity of the apostle John. However, he had to accede, although reluctantly, to the election of the Venetian THOMAS MOROSINI as Latin patriarch of Constantinople. The pope sent legates (PETER CAPUANO, Benedict) to Constantinople, where they had debates with the Greek clergy: although their words were conciliatory, they in fact demanded that the Greeks conform to Latin doctrine and rite. The Greek hierarchy was restructured and put under the jurisdiction of the Latin church, and Latin monastic orders expanded in the empire. These measures failed to achieve church union, however, and Innocent soon began to treat the Byz. as heretics and schismatics. In 1213 Innocent received letters from certain Greek monks who complained about the Cistercians. The latter had acquired the CHORTAITES MONASTERY, near Thessalonike, from Boniface of Montferrat; later, HENRY OF HAINAULT, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, installed Greek monks there, but in 1212 the Cistercians, armed with Innocent's mandate, expelled them. Although the pope ordered

Cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO to investigate the situation, the Chortaites monastery remained in Cistercian hands, and by 1223 its owners had even been granted the monastery of the Holy Archangel in Negroponte (E. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 78–81).

LIT. A. Luchaire, *Innocent III*, 6 vols. (Paris 1906–08). J. Gill, "Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?" *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh 1973) 95–108. G. Hagedorn, "Papst Innozenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198–1203)," *OstSt* 23 (1974) 3–20, 105–36. W. de Vries, "Innozenz III. (1198–1216) und der christliche Osten," *ArchHistPont* 3 (1965) 87–126. R.L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 33–60. —A.K.

**INNOCENT IV** (Sinibaldo Fieschi), pope (from 25 June 1243); born Genoa ca. 1200, died Naples 7 Dec. 1254. Innocent carried the war against FREDERICK II to its climax. In the summer of 1244 the pope fled to Lyons to organize a coalition against Frederick. In 1245 he convened the First Council of Lyons. His aim was to sever Sicily from the German kingdom, and in 1252 he tried to offer Sicily to Richard of Cornwall (son of King John of England) and to CHARLES I OF ANJOU. His Eastern policy was determined primarily by two factors: the need to protect the remnants of the Latin state in Palestine, esp. after the Crusaders' defeat at Gaza in 1239, and to secure assistance against Frederick. In March or April of 1245 Innocent sent Andrew of Longjumeau to negotiate with the Egyptian emir Fakhr al-Dīn; in a letter of 15 Aug. 1246, Fakhr al-Dīn claimed that atrocities in Jerusalem had been committed without the knowledge of the Ayyūbid sultan and promised to repair demolished buildings and to support pilgrimages, which were lucrative for the AYYŪBIDS (K.-E. Lupprian in *Das heilige Land im Mittelalter* [Neustadt an der Aisch 1982] 77–82).

Innocent also sought alliance with the Mongols (K.E. Lupprian, *ST* 291 [1981] 48–56). He worked for a union with "schismatics" and "heretics" under papal jurisdiction: in a letter of 22 Mar. 1253 he blamed the Catholics on the island of Melos for going too far in rapprochement with the Greeks, but he was ready to recognize some differences in rite if the Eastern church would accept papal *PRIMACY*. The Nicene emperor John III Vatatzes was eager to reach an agreement and to receive the pope's assistance against the Latin

empire of Constantinople (P. Žavoronkov, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 113–16), but the negotiations were interrupted by the deaths of John and Innocent in 1254.

LIT. W. de Vries, "Innozenz IV. (1243–1254) und der christliche Osten," *OstSt* 12 (1963) 113–31. J.M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," *Catholic Historical Review* 48 (1963) 487–97. H. Marc-Bonnet, "Le Saint-Siège et Charles d'Anjou sous Innocent IV et Alexandre IV (1245–1261)," *RH* 200 (1948) 49–62. A. Franchi, *La svolta politica-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1244–54)* (Rome 1981). —A.K.

**INNOVATION** (*καινοτομία*), in the narrow sense, as used by theologians, primarily of the 6th–7th C., described the new doctrine of the miracle of Incarnation. *Kainotomia* is defined by Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1313C) as Christ's assumption of "our flesh without semen" and the Virgin's giving birth without defloration. More often the word was used in a broader sense of novelty and breach of tradition and applied predominantly to heretical doctrines or even rebellions. According to Psellos (*Chron.* 1:103, par.27.14), many of his colleagues called the revolt against Michael V "a senseless *kainotomia*," while in Kekaumenos *kainotomia* designates illicit actions or illegal gain (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 156) rather than unexpected damage (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 170). Accordingly, the expression *kainos theologos*, "new theologian," had a pejorative connotation (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f), and Niketas Stethatos spoke ironically about new teachers or a new prophet (*neos prophetes*) (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 28 [1967] 4, n.8). The customary title "the New Theologian" given to the mystic Symeon is a misinterpretation—he was Symeon the Younger, the theologian (H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 46 [1953] 57–62).

Thus, the Byz. did not appreciate innovation and claimed to have stuck to tradition. IMITATION or repetition of the standard authorities was praiseworthy. The idea of plagiarism did not exist. Reforms were usually couched in terms of the restoration of the past rather than of innovation: Psellos, while criticizing Isaac I Komnenos for drastic changes, referred to God who did not create the world instantaneously but took an entire week (*Chron.* 2:121, par.62.9–12). In the same vein Gregoras (Greg. 2:796.2–12) censored the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike for their rule that had no precedents, aristocratic or democratic, and was



not even a "new species" derived from existing forms but emerged spontaneously as a "strange ochlocracy." This negative attitude toward innovation does not mean that Byz. culture totally lacked originality. For example, there were remarkable novelties of both content and style, esp. in MONUMENTAL PAINTING, in and after the 9th C.

LIT. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt.III (1981), 48–57.  
—A.K., A.C.

**INSANITY**, a DISEASE that was viewed by the Byz. in a contradictory manner: some people with abnormal behavior were proclaimed holy FOOLS, but insanity and esp. the epilepsy confused with it were interpreted as caused by DEMONS. Accordingly, the Byz. lost the classical definition of epilepsy as "holy disease," or *hiera nosos*, a term transferred to LEPROSY (A. Philipsborn, *Byzantion* 33 [1963] 223f).

Byz. theoreticians generally hearkened back to the notions of GALEN that madness was the result of too much black bile, causing the diseased imbalance of humors called melancholy (cf. Alex. Trall. 1:590–617). A second Galenic concept was the idea of the three *pneumata* (Vital, Psychic, and Natural) that also caused madness when balance among the three was disturbed; one meets continual reference to "passions" (esp. those of lust) as particularly engendering insanity. Galen's *Passions and Errors of the Soul* (ed. W. de Boer [Leipzig-Berlin 1937]) provided a model of sorts, from which many Byz. physicians derived their basic concepts of madness, although numerous cases of pure insanity had clear records of cure through religious miracles, not medical or pharmaceutical treatment. As treatment of insanity, saints used EXORCISM and INCUBATION in special churches.

LIT. M. Dols, "Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic Medicine," *DOP* 38 (1984) 135–48. H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in den medizinischen Theorien der Antike* (Berlin 1966) 118–33. W. Creutz, *Die Neurologie des 1.–7. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1934) 50–81.  
—J.S.

**INSCRIPTIO**. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

**INSCRIPTIONS, LAPIDARY**, are incised or carved in relief on stone or marble, the letters sometimes heightened in color. They may be divided into two periods: the first from the 4th to

the 7th C., the second from the 7th to the 15th. In the first period EPIGRAPHY continues to play the same role, closely tied to city life, that it had played under the pagan empire; in the second period its scope becomes more restricted. We may divide stone inscriptions (sing. *τίτλος, τίτλον*) into the following principal categories:

1. **Funerary inscriptions** are very numerous in the first period and are found on stelae, sarcophagi, loculi, and other forms of burial. Persons of high status are often commemorated in hexameter. There is a wide spread of lower-class epitaphs (artisans, shopkeepers, soldiers, minor clergy, etc.) recording the name of the deceased and his/her father; place of origin (often providing evidence of migration); occupation; length of life; date of death (day of the week, month, indiction), seldom in absolute terms (i.e., by consulship, regnal year, or local era in the Eastern provinces). Sometimes curses are added against anyone making unauthorized use of the tomb; the price paid for it may also be mentioned. There is a particularly full series of epitaphs from KORYKOS, another from TYRE. Constantinople with its environs, Corinth, and other places have also yielded a fair number.

In the second period epitaphs become much rarer and those of ordinary persons almost nonexistent, which suggests that they were buried in unmarked graves. This development may account for funerary graffiti, such as those scratched on the columns of the Parthenon in Athens, separated from the place of burial. As for persons of rank, there is a tendency toward longer and longer verse epitaphs, inscribed on the sarcophagus or on slabs attached to an *arcosolium*.

2. **Honorific inscriptions** on statue bases or accompanying the portrait of a prominent person (emperor, official, charioteer), usually in verse, were still fairly common in the first period (many preserved in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY), but absent in the second.

3. **Building inscriptions** appear on public monuments and works of fortifications, seldom on private houses. This category continued into the second period, while undergoing considerable contraction.

4. **Inscriptions recording edicts and tariffs** were practically absent in the second period, the latest known example perhaps being the grant of a salt pan to the Church of St. Demetrios at Thessalo-

nike by Justinian II (688/9). The conciliar "edict" of Manuel I of 1166 (C. Mango, *DOP* 17 [1963] 315–30) is essentially a religious text.

5. **Acclamations** addressed to emperors and circus factions are usually introduced by the formula *Nika he tyche*. They are absent in the second period.

6. **Boundary stones** are practically absent in the second period, except for those delimiting the Byz.-Bulgarian frontier (Beševliev, *Inscriften*, no.46). MILESTONES along public roads appear to cease in the 5th C.

7. **Inscriptions regarding rights of ownership** or the place (*topos, thesis*) occupied by persons in a theater, a market, or even a church form another category. They are absent in the second period.

8. **Religious texts, invocations, and curses** are also the subject of inscriptions.

LIT. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 (Berlin 1877).  
—C.M.

**INSIGNIA** (*σημεῖα*), characteristic emblems used to express symbolically the social and political position of an individual or an institution. Byz. only embryonically developed the heraldry of hereditary familial COATS OF ARMS so typical of Western feudalism, but it did establish systems of personal, institutional, and imperial insignia. The word *semeion* was also used to designate both a standard or banner (e.g., a Persian *semeion* placed on a tower—*Chron. Pasch.* 554.8–9) and a theological symbol, such as the sign of the cross, baptism, or a miracle.

Personal insignia are known primarily from SEALS that depict images of Christ, the Virgin, the cross, and various saints, the most popular of which were military saints (George, Demetrios, and Theodore), the Archangel Michael, and St. Nicholas; more developed scenes (e.g., the Annunciation) appear rarely. The saint is considered a patron (often the owner of the seal was named after him), but it is not yet clear to what extent the owner consistently used the image of his patron saint and accordingly whether the *semeion* should be considered a genuine emblem. Some patterns of usage are evident: thus, generals frequently adopted military saints as patrons, whereas civil functionaries preferred Michael and Nicholas. Seals reveal a certain consistency and continuity of *semeia* for local churches; thus, the met-

ropolitans of Ephesus had as their patrons either the apostle John or the Virgin.

The emblems of officials are better known. The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM represents the insignia of important office holders ca.400; thus, the emblems of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum were the *codicillus* (diploma of appointment) with imperial portrait, the so-called *theca* (i.e., pen case and ink pot), and a horse-drawn state coach reserved for the use of the prefect (P.C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* [New York–London 1981] 25–37). Later insignia are listed in such texts as *De ceremoniis* of Constantine VII or in pseudo-Kodinos.

Insignia can be divided into symbolic emblems (as represented in the *Notitia dignitatum* or on coins) and real objects. The latter encompassed COSTUME including footgear, the CROWN, weaponry and horse trappings, the THRONE, and symbols of authority or piety, such as the SCEPTER, SPHAIRA (orb), and AKAKIA. The form and color of these garments and objects differed, reflecting the hierarchical ladder. Thus, in pseudo-Kodinos, the *despotes* was granted the privilege of wearing the SKIADION covered with pearls, with a veil bearing the name of the owner embroidered in gold; the *sebastokrator* had a gold and red *skiadion* with gold embroidery (*syrmateinon*), but no pearls are mentioned; the *megas domestikos* wore a *klapoton* (not *syrmateinon*) *skiadion*, that is, one decorated with small golden squares in the shape of a nail-head; the *megas doux* wore a *klapoton skiadion*, but without a veil, and so on.

In the late 9th C. the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos divided all functionaries into two major categories: those who were invested with some form of insignia (*brabeion*), and those who were appointed by the word of the emperor. Among official insignia Philotheos mentioned the *charte* (codicil); a golden staff; the *fiblatorion*, a cloak secured with a FIBULA; a golden chain; a golden whip decorated with precious stones; and a sword ornamented with gold and ivory plaques.

Imperial regalia, partly developed from the insignia of Roman magistrates (e.g., consuls), partly derived from the East, partly created anew, were above all characterized by the exclusive right to use the color PURPLE (while green and blue were the colors of certain high-ranking officials). A special costume decorated with gold, pearls, and precious stones distinguished the emperor from

his entourage. The order in which the different elements of imperial costume (DIVETESION, CHLAMYS, SKARAMANGION, etc.) were put on was prescribed by court ceremonial, and the usage of a particular garment was usually linked with carrying particular objects (scepter, etc.). The ceremonial also prescribed a change in the imperial regalia at certain stages of processions and receptions. The different elements of the regalia varied in importance: the crown and *chlamys* always held pride of place, whereas the scepter and shoes (TZANGIA) probably assumed significance only by the 10th C. Different crowns and garments were employed for different festivities.

The Byz. saw a symbolic meaning in various insignia: the *sphaira* designated the universal power of the emperor, the *akakia* his mortality and subjection to Christ. A poem of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.30.12–26) gives an example of the symbolic interpretation of the insignia that belonged to the eparch of Constantinople: his *simikinthion* ("apron," probably the *loros*) symbolized the uninterrupted series of his good works; the tawny orange boots his divine paths; the white horse his shining virtue; and the brazen bosses of his horse trappings, which were alloyed with gold, symbolized his generosity, since he distributed gold and bronze among the needy.

LIT. K. Wessel, E. Piltz, C. Nicolescu, *RBK* 3:369–468. *DOC* 2.1:80–88; 3.1:127–142. P.E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, vols. 1–4 (Stuttgart-Munich 1954–78). A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *MDAI RA* 50 (1935) 1–171. G. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *MN* 8 (1958) 99–112. A. Pertusi, "Symbolisme des insignes byzantines du pouvoir," *EtBalk* 14 (1978) no.2, 44–50. —A.K.

**INSPIRATION** commonly designates the workings of a (divine) spirit. In Christianity it refers particularly to the HOLY SPIRIT who acts on the authors of the BIBLE. Their works, according to 2 Timothy 3:16, are "inspired by God" (*theopneustos*, a Hellenistic term to indicate the phenomenon of "divine rapture," "divine emotion," and ecstasy) and an operation of divine *empneusis*. The books of the Bible are not the work of man, but prophecy (2 Pet 1:20–21): this is the term preferred by the church fathers to describe the Bible as the work of God. Therewith, inspiration also means the influence of God on the prophets,

and then the Apostles (to be distinguished from the possession of the Spirit in Christ: Nicholas of Methone, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ekklesiastike Bibliothheke*, vol. 1 [Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 199–218), and the saints; finally it includes all "charismas," inspirations of God, and esp. enthusiastic experiences. Certain writers, esp. hagiographers, emphasize that they are or are said to be humble sinners who function only as the tool of the Holy Spirit. The notion of inspiration serves primarily and largely to maintain authority, and so in Byz. one speaks of the inspiration of the councils, the church fathers, or the ecclesiastical canons. Finally, in the political sphere, there is inspiration of the emperor, who, crowned by the Holy Spirit, rules through the Holy Spirit's inspiration. (See also SOPHIA.)

LIT. H. Bacht, "Religionsgeschichtliches zum Inspirationsproblem," *Scholastik* 17 (1942) 50–69. J. Leipoldt, "Die Frühgeschichte der Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung," *ZNTW* 44 (1952–53) 118–45. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). G. Bardy, "L'inspiration des Pères de l'Église," *RechScRel* 40 (1951–52) 7–26. —K.-H.U.

**INSTITUTES.** Promulgated by Justinian I through the constitution "Imperatorium" of 21 Nov. 533 and compiled at his order by the law professors THEOPHILOS and DOROTHEOS, under the direction of TRIBONIAN, the *Institutes* are at once a textbook in four books and law. As a textbook they are closely modeled, in the arrangement of the material, on the *Institutes* of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), from which many of their texts are derived. The writings of the classical Roman jurists—mostly in their form as preserved in the DIGEST—and Justinian I's own constitutions also served as sources. Justinian explicitly endowed the *Institutes* with the force of law in the introductory constitution "Imperatorium" (ch.7). A Greek paraphrase of the *Institutes* that resulted from the law course of Theophilos served as a "quarry" for later Byz. legal textbooks (PSELLOS, *Synopsis legum*) and legal *lexika* (*adet*), because of its pedagogical arrangement of the most important legal topics (*personae*, *res*, *actiones*) on the one hand, and its numerous explanations of Latin legal terms on the other. Various fragments from Greek revisions of the text of the *Institutes*—which are more or less similar to

the Theophilos text—are found in legal MSS and can even be detected in the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. P. Birks, G. McLeod (London 1987), with Eng. tr. LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 600–11, 682–86. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:417–21. O.F. Robinson, "Public Law and Justinian's Institutes," in *Studies in Justinian's Institutes in Memory of J.A.C. Thomas* (London 1983) 125–33. L. Burgmann, "Das Lexikon *adet*—Ein Theophilosglossar," *FM* 6 (Frankfurt 1984) 19–61. —M.Th.F.

**INTAGLIO**, conventional term denoting a subcategory of glyptics (carved hardstones), on which, in contrast to CAMEO, the design is incised. Preferred stones were jasper, carnelian, haematite, and rock crystal, for any of which glass might occasionally be substituted. The technique is most characteristic of ring bezels and cone SEALS, where it was essential to their sealing function, and of pendant AMULETS, where it was apparently valued for its beauty and, perhaps, for its similarity to Greco-Egyptian gem amulets (Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–97, 334–39). Intaglios were far less popular among the Byz. than among the Romans or Sasanians, and their technical quality relatively inferior. Monograms were preferred for sealing intaglios, while various biblical scenes, icons, or magical creatures or symbols might appear on the amulets. Relatively common during the 5th–7th C., gemstone intaglios are rare thereafter, although the occasional appearance of fine figural specimens from succeeding centuries attests to preservation of the tradition, probably among craftsmen who regularly incised metal, whether for ring bezels, cone seals, coin dies, or *boulloteria* (see SEALING IMPLEMENTS).

LIT. H. Wentzel, "Die Kamee der Kaiserin Anna," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1968) 1–11. —G.V.

**INTELLECT** (*νοῦς*), the human mind, was conceived in accordance with ancient Greek metaphysics as the immaterial or spiritual cognitive faculty, referring to unity and transcending the differences of rational discourse, "reconciling all oppositions" (BASIL THE GREAT, ep.8.9, ed. Courtonne 1:33.11–13). Although the *nous* functioned in a different way from sensorial perception (Maximos the Confessor in scholia on pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE), ANASTASIOS OF SINAI

(ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5.66–67) defined it as the "contemplative perception" (*aisthesis theoretike*) that brings forth the LOGOS in the unity of language and thought. Differentiated from the SOUL, *nous* is a divine spark in the soul possessing the capacity of knowing God. It is the instrument of contemplation that prepares the human way to perfection, but needs constant purification, since it can be obscured and coarsened by sin. *Nous* was metaphorically represented as light, eye, and charioteer.

Pseudo-Dionysios speaks of angelic intelligences or powers as *noes* (pl. of *nous*). The Byz. also employed the terminology of PLOTINOS who considered the divine Intellect as the first emanation of the One. The epithet *nous* was applied both to the Father whose Son was "the Logos of the Nous" and to the Son.

For the Origenists of the 6th C., Christ was the "self-alienating Nous" who is to come, at the end of time, for the salvation of fallen spirits "in various bodies and under various names." All intelligent beings or *noes*, before the aversion or disgust that is caused by their vision of God and leads them to apostasy, were but "one substance, one force, one energy," and they will acquire such status again at the end of time owing to their unity with God the Logos and the loss of any individuality. Only one *nous* had preserved his union with God the Logos in the vision of God, namely one that at the end of time will be revealed as Christ in multiple forms in order to initiate the *apokatastasis*, that is, the restoration of the original unity. In this teaching on the beginning and the end of time, the metaphysics of the intellect becomes a cosmological myth and drama; this teaching overlaps with Gnostic speculations that resolve the entire cosmos and all its species in a single undifferentiated unity; in other words, alienates them. A contrasting view is represented by the hierarchical world view of pseudo-Dionysios. In the tenets of Byz. mystics and in the doctrine of the Trinity one can see the merging of these two tendencies. —K.-H.U.

**INTELLECTUALS** in the late Roman period were connected primarily with the urban environment: they received their training in universities and occupied positions as teachers, lawyers, rhetori-



cians, physicians; they were members of the local aristocracy or belonged to its milieu. Alongside them two new groups of intellectuals developed, theologians and officials. The crisis of the late antique POLIS was accompanied by the disappearance of the urban "intelligentsia"—cultural activity ca.800 was concentrated around monasteries, not the curia as it was in antiquity. The ENCYCLOPEDIA of the 9th–10th C. contributed to the development of a secular intelligentsia, but through the 11th C. intellectuals were primarily state and church bureaucrats, closely connected with Constantinople and its administrative machinery. Professional intellectuals came to the fore in the 12th C., but even in this period their careers were often crowned by appointment to a bishopric. Nevertheless, intellectuals of the 12th C. argued that they held a specific social position and had a right to remunerations granted by the state, church, or private patrons. The increasing social importance of the medical profession (A. Kazhdan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 43–51) also reflects this shift. Ševčenko's analysis of the status of late Byz. literati (*infra*) demonstrated that the court of Constantinople continued to be the center of intellectual life, even though more than half of the writers can be assigned to the ecclesiastical sphere; only a few were of humble origin.

LIT. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I (1974), 69–92, rev. A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 89–97. H.G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner* (Vienna 1974) 11f. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 101f. —A.K.

**INTELLIGENCE, MILITARY AND POLITICAL.** Surrounded by hostile powers and peoples, the Byz. state constantly required political and military intelligence to defend itself and to expand its influence beyond its borders. The *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO* (10th C.) outlines the interests served by political intelligence, such as desirable alliances, trade routes, and diplomatic strategy, and by counterintelligence, used to awe foreign ambassadors with Byz. power and to withhold state secrets from them. Information was channelled to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU from many sources, including merchants, travelers, former prisoners of war, embassies, and Christian communities outside the empire.

Military men paid close attention to the equipment, skills, tactics, and character of various enemies; their observations were recorded in the

STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (bk.11) and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (bk.18) with suggestions on how best to adapt to each one. The *DE VELITATIONE* (10th C.) describes the surveillance of the frontiers by local units, which monitored enemy invaders to ascertain their strength and intentions; the necessity of reconnaissance while on campaign is repeatedly emphasized in the STRATEGIKA. In preparation for offensive expeditions, merchants were sent into enemy lands to collect information (*De cer.* 657.3–12), and grudging tribute to their effectiveness comes from IBN HAWQAL, who criticized the Arab authorities' inattention to them (*Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, vol. 1 [Paris 1964] 193).

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Origins of Intelligence Services* (New Brunswick 1974) 121–87, 235–58. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977). G. Dagron, "'Ceux d'en face': Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins," *TM* 10 (1987) 207–28. —E.M.

**INTEREST** (τόκος, lit. "child"). According to the law of Justinian I, there were two sorts of interest: based on a contract (agreement, stipulation); automatically owed by law in some kinds of transactions, such as interest on debts to minors or to the fisc or owed by an official of a society if he used the society's funds for his own purposes. The 8th-C. *Ecloga* does not mention *tokos*; in the early 9th C. Emp. Nikephoros I abolished all forms of interest (Theoph. 488.11) with the exception of interest due to *naulkeroi* (probably on account of their occupational risk). Basil I also prohibited interest as contravening Christian ethical values. Leo VI, however, revoked this prohibition in novel 83, since "the average man is unable to attain such heights of morality and must abide by human, not divine laws."

Maximum interest was defined by *Basil.* 23.3.74 in accordance with Justinianic law: the normal rate of interest was set at 6 percent, but the *illoustrioi* could not ask more than 4 percent, whereas merchants were allowed 8 percent, increased to 12 percent if they were involved in maritime operations. In novel 83 Leo VI allowed only a standard 4 percent rate of interest. *Peira* 19.1 gives a higher rate: regular interest was 6 nomismata per pound (*litra*) of gold, while *argyropatai* could charge 8 nomismata; *protospatharioi* were limited to charging 4 nomismata. Since in

the 11th C. there were 72 nomismata to the pound, the rates were 8.3, 11.1, and 5.6 percent, respectively. Circa 1400 much higher rates of 15 and 26.6 percent are found in the decisions of Patr. Matthew I. (See also USURY.)

LIT. G. Cassimatis, *Les intérêts dans la législation de Justinien et dans le droit byzantin* (Paris 1931). N. Matzes, "Hō tokos en te nomologia tou patriarcheiou Konstantinoupolos kata tous ID' kai IE' aionas," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 71–83. —A.K.

**INTERIOR SPACE**, the depiction of an enclosed area, was generally of little concern to artists in Byz. and was left to the spectator's understanding of a scene to supply. Thus in the ROSSANO GOSPELS no physical distinction is made between the room in which Judas returns the silver and the yard in which he hangs himself. Painters normally declined to define the area in which an event took place, even one specified in a text as occurring indoors. Scenes calling for an interior setting, such as the Last Supper or the DORMITION of the Virgin, were furnished with a summary architectural backdrop, occasionally supplemented with a swag, signifying an interior space, thrown over a wall or slung between piers. Other symbolic devices of this sort include open doors, thrones, altars, and tables. Even in the 14th C., when there is some evidence for the reuse of Late Antique motifs and of loans from the West, ancient Roman and new Italian PERSPECTIVE schemes were ignored; interior spaces became ever more elaborate and ever less rational.

LIT. T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 183–216. Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 88–90. —A.C.

**INTERLACE**, a regular pattern formed of two or more interwoven or plaited bands, usually as a filler or border ORNAMENT. In contrast with the technical precision achieved through the use of compass and ruler in many Latin examples, Byz. versions of interlace, particularly in MSS, seem to have been composed freehand. Again unlike Latin interlace, Byz. examples are usually symmetrically constructed along an axis. In this they also differ from the arabesque, an overall decorative pattern based on stylized leaf- and scrollwork developed by the Arabs that appears in Byz. by the 10th C. As a twisted rope pattern or in the form of large

and usually regular medallions alternating with smaller circles, a simple interlace formed of two strands was ubiquitous throughout the Byz. period; multiple band interlace also appears, particularly in works produced in or influenced by Italy. Interlace was esp. popular in MSS, textiles, and metalwork.

Simple, two-strand interlace is often referred to by scholars as guilloche. It appears on capitals and moldings, as at the NEA MONE on Chios, as well as in MSS from the 6th C. (Vienna Dioskorides) to the end of the Byz. period, as it was particularly popular as a text divider.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 50–54. Åberg, *Occident and Orient* 2:32–36. H. Bober, "On the Illumination of the Glazier Codex," in *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing written for H.P. Kraus* (Berlin 1967) 31–49. —L.Br.

**INTERPOLATIONES.** When charging the compilers to assemble the DIGEST, Justinian I authorized them to make alterations, where necessary, to the texts of the classical jurists (*Cod. Just.* I 17.1.7). He also allowed "editorial" interventions of this sort in the compilation of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS ("Constitutio Haec," ch.2 = *CIC* 2, p.1). These interpolations into the original texts, though intentional, are discreet; they have promoted considerable research aimed at reconstructing the original versions of the texts. The writings of the ANTECESSORES occasionally aid in the detection of the interpolations both because they were sometimes based on older stages of the text (THALELAIOS) and because they were composed with knowledge of the pre-Justinianic legal situation. Conscious interpolations, which actually change the content of a text, are rarely encountered in Byz. legal literature after Justinian. In the BASILIKA the texts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS were incorporated usually without any intentional alterations. In some cases, however, interpolations of the original texts of Justinian can be observed in the *Basilika*. These interpolations correspond to several innovations in law that Leo VI decreed in his novels (M.Th. Fögen, *SubGr* 3 [1989] 23–35).

LIT. *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Digestis inesse dicuntur*, eds. L. Mitteis, E. Levy, E. Rabel, 3 vols. (plus supp. to vol. 1) (Weimar 1929–35). *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Codice inesse dicuntur*, ed. G. Broggin (Cologne-Vienna 1969). S. Riccobono, "Tracce di diritto romano classico nelle collezioni giuridiche bizantine," *Bul-*



lettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 18 (1906) 197–222. Idem, "Il valore delle collezioni giuridiche bizantine per lo studio critico del 'Corpus Iuris Civilis,'" in *Mélanges Fitting*, vol. 2 (Montpellier 1908; rp. Aalen-Frankfurt 1969) 465–97.  
—M.Th.F.

**INTERPRETER** (ἐρμηνευτής or διερμηνευτής), official on the staff of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU; in the Palaiologan period they were under the command of the *megas diermeneutes* and the *praitor tou demou*. Bury (*Adm. System* 93) identified them with the *interpretes diversarum gentium* in the *officium* of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. Some interpreters, such as the *protospatharios* Krinites in the mid-10th C., performed diplomatic duties. The corps of professional interpreters existed through the whole history of Byz., even though the sources rarely mention their participation in later embassies (I. Medvedev, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 132, n.18). The *gambros* and *diermeneutes* Loukas Notaras took part in negotiations with the Venetians in 1448 (*Reg* 5, no.3516; MM 3:224.16). Besides participating in embassies, interpreters served as translators for negotiations in Constantinople and compiled documents in foreign languages. The epithet *megas* was applied to the term in the 12th C. (first mention ca.1160) to designate the chief interpreter. On seals one finds the titles of the interpreters of the Romans, Bulgarians, Varangians, and English (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 469–71; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.706).

LIT. D.A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantion* 36 (1966–67) 449–58. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XX (1968), 17–26. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 172f.  
—A.K.

**INTESTATE SUCCESSION** (ἡ κληρονομία ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου) occurs when a deceased person has left no WILL. If the problems that necessarily arise in this case—the appointment of an HEIR and division of the inheritance—are resolved by the norms of inheritance law, then intestate succession is equivalent to legal inheritance. This was the situation in Byz., where, with the exception of a few small changes (as, e.g., the *trimoiria*), the late antique regulations on legal succession established in final form by Justinian I remained binding. These regulations provided that a deceased person be succeeded in the first place by his children, who took his place collectively and in equal shares. If there were grandchildren, they were

excluded from the inheritance as long as their parents were living. If some or all of the children of the deceased had died, leaving children, the latter divided up the portion of the inheritance allotted to their parents. If the deceased had no descendants, then his parents and his siblings inherited equal portions. Grandparents of the deceased succeeded to the inheritance only if no siblings or parents survived. If there were no such (living) relatives left, the estate was divided among the stepsiblings of the deceased (who had only one parent in common with the deceased), followed by all collateral relations. Before the year 548 (*Nov. Just.* 127), spouses could inherit from their deceased partner only when there were no relatives at all. Thereafter, providing they had children and did not remarry, they were given equal ranking with the children, that is, they could inherit, together with the children, an *in capita* portion. Adopted children were treated like legitimate children. Illegitimate children inherited from their mother and, together with her, one-sixth of their father's estate, provided that the deceased did not leave a wife or descendants from a legitimate marriage. If there were no eligible heirs at hand, the inheritance fell to the state.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:497–512 (§287). —D.S.

**INTITULATIO.** See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

**INVECTIVE** (ψόγος), with ENKOMION, constituted the genre of EPIDEICTIC oratory, according to the authors of rhetorical textbooks (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 58.15). Even though LIBANIOS produced several PROGYMNASMATA of invective, only APHTHONIOS (*Progymnasmata*, pp. 27–31) included a separate paragraph on the *psogos*. Later commentaries on both Aphthonios and HERMOGENES (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 75.4–5) likened the pairing of *enkomion*-invective to judicial speeches of accusation and defense (APOLOGY). The term *psogos*, having a pejorative sense (blame or censure), was not employed for titles of invectives; thus, Libanios entitled his invective (or.46) simply "Against (*kata*) Florentios." The genre of invective was popular in Byz. society, the major subject of blame being inclination toward paganism (see also POLEMIC, RELIGIOUS), as in the pamphlet on Choi-

rosphaktes by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (1:200–12). The style of invective was sometimes very crude, consisting of accumulated curses, as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, who ardently formed very long composites, such as "Helleno-worshiper-Christ-blasphemer." Elements of invective could penetrate even hagiography; thus NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON transformed his vita of Patr. Ignatios into an invective against Photios. Twelfth-century invective (ANACHARSIS, the "biography" of a certain Bagoas by BASILAKES) had a moral rather than religious emphasis, and later invectives form a parallel to Italian humanist invectives of the 15th C. (P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 21–25).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:104–06. S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim an Glan 1980).  
—A.K.

**INVENTORY.** Inventories, variously termed BREBION, *apographe* (*Pantel.* no.7.4), *katastichon* (*Lavra* 3, no.146.42), etc., often accompanied wills and lists of donations. They contain important information on relics, icons, textiles, manuscripts, bookbindings, and a great variety of liturgical vessels. Among the most important inventories are the following:

- Inventory (5th–6th C.) of a church at Ibion, Egypt (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1:1408–25)
- List of regalia and relics in the Church of the Pharos and other chapels in the Great Palace at Constantinople (*De cer.* 640.1–641.5)
- List of donations to the Great Lavra and to Karyes on Mt. Athos in a Georgian *Life* of Sts. John and Euthymios (late 10th C.): Lat. tr., P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 25–27
- Will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059)
- Diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES (1077)
- Inventory of the monastery of PETRITZOS in the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos
- Inventory of the monastery of S. Pietro in Spina, Calabria (after 1135), ed. Montfaucon, *Pal. Graeca* 403–07
- Inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, ca.1120–30
- Inventory of the Xylourgou monastery on Mt. Athos (1142), in *Pantel.*, no.7
- Two inventories (May 1192, 13 Oct. 1202) of the so-called Palace of BOTANEIATES near Kalybia, ed. MM 3:x–xv, 55–57

- Inventory of the monastery of St. John, PATMOS (1200), ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 (1981) 15–30
- Inventory of the possessions of the monastery of the Virgin at SKOTEINE in 1247
- Will (1330/1) listing bequests of Neilos, founder of the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. Athos, *Docheiar.*, no.17
- List of icons, Gospel books, and textiles in the monastery of the Virgin Gabaliotissa at Voden, given to the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos in May 1375 (*Lavra* 3, no.147)
- Patriarchal inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (1397), MM 2:566–70
- Inventory of the Eleousa monastery at VELJUSA (1449), ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 (1900) 114–53

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 20–29, 36f, 88–91. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diatheke* (Athens 1970) 113–23. J. Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscripts d'époque byzantine (XIe–XVe siècles)," in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81.  
—A.C.

**INVOCATIO.** See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

**INVOCATION.** See EPICLESIS.

**IOANNIKIOS** (Ἰωάννικιος), saint; born in the village of Marykaton, near Lake Apollonias, Bithynia, perhaps between 752 and 754, died in the monastery of Antidion, 3 Nov. 846 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 4 [1900–01] 75–80); feastday 3 or 4 Nov. He was probably of Slavic origin (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). As a peasant boy Ioannikios herded swine; at 19 he joined the army and later fought courageously in the battle of MARKELLAI (summer 792) against the Bulgarians. After the Byz. defeat, he withdrew to Bithynian Mt. Olympos, wandered across Asia Minor, lived in solitude, and finally took the monastic habit. An ardent Iconodule, Ioannikios was compelled by Leo V's persecutions to flee to Mt. Alsos. Later, Ioannikios supported METHODIOS I and helped him attain the patriarchate.

Ioannikios's vita is preserved in two versions and in a reworking by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. One hagiographer, Sabas (perhaps author of the *Life* of Peter of ATROA), claims to have known Ioannikios (AASS Nov. 2.1:370f) and inserts a number of chronological indications, not always sound (e.g., it is questionable that Ioannikios was already 40 at Markellai). Peter, the second ha-

giographer, is indebted for his information to Eustratios, who was the companion of Ioannikios for 50 years. Both stories have much in common, differing sometimes in the sequence of events. Unlike Sabas, however, Peter severely criticizes the monks of STOUDIOS for their opposition to Ioannikios (*Ibid.*, 405B, 422A). Both Lives are concerned with the upper class of society, mentioning Ioannikios's connections with emperors, *magistroi*, *patrikioi*, *koubikoularioi*, *hypatikoi*, and *spatharioi*.

**Representation in Art.** The saint is depicted as a monk, and in miniature paintings he is sometimes associated with the image of a mountain; in two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, this mountain is accompanied by the female personification of Mt. OLYMPOS.

SOURCES. AASS Nov. 2.1:332-435. PG 116:35-92.

LIT. BHG 935-37. C. Mango, "The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians," in *Okeanos* 393-404. S. Vryonis, "St. Ioannicius the Great (754-846) and the 'Slavs' of Bithynia," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 245-48. -A.K., N.P.S.

**IOANNINA** (Ἰωάννινα), city of northern EPIROS, situated on a peninsula on Lake Ioannina; the unnamed "well-fortified polis" built by Justinian I for the citizens of ancient Euroia (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.1.39-42) can probably be identified as Ioannina. The name *Ioannina*, however, appears only in the 9th C. as a suffragan bishopric of Naupaktos (*Notitiae CP* 7:580). Anna Komnene mentions Ioannina three times without any comment. In 1082 it was temporarily taken by the Normans. After 1204 Venice claimed the city, but control fell to the despotate of Epiros, and the theme of Ioannina was created in 1225. Besieged by Nicaean troops after the battle of PELAGONIA in 1259, Ioannina remained in Epirot hands until 1318, when it was taken by the Byz. and raised to metropolitan status (E. Chrysos, *Dodone* 5 [1976] 337-48). In Feb. 1319 Andronikos II issued a chrysobull (*Reg* 4, no.2412) listing the privileges of the citizens of the *asty* Ioannina: elements of local administration, exemption from trade duties and military obligations outside the city, confirmation of city customs and of its possessions. This chrysobull is a unique document describing city IMMUNITY.

Ioannina fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan ca.1348 and passed to SYMEON UROŠ after 1355. THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ ruled in Ioannina from 1366/7 on-

ward; his tyrannical reign is described in the CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA. In his struggle against the Albanians Preljubović called upon the Ottomans in 1380. Frightened by Albanian attacks, the citizens acknowledged Carlo Tocco as ruler, and he transferred his summer residence there. In 1430, however, soon after his death, Ioannina was ceded to the Turks.

Little is left of the Byz. monuments of Ioannina. According to K. Tsoures (*EpChron* 25 [1983] 132-57), the walls on the so-called acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion and the city walls were built in the 10th C.; the acropolis of Iç Kale in 1082; in 1204-15 the city walls and acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion were reconstructed; in 1367-84 additional fortifications were erected, including a tower with the inscription of Thomas (evidently Preljubović).

LIT. TIB 3:165-67, with add. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *BalkSt* 24 (1983) 142f. L. Branouses, *Historika kai topographika tou mesaionikou kastrou ton Ioanninon* (Athens 1968). Ph.G. Oikonomos, *He en Ioanninois ekklesia apo tes hidryseos tes mechri ton kath'hemas chronon* (Athens 1966). O. Kresten, "Marginalien zur Geschichte von Ioannina unter Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos," *EpChron* 25 (1983) 113-32. -T.E.G.

**IOASAF OF VIDIN**, Bulgarian bishop and writer; fl. ca.1375-1400. Ioasaf was a monk in a monastery at or near Vidin. At the request of Prince Ivan Sracimir of Vidin, he was ordained metropolitan of VIDIN in Sept. 1392 in Constantinople by Patr. Antony IV. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to Tŭrnovo shortly after the city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1393 and returned to Vidin with the relics of Sts. Philothea and Petka (Paraskeve). His panegyric on St. Philothea is preserved in the Rila Panegyrikon, copied in 1479 by Vladislav Gramatik. It follows the stylistic model of the panegyrics of EVTIMIY OF TŪRNOVO. Although the work contains many hagiographical clichés, it also provides much information on the condition of Bulgaria at the beginning of Turkish rule.

ED. E. Kałużniacki, *Aus der panegyrischen Litteratur der Südslaven* (Vienna 1901; rp. London 1971) 89-128.

LIT. N.S. Kiselkov, *Mitropolit Ioasaf Bdiniski i slovoto mu za sv. Filotea* (Sofia 1931). G. Dančev, *Vladislav Gramatik: Knizovnik i pisatel* (Sofia 1969) 73. -R.B.

**IOEL.** See JOEL.

**IONIAN SEA** (Ἰόνιον [Ἰώνιον] πέλαγος), the closed waterway between Greece and Italy, separated from the ADRIATIC SEA on the north by the straits of Otranto. The Ionian Sea provided the major communication link between Byz. and the West: ships generally sailed up the coast of Greece, before either crossing west to Italy or continuing up the Adriatic to DYRRACHION, RAVENNA, and VENICE. In Italy the Ionian Sea bordered on Calabria and Apulia. The seven larger islands of the Ionian Sea, the so-called Heptanesos, were KERKYRA, PAXOS, ANTIPAXOS, LEUKAS, ITHACA, KEPHALENIA, and ZAKYNTHOS. In late antiquity Kerkyra and Leukas belonged to the administrative sphere of Epiros, Kephallenia and Zakynthos to the province of Achaia; accordingly, the northern islands were in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nikopolis, the southern islands under Corinth. It is probable that the theme of Kephallenia, established before 809 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 352, n.364), combined the islands of the Ionian Sea. The islands changed hands in the 13th-14th C. (despotate of Epiros, Manfred of Hohenstaufen, Charles I of Anjou) but from the end of the 14th C. the northern group was under Venice, while the southern group belonged to the house of the TOCCO.

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 21f. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *RBK* 4:1-63. TIB 3:43-46. A. Sabbides, *Ta Byzantina Heptanesa, 1105-arches 1300 aionos* (Athens 1986). G. Schirò, "Contributo alla storia delle isole ioniche all'epoca dei Tocco," in *Praktika G' Panioniou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1969) 235-44. -T.E.G.

**IPHIGENEIA**, ancient Greek goddess of fertility, later a heroine, the daughter of King Agamemnon. According to pseudo-Nonnos (PG 36:989D-992A), Iphigeneia had to be sacrificed by the Greeks in Aulis in order for them to obtain favorable winds for their voyage to Troy; she was miraculously replaced, however, by a doe (*elaphos*; see DEER) and transferred to the Tauroi in Scythia where she ruled as the priestess of ARTEMIS, sacrificing all foreigners to the goddess. The same myth is told by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS and by Malalas, Nonnos (*Dionysiaka* 13:186) mentioning also "the empty barrow of Iphigeneia" near Athens.

The theme of Taurian inhospitality was popular in Byz. literature, the Tauroi/Tauroscythians usually being identified as the Rus'. The myth of Iphigeneia herself attracted some Christian lite-

rati; thus Gregory of Nazianzos, in his funeral panegyric of Basil the Great (PG 36:504B), after listing some legendary hunters (Artemis, Orion, Actaeon), mentions "the virgin replaced by a doe," a story that he is ready to accept as not completely fabulous. It is not clear why he used in this case such Christian terms as *parthenos* and *elaphos* (sometimes perceived as a symbol of Christ himself) and whether or not he had in mind the Old Testament legend of the sacrifice of Jacob. On the other hand, the phrase in his speech against Julian (PG 35:592A), "the sacrifice in Troy of the royal girl," has no Christian allusions and probably does not refer to Iphigeneia, who was sacrificed in Aulis.

An ivory panel of the 10th-C. Veroli casket (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) depicts the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.214). The iconography is probably derived from an illustrated MS of the plays of Euripides.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 199-209. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 18f, 169-74. -A.K., A.M.T.

**IRAN**, or Persia, a state that occupied territory from the frontier of the Roman Empire to the borders of India. Called the Parthian Empire under the Arsacid dynasty, it preserved a shaky balance of relations with the Roman Empire in the 1st-3rd C., the frontier being largely defined by the Euphrates. In 226 the dynasty of the SASSANIANS terminated the rule of the Parthian Arsacids and shaped a powerful empire that rivaled Rome and Constantinople until the 630s. Even though warfare dominated the relations between the two empires, there was also lively cultural exchange, active trade (see SILK ROUTE), and exchange of envoys. Christianity (notably NESTORIANISM) was entrenched in Iran, Persian cults (esp. MITHRAISM) and ideological movements (MANICHAISM) penetrated into the Roman Empire, and certain features of the Roman fiscal system and court ceremonial can be attributed to the influence of the Persian administrative system.

After the Arab conquest of Iran (ca.633-50) the country was incorporated into the caliphate; subsequently, when the 'Abbāsids established their capital in Baghdad (750), Iran became its core territory. The caliphate preserved the Sasanian



fiscal system and the old type of officialdom, but changed the language of bureaucracy to Arabic. By the end of the 10th C. Islam replaced Zoroastrianism as the religion of the majority of Persians. The political decline of the caliphate permitted the formation of independent Persian dynasties—the Tāhirids (810–73) in Khurāsān, the Šaffārids (867–900) in Seistan and Khurāsān, the Sāmānids in Bukhāra, and finally the Būyids (Buwayhids) in western Iran (935–1055) and Ghaznavids (977/8–1187) in the east. During the first half of the 11th C. most of these princedoms fell into the hands of the Great Seljuks of Baghdad. In the 13th C. the Mongols conquered the territory of the former Sasanian realm, and in 1258 Hülāgu seized Baghdad, ending the rule of the ‘Abbāsids there and founding the state of the Īlkhāns, which paid nominal homage to the Great Khan in China. In 1335, with the death of the last Īlkhān, Abu Sa‘īd, the Mongol dynasty of Persia came to an end and the country was divided between several minor dynasties. Timur again united it, but only temporarily; soon after his death, the Persian part of his enormous empire was occupied by the Turkomans before being conquered by the Ottomans.

The Palaiologan emperors of Constantinople and the emperors of Trebizond engaged in trade and diplomatic relations with various rulers of the former Persian territory, Īlkhāns, Timurids, and Turkomans, and Byz. scholars of the 13th–14th C., like Gregory Chionides, had contacts with their Persian colleagues. (For the literature of medieval Iran, see PERSIAN LITERATURE.)

LIT. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater et al., vols. 3–6 (Cambridge 1968–86). B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1952). Idem, *Die Mongolen in Iran*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1955). W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton 1984). V. Minorsky, *Medieval Iran and its Neighbours* (London 1982). —A.K.

**IRENE** (Εἰρήνη), feminine personal name (meaning “peace”). Irene, a daughter of Zeus, was the personification of peace in antiquity; the word was used, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt, as a personal name. In late Roman society the name was rare and had a mythological tinge: Justinian I dedicated to Irene (Peace) and Sophia (Wisdom) the greatest churches in Constantinople. There are many martyrs of this name, but it is difficult to determine when the accounts of their passions

were produced; in the tale of Licinius’s daughter Irene, who was baptized by Timotheos (St. Paul’s pupil), it is clearly stressed that her given name was Penelope and she was christened Irene by an angel. Only one Irene is mentioned by Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 1:11.4–5), and that in a legendary context: her father, St. Spyridon, made her talk after her death and burial. No Irene is listed in *PLRE* 1–2 and Prokopios knows only the Church of Irene. The first Irene mentioned by Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 410.1) is the Khazar princess, who married Constantine V and was given the name Irene. Thereafter, the name became more frequent: Skylitzes names four Irenes, Niketas Choniates seven. In the late acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), 36 Irenes appear, and the name holds fourth place among women. As in the case of the wife of Constantine V, a number of foreign-born empresses took the name Irene upon their marriage to a Byz. emperor, perhaps to symbolize peaceful relations between the two nations (cf. Bertha of Sulzbach; Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat; Adelaide of Brunswick, married to Andronikos III). —A.K.

**IRENE**, empress (797–802); born Athens ca. 752, died Lesbos 9 Aug. 803. In 768 Constantine V brought Irene to Constantinople, where she was crowned and married to Leo (IV). In 771 she gave birth to their only child, Constantine (VI). Irene was a devoted iconophile: a rumor circulated that Leo discovered two icons in her possession and thereafter refused to sleep with her (Cedr. 2:19.17–20.3). After Leo’s death in 780 Irene ruled as regent for Constantine for ten years. During this period Irene was cured of a hemorrhage by the waters of PEGE; she presented rich gifts to the Church of the Virgin there and set up mosaic portraits of herself and her son (AASS Nov. 3:880BC). In 790, when the army refused Irene’s demand for precedence over him, Constantine deposed her, and she resided in the suburban palace of Eleutherios until recalled in 792. In 797 she dethroned and blinded Constantine, thus becoming the first female Byz. autocrat, but was herself toppled by Nikephoros I in 802 and exiled to Lesbos.

During her regency and rule Irene relied on advisers like the eunuchs Staurakios and Aetios and weakened the empire militarily by removing

capable iconoclastic *strategoi* (e.g., Michael Lachanodrakon) who had been appointed by Constantine V. She faced significant opposition from supporters of Constantine VI and Caesar Nikephoros, and from Elpidios. Most notably, she restored icons by securing the election of Patr. Tarasios in 784 and convening the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. She established good relations with Pope Hadrian I, but, despite diplomatic exchanges with Charlemagne and a Byz. invasion of Italy in 788, the Franks advanced in southern Italy and took control of Istria and Benevento. Irene did little against constant Arab attacks and in 782 (see Tatzates) and 798 was forced to accept treaties with Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Bulgars continued to exert pressure, but Irene achieved some success against the Slavs in Greece by Staurakios’s campaign in 782. The theme of Macedonia was probably created during her reign (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349). She engaged in philanthropy, building hospices, xenodocheia, and a cemetery for the poor. Her financial measures, including a repeal of the municipal tax in Constantinople and lowered commercial tariffs at Abydos and Hieron, were popular but fiscally harmful. In the 9th C. her remains were transferred to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople. A 12th-C. vita is based almost entirely on Theophanes (W. Treadgold, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 237–51).

LIT. L. Burgmann, “Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene,” *FM* 4 (1981) 1–36. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 60–126. J. Arvites, “The Defense of Byzantine Anatolia during the Reign of Irene (780–802),” in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 219–37. —P.A.H., A.C.

**IRENE, CHURCH OF SAINT.** According to tradition, this church of Constantinople was already a Christian church before Constantine I enlarged it and gave it the name of Eirene (Peace). Before the inauguration of Hagia Sophia in 360 it served as the cathedral of Constantinople. By the 5th C. the two churches were contained within the same precinct, served by the same clergy, and regarded as forming the complex of the patriarchate. Burned down in 532, St. Irene was rebuilt by Justinian I. Destroyed by the earthquake of 740, it was reconstructed, probably by Constantine V. The church was never turned into a mosque, but became an arsenal after the Turkish conquest. The second

largest standing church of Constantinople, it has the form of a domed basilica with a flat, second dome covering the west bay. The lower part of the building is Justinianic, whereas most of the upper part dates from after the earthquake of 740. The Turks altered the colonnades. The apse contains a mosaic cross of the iconoclastic period; further remnants of mosaic remain in the narthex and nonfigural painting is extant in the south aisle.

LIT. W.S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople* (London 1913). U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul* (Tübingen 1977). —C.M.

**IRENE DOUKAINA**, wife of Alexios I Komnenos, empress (1081–1118); born Constantinople ca. 1066, died 19 Feb. 1123 (W. Hörandner, ed., *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 188 and n.23) or 1133 (Skoulatos). Daughter of Andronikos (son of the caesar John Doukas) and Maria of Bulgaria, Irene married Alexios ca. 1078. Between 1083 and 1098 she bore him Anna, Maria, John II, Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Manuel, and Zoe (*Kleinchroniken* 1:55f). Although the marriage sealed the alliance of the Doukas and Komnenos families, at his accession Alexios (urged by his mother Anna Dalassene, and perhaps attracted to Maria of “Alania”) hesitated to crown Irene. After a week, demands by John Doukas and Patr. Kosmas I forced her coronation, but she remained overshadowed by Anna Dalassene until the latter’s retirement. Although Anna Komnene draws an admiring picture of her parents’ relationship, the fact that from 1105 Alexios frequently insisted that Irene accompany him on campaign shows that he hesitated to leave her to intrigue in Constantinople. When Alexios was on his deathbed, Irene pressed him to name Anna’s husband Nikephoros Bryennios as heir. After John II’s accession, although she had not joined the conspiracy of Anna and Bryennios, Irene was forced to retire to her convent of Kecharitomene. Noted for her charity and intellectual accomplishments, she probably inspired Bryennios’s history and patronized or corresponded with literary figures such as Manuel Straboromanos, Theophylaktos of Ohrid, Michael Italikos, and Theodore Prodromos. Her portrait appears on the Pala d’Oro.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 70–74. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 119–24. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 96f. —C.M.B., A.C.



**IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON**, 10th-C. abbess; saint; feastday 28 July. According to her anonymous hagiographer, she was born in Capadocia ca.845 and died in Constantinople ca.940. The account of her life as presented in her vita is as follows: born to a rich and influential family (related to the Gouber family of Constantinople), she was sent as a girl to the capital to participate in a BRIDE SHOW designed to find a wife for Michael III. After arriving too late, she entered the convent of Chrysobalanton; within three years she became the *hegoumene*, despite her youth. She is depicted as an ideal ascetic, an efficient administrator of her convent, and as a preacher who attracted crowds, esp. women of the senatorial class. On one occasion she intervened with the emperor to save the life of a kinsman who was accused of a conspiracy against the throne. She reportedly died at age 97 without showing any signs of advanced age.

The vita of Irene (BHG 952) was probably produced in the late 10th C. during the reign of Basil II; Rosenqvist (*infra*), who points out inconsistencies in the chronology of events, concludes that the biography should be treated as a work of fiction and terms it a "hagiographic novel." The vita is an important source for Byz. magical practices and attitudes toward sexuality, since Irene had to deal with the frustrated passion of one of her nuns, who had abandoned her fiancé, as well as with a lovesick vinedresser. The Life depicts the triumph of image worship; churches were decorated with icons on their walls and on panels of bronze, silver, and gold. When Irene appeared to Emp. Basil I in a vision, he sent a *protovestiaros* to her convent with an artist to paint the abbess's portrait, so that the emperor could confirm that the woman in his vision was really the *hegoumene* of Chrysobalanton.

SOURCE and LIT. *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1986), with Eng. tr. —A.K., A.M.T.

**IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT**, second wife of ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS; born 1273 or 1274, died Drama 1317. Daughter of William VII of Montferrat, an anti-Angevin, and granddaughter of Alfonso X of Castile, Yolanda was married in 1284 or 1285 at age 11 to the widowed Byz. emperor and took the Greek name Irene.

The match was particularly desirable for Andronikos because his bride brought as her dowry the title to the kingdom of Thessalonike. Irene produced three sons, John, Theodore, and Demetrios, and one daughter, SIMONIS. She was crowned empress after the birth of her first son in 1288/9.

According to Gregoras (Greg. 1:234f), Irene was ambitious for her children. Retaining Western feudal ideas, she tried to persuade Andronikos to divide the empire into appanages for her sons. When this tactic failed, she endeavored to secure their futures through marriage alliances, but most of her efforts were unsuccessful. Her greatest triumph was the marriage of Simonis in 1299 to STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN of Serbia. In 1306, Theodore married the Genoese Argentina Spinola and inherited the marquisate of Montferrat (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 386–410). In the early 14th C. Irene became estranged from the emperor and from 1310 until her death made her residence in Thessalonike, where she conducted independent diplomatic negotiations, esp. with her son-in-law Milutin.

LIT. H. Constantinidi-Bibikou, "Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance," *Hellénisme contemporain* 4 (1950) 425–42. C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2e sér. (Paris 1938) 226–45. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie* 35. —A.M.T.

**IRON** (σίδηρος), the commonest metal. M. Lombard (*Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* [Paris–The Hague 1974] 125, 149f) notes that the eastern part of the Roman Empire had two major centers of iron working: the region of Trebizond and Sinope and the area around Bostra, Damascus, and Tyre. After the latter region was lost in the 7th C., Byz. needed constantly to import iron. Another productive area was Noricum. Iron was a strategic metal that could not be exported (J.-P. Sodini, *Ktema* 4 [1979] 85). Unlike precious metals, however, small amounts of ore were available in many places. When Edessa was besieged in 502/3 each household was obliged to deliver 10 pounds of iron. In the 9th C. the *proasteion* of Tzampouros (in the Trebizond region) sent iron annually to the nearby monastery of St. Phokas (A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 140.10–12). Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's chrysobull of 1347 imposes a yearly payment of 600 INGOTS (*mazia*) of iron on local smithies or *siderokausia* (Lavra 3, no.128.33). As precious objects iron ingots are mentioned sometimes

in lists of monastic properties (five *siderou maza*—*Pantel.*, no.7.28) or in wills (four *syderon komatia*—*Xerop.*, no.9A.15).

Iron could be worked with comparative simplicity. Traces of primitive iron METALLURGY have been found even in rural areas of the Crimea of the 8th–9th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970] 164–68). It is unclear whether SMITHS knowingly hardened iron into steel by the addition of carbon; the tempering of iron by plunging it into water is mentioned in both classical and Byz. sources.

The most important use of iron was in the production of WEAPONS. Iron TOOLS, such as hammer, tongs, and anvil, were primarily used to work metal (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:218f); other tools were used for wood (borer, plane, etc.) and stone. Each household normally had wooden, bronze, and iron utensils (Lavra 1, no.59.49), and an inventory of 1142 lists various iron AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS belonging to the monastery of Xylourgou: hoes, plows, sickles, axes (*Pantel.*, no.7.27). Iron tie rods were employed to strengthen buildings (A.H.S. Megaw, *DOP* 18 [1964] 296). Doors and gates were made of iron, as well as anchors, chains, candlesticks, coin dies, SEALING IMPLEMENTS, and so on. Some minor iron objects have been found in excavations, for example, at St. POLYEUKTOS in Constantinople and in Corinth: locks and keys, nails, dowels, clamps, etc. (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 137–40, 199–203).

LIT. W. Gaitzsch, *Eiserne römische Werkzeuge* (Oxford 1980). —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

**IRRIGATION** (ἄρδευμα). A hot climate and frequent droughts led to a constant concern in Byz. about water. A developed irrigation technique, which made use of various water-lifting devices (water screw, suction pump, compartmented wheel, bucket chain, etc.), existed in the Roman Empire, primarily in Egypt and, paradoxically, in the Western provinces (Oleson, *infra* 285–91); data referring to Syria, Palestine, or Greece are scanty—for instance, a water-driven wheel with compartmented rim on a mosaic of 469 from Apameia. The PRICE EDICT of Diocletian several times mentions water MILLS, but not water-lifting machines. Asia Minor and Greece relied more upon collecting water in cisterns than irrigating lands by ca-

nals and water-lifting gears, even though such terms as "conduit" (*amara*) and "water pipe" (*ochetos*) are common in Greek texts. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1345B), when speaking of *ardeuma*, means "the winter downpours." The *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery in BERA describes a complex construction for collecting water that went from the spring via a conduit to a receptacle protected from the sun and dirt. In other cases, as described in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE, a cistern might be filled by special water bearers. Water was used for irrigation (*ardeia*) of VINEYARDS and GARDENS (e.g., *Chil.*, no.54.30–31) or OLIVE groves, as well as for water mills; a case on Crete around 1118 describes a conflict between a mill owner and farmers tilling the "irrigated *choraphia*" (MM 6:96.14–22) who were deprived of water by construction of the mill.

The Byz. did not build great canal networks. Justinian dreamed of a canal project between the Melas, a tributary of the Sangarios, and the harbor of Nikomedeia, but the idea was abandoned (F.G. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10).

LIT. J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices* (Toronto 1984). T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (Odense 1973). Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni" 192f. —A.K., J.W.N.

**ISAAC I KOMNENOS**, emperor (1057–59); born ca.1007, died ca.1060 or 1061. After his elevation by fellow generals rebelling against MICHAEL VI, Isaac was crowned on 1 Sept. 1057. He rewarded his supporters. The populace obtained the desired officials for their organizations, and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS gained more authority. Isaac's purpose was to refill the treasury and so revive the army and the empire. A HISTAMENON (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, no.919), representing him standing with unsheathed sword, gave great offense because it violated the tradition of the emperor as a man of God. Isaac regularized tax collections; he pitilessly pursued debtors to the state. Monastic landholding was restricted, and donations by previous emperors to individuals were annulled. He pruned the bureaucracy's excrescences. PSELLOS criticizes his haste and harshness. Salaries of officials, esp. senators, were reduced, yet Psellos asserts that Isaac had to rely on himself and other civil bureaucrats. Keroularios's challenge forced Isaac to remove him (8 Nov.

1058). He appointed as patriarch CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDS, a leader of the bureaucrats who opposed the emperor. Militarily, Isaac's threats overawed the SELJUKS and Egyptians; he made peace with the Hungarians after an incursion (1059). A simultaneous PECHENEG attack was repelled. In Nov. 1059, while hunting, he became seriously ill. Feeling isolated by hostile bureaucrats and Keroularios's surviving supporters, Isaac accepted Psellos's suggestion that he abdicate (21/2 Nov. 1059—*Kleinchroniken* 1:160, 170). Passing over his relatives, he named CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS emperor. Isaac became a monk at STODIOS; his wife Aikatherine (daughter of JOHN VLADISLAV) and daughter Maria likewise entered religious life.

LIT. E. Stănescu, "Les réformes d'Isaac Comnène," *RE-SEE* 4 (1966) 35–69. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:41–47. J. Sheppard, "Isaac Comnenus' Coronation Day," *BS* 38 (1977) 22–30. —C.M.B., A.C.

**ISAAC II ANGELOS**, emperor (1185–95, 1203–04); born ca.1156, died Constantinople 28/9 Jan. 1204. He had a bookish education (Nik.Chon. 365.72–74) but no deep intellectual interests. After he resisted the order of arrest issued by ANDRONIKOS I, he was acclaimed emperor by the people of Constantinople on 12 Sept. 1185. Despite his noble birth, Isaac relied on bureaucrats (notably Theodore KASTAMONITES, Constantine MESOPOTAMITES, and Demetrios TORNIKIOS) to support him against aristocratic rebels such as Alexios BRANAS. He sold governorships and other offices but also chose some officials on merit. His attempts to make his favorite monk, Dositheos, patriarch of Constantinople proved unsuccessful. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.33–443.82) expatiates on Isaac's "mad passion for erecting huge buildings." The emperor added baths and apartments to the Great Palace and Blachernai and created artificial islands in the Sea of Marmara, but he also razed the GENIKON and the monastery of MANGANA and looted the NEA EKKLESIA.

Isaac preferred a life of ease at court, yet willingly campaigned in person when necessary. After defeating the invasion of WILLIAM II of Sicily, he arranged to take Margaret, daughter of BÉLA III, as his second wife (his first is unknown). The tax levied for the wedding raised discontent among the VLACHS and Bulgarians, which PETER OF BUL-

GARIA and ASEN I exploited. From ca.1186, Isaac was involved in continual warfare with them; he was repeatedly defeated. The section of the Third Crusade led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA did much damage as it passed through Byz.; only by timely concession did Isaac avoid an attack on Constantinople. He succeeded in making peace with Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Around 8 Apr. 1195, near Kypsella, noble conspirators led by ALEXIOS III overthrew and blinded Isaac. After Alexios fled in 1203, the courtiers brought Isaac to rule jointly with his son ALEXIOS IV. He soon became senile or demented, and, conveniently for ALEXIOS V, died of natural causes.

LIT. Th. Vlachos, "Aufstände und Verschwörungen während der Kaiserzeit Isaakios' II. Angelos (1185–1195)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 155–67. Brand, *Byzantium* 69–116, 241–51. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–134. —C.M.B., A.C.

**ISAAC KOMNENOS**, *basileus* of CYPRUS (1184–91); born ca.1155, died Ikonion 1195/6. Grandson of Isaac, brother of MANUEL I, he was sent (ca.1174/5) as governor to CILICIA, where the Armenians captured and imprisoned him. About 1182, he was passed to Bohemund III of Antioch. ANDRONIKOS I, influenced by his mistress Theodora, Isaac's aunt, ransomed him with the Templars' help. About 1183 or 1184, Isaac falsified imperial letters appointing him governor and went to Cyprus. Once accepted, he proclaimed himself *basileus*; his coinage shows him wearing imperial garb (Hendy, *Coinage* 136–42). The uniformly hostile sources charge him with tyrannical acts rivaling those of Andronikos I: murders, maimings, abuse of wives and virgins, confiscations of property, harsh taxation. About 1186 or 1187, ISAAC II ANGELOS dispatched a fleet to regain Cyprus, but Isaac Komnenos defeated the troops on land while his ally, the admiral Margaritone of Sicily, overcame the Byz. fleet. Cyprus's conquest by RICHARD I LIONHEART ended Isaac's tyranny. Released ca.1194 after imprisonment in Acre and Margat, Isaac went to IKONION; from that base he sought to arouse Turkish and Byz. opposition to ALEXIOS III. He was allegedly killed by poisoning.

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge 1940) 1:312–21. W.H. Rudi de Collenberg, "L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 123–79. Th.

Vlachos, "Ho tyrannos tes Kyprou Isaakios Komnenos (1184–1191)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 169–77. —C.M.B.

**ISAAC OF ANTIOCH**, 5th-C. Syriac writer. His writings, of Monophysite cast, are often confused with those of Isaac of Amida, who was Orthodox and lived in the first half of the 5th C. (died before 461). More than 200 poetical works are attributed to the two Isaacs, but it is still unclear exactly which works are to be attributed to which Isaac. Isaac of Amida wrote works on the capture of Rome in 410, on the city of Constantinople (ca.441), and on the earthquake in Antioch in 459. Isaac of Antioch is particularly noted for a lengthy poem on the parrot who chanted the TRISAGION with the addition "Who was crucified for us"; he also wrote exhortations to monks on repentance and the perfect life.

ED. S. Isaaci Antiocheni, *doctoris Syrorum, Opera omnia*, ed. G. Bickell, 2 vols. (Giessen 1873–77). *Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1903).

LIT. F. Graffin, *DictSpir* 7 (1971) 2010f. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*<sup>2</sup> (Rome 1965) 100–02. M. van Esbroeck, *DPAC* 2:1828. —A.M.T.

**ISAAC OF NINEVEH**, Syrian mystical theologian; fl. ca.680. Born in the region of Qatar on the Persian Gulf, Isaac became a Nestorian monk and eventually bishop of Nineveh (i.e., Mosul); five months later, however, he abdicated and went to live in solitude in the mountains of Huzistan in southwestern Iran. He reportedly lost his sight during his studies. Isaac composed (in Syriac) treatises, dialogues, and letters on ascetical and mystical topics. Probably in the 9th C. some of his works were translated into Greek by the monks Patrikios and Abramios, of the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. The translators tried to make Isaac more acceptable to Orthodox readers by eliminating some of his references to suspect authors, such as EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, and replacing them with references to more official church fathers. Isaac presented the way of salvation as consisting of three stages: repentance, purification, and perfection. The fear of Hell serves as a strong stimulus in the search for righteousness. Isaac rarely thinks in terms of deification but speaks of seeing God as if in a mirror, an ancient image in Syriac religious writing. Prayer plays the major part in Isaac's ideal behavior. His works were used by some Byz. writers (e.g., Peter DAMASKENOS, SY-

MEON THE THEOLOGIAN, GREGORY SINAITES); later, some of them were included in the PHILOKALIA.

ED. *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1909). Gr. ed.—*Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak episkopou Ninevi tou Syrou ta heurethenta Asketika*, ed. Nikephoros Theotokes (Leipzig 1770; new ed. Athens 1895). *Mystic Treatises*, tr. A.J. Wensinck (Amsterdam 1923). *Oeuvres spirituelles*, tr. J. Touraille (Paris 1981).

LIT. J.B. Chabot, *De S. Isaaci Ninivite vita, scriptis et doctrina* (Paris 1892). I. Popović, "He gnosiologia tou hagiou Isaak tou Syrou," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 206–23, 386–407. E. Khalifé-Hachem, *DictSpir* 7.2 (1971) 2041–54. S. Brock, "St. Isaac of Nineveh and Syriac Spirituality," *Sobornost*<sup>7</sup> 2 (1975) 79–89. Baumstark, *Literatur* 223–25. G. Bunge, "Mar Isaak von Ninive und sein 'Buch der Gnade,'" *OstSt* 34 (1985) 3–22. —S.H.G., A.K.

**ISAIAH** (Ἰσαΐας), one of the four major (i.e., longer) PROPHETS. Much read and interpreted by the Byz., there are surviving commentaries on the Book of Isaiah attributed to, among others, Eusebios of Caesarea, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrillus. The major significance of Isaiah was seen in his prophecy, interpreted as foreseeing Christ's advent. "Isaiah is the most divine of all prophets," says Theodoret (PG 81:216A), "... since he clearly predicted everything—the benediction coming from Abraham and David, the birth of the Savior by the Virgin, various miracles and healing, the envy and rage of the Jews, the passion and the death, the resurrection from the dead, the ascent to heaven, the choice of the apostles, and the salvation of all nations." In contrast, Chrysostom mentions "Isaiah's prophecy about Christ" only in passing, but strongly emphasizes "the ready tongue and sublime character" of the prophet and his great concern for ordinary people with whom he sympathized and whose sufferings he shared (PG 56:11.12–25). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (9 May) included Isaiah as a martyr whose relics were allegedly brought to Constantinople and placed in the Church of St. Lawrence near Blachernai; here Isaiah worked miracles, esp., according to legend, for ordinary people—a laborer in a vineyard, a fisherman, a silversmith, etc. (H. Delehaye, *AB* 42 [1924] 257–65).

**Representation in Art.** Images of Isaiah among the Old Testament prophets are frequent in monumental art, where he is usually depicted as an old man, with long gray hair and beard. His principal appearances in a narrative context are



connected with the biblical ODES. In the PARIS PSALTER, for example, these are illustrated individually: the first (Is 26:9–20) literally, with Isaiah flanked by personifications of Night and Dawn; the second (Is 38:10–20) in a straightforward narrative supplemented by a personification of Prayer. Isaiah's martyrdom, based on an apocryphal legend, is represented in the PARIS GREGORY (Omout, *Miniatures*, pl.49) and his prophetic vision (Is 6), in which a seraph places a hot coal upon his mouth, in MSS of Kosmas Indikopleustes.

LIT. M. Simonetti, "Uno sguardo d'insieme sull'esegesi patristica di Isaia fra IV e V secolo," *Annali di storia esegetica* 1 (1984) 9–44. H. Holländer, *LCI* 2:354–59. Lowden, *Prophet Books*.  
—J.I., A.K., J.H.L.

**ISAURA** (Ἰσαυρα, mod. Zengibar Kalesi near Bozkır), ancient capital of ISAVRIA, flourished until the 4th C. when it lost its status as city and bishopric because it was a center of Isaurian unrest. Zeno restored both and assigned it a new name, Leontopolis. A mint was established at Isaura in 617/18 during the campaigns of Herakleios against the Persians. Thereafter Isaura disappears from history, but the bishopric still existed in the 11th C. The site contains Hellenistic fortifications that show Byz. repairs; four churches, including a large basilica with a tower and an octagonal church; and numerous inscriptions. Isaura is sometimes confused with Isauropolis on the north side of the Taurus.

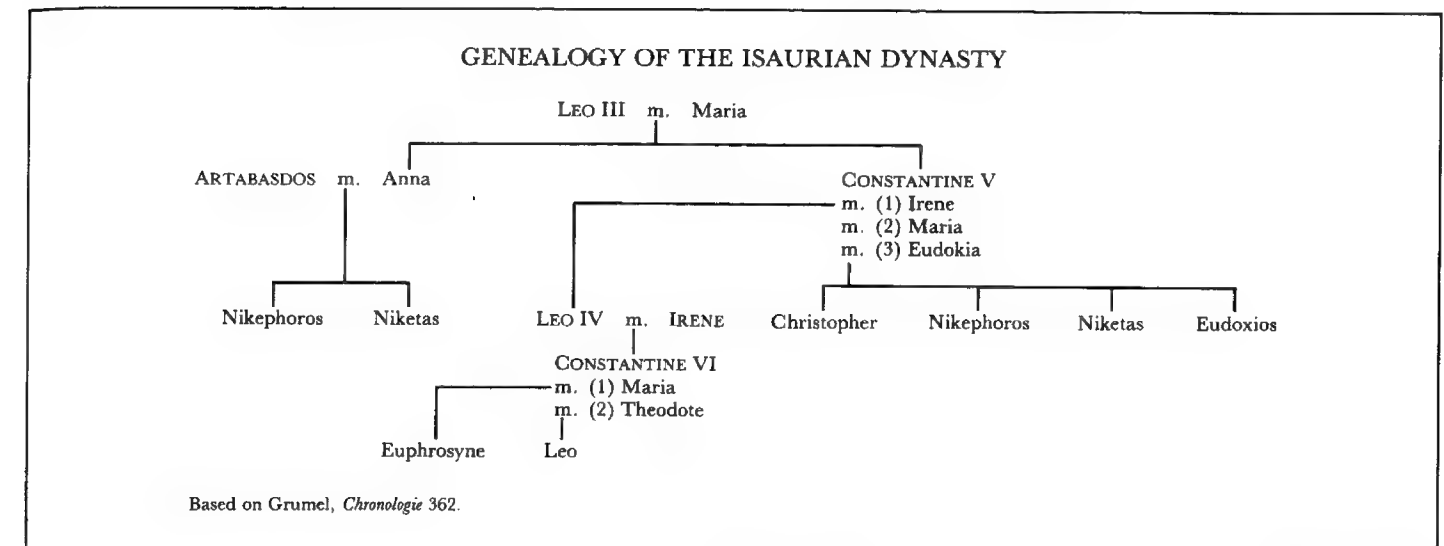
LIT. *TIB* 4:180f, 198–200. H. Swoboda et al., *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Vienna 1935) 62–93, 119–43.  
—C.F.

**ISAURIA** (Ἰσαυρία), mountainous district of southern Asia Minor, inhabited by tribes who lived in small towns, long resisted central control, and frequently descended to ravage the adjacent plains. Although the Constantinopolitan government considered these tribes barbarian and brigands, they formed the core of the imperial army in the 5th C. Isaurians were famed as builders who sent their teams as far away as Constantinople and Syria, and probably as gardeners, their most popular saint being Konon the Gardener. Diocletian joined CILICIA Tracheia to the Isaurian homeland to form the province of Isauria, whose capital was SELEUKEIA; the western part was de-

tached in 370 and assigned to LYKAONIA. Because of constant danger from the tribesmen, Isauria was frequently governed by a military commander (*comes*); this situation became permanent after 535. The region was severely afflicted by revolts and military conflicts in the late 4th C., and in 403–06, after the Isaurian victory over Germanic mercenaries, the Isaurians spread throughout Asia Minor. Calm prevailed when an Isaurian chief, ZENO, was emperor (474–81) and Isauria saw much construction. Troubles resumed in the late 5th C., continuing until Anastasios I finally crushed the tribes in 497. These wars were the impetus for widespread fortification. The coast of Isauria was always important for trade, which was still active in the late 7th C., the date of seals of KOMMERKIARIOI of Isauria (one of them—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.158—combined this office with the military position of *stratelates*). Thereafter, the coast suffered greatly from Arab raids. Isauria was absorbed in ANATOLIKON, then became a separate KLEISOURA called Seleukeia under Theophilos, as part of his efforts to strengthen the frontier. Romanos I promoted it to a THEME ca.930. Divided into coastal and interior regions, it had a garrison of 5,000. The ecclesiastical province of Isauria long survived, though called Pamphylia after the early 10th C.; the cult of the local saints THEKLA and Konon attracted pilgrims. According to legend, Leo III was an Isaurian, Konon by name.

LIT. F. Hild, *RBK* 4:182–88, 227–73. J. Rouge, "L'Histoire Auguste et l'Isaurie au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REA* 68 (1966) 282–315. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," in *Polychronion* 358–65.  
—C.F.

**ISAURIAN DYNASTY**, family that ruled from 717 to 802 and included Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV, Constantine VI, and Irene; it was so called because a probable interpolation in Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 391.6) says that its founder, Leo III, came from ISAURIA, although he was actually born in Syrian Germanikeia (K. Schenk, *BZ* 5 [1896] 296–98). The 19th-C. notion that the Isaurian dynasty was able to revive the empire as a result of its military and administrative reforms was questioned by Ostrogorsky (*infra*). The dynasty is most closely associated with imperial support for ICONOCLASM, which Leo III introduced, Constantine V enforced, and Irene suspended. Despite the siege of Constantinople by MASLAMA in 717 and the campaigns of HĀRŪN



AL-RASHĪD, the Isaurian dynasty resisted the Arabs and stabilized the border with the caliphate in eastern Asia Minor. In Italy, however, RAVENNA was lost to the Lombards, and the Franks successfully challenged waning Byz. authority.

LIT. F. Masai, "La politique des Isauriens et la naissance de l'Europe," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 191–221. G. Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 394–400. Ostrogorsky, *History* 147–82. Vasiliiev, *History* 234–71.  
—P.A.H.

**ISIDORE** (Ἰσίδωρος), jurist, ANTECESSOR, one of the eight addressees of the *Constitutio Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He composed a Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, several fragments of which (esp. those of book 8, titles 53–56) have been preserved among the scholia to the BASILIKA. Also transmitted there under his name are fragments of a paraphrase of the DIGEST (concerning book 22, titles 3–5).

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:61f, 64–69.

LIT. Scheltema, *L'enseignement* 29f, 40–42.

—A.S.

**ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS** (Βούχειρ or Βούχειρας; cf. Tinnefeld, *infra* 160, n.1), Palamite patriarch of Constantinople (17 May 1347–Feb./Mar. 1350); born Thessalonike between ca.1300 and 1310, died Constantinople. Eldest of ten children, Isidore was educated in Thessalonike and then went to Athos to study with GREGORY SINAITES. Around 1325 Turkish attacks forced his return to Thessalonike, where for ten years he led a hesychastic circle. Circa 1335 he was ton-

sured by Gregory PALAMAS on Athos; he accompanied Palamas to the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). He was elected metropolitan of Monemvasia the same year but was never consecrated. In 1344 he was deposed and excommunicated by JOHN XIV KALEKAS because of his Palamite views.

With the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS in 1347, Isidore was restored to favor: he was elected patriarch, performed the second coronation of John VI and the marriage of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS. He also appointed Palamas as metropolitan of Thessalonike. His brief patriarchate was uneventful; he was taken ill in Jan. 1350, composed a final testament, and died soon thereafter. Isidore was noted as a hymnographer, but none of his poetry has survived.

ED. MM 1:256–94. Germ tr. by W. Helfer, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Isidoros," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 76–83.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Philotheos Kokkinos—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapiskiFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 52–149.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2271–2310. *PLP*, no.3140. R. Guiland, "Moines de l'Athos, patriarches de Constantinople," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 50–59. F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydonos: Briefe* (Stuttgart 1981) 158–63.  
—A.M.T.

**ISIDORE OF KIEV**, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia (1436–39); born Monemvasia ca.1385, died Rome 23 (J. Gill, *LThK* 5 [1960] 788) or 27 April 1463 (Gill, *infra* 76). Educated in Constantinople, Isidore became a monk in the Peloponnesos. In 1417 he returned to the capital, where he was subsequently made *hegoumenos* of St. De-



metrios monastery. He served as ambassador for JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS to the Council of Basel in 1434. After his elevation to the metropolitan see of Kiev, Isidore attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE and signed the decree of union. Shortly thereafter he was appointed cardinal and sent to Moscow as a papal legate. On his return to Moscow in 1440 (Krajcar, *infra* 387), however, Grand Duke Basil II (1425–62) imprisoned him for his Unionist sympathies. He managed to escape to the West, where he devoted his remaining years to various papal missions on behalf of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. One such embassy brought him to Constantinople, where he proclaimed the union (12 Dec. 1452). When the city fell several months later, he was imprisoned but again escaped. In 1459 Pope Pius II (1458–64) appointed him Latin patriarch of Constantinople. His literary output, in contrast with his rather active ecclesiastical and diplomatic career, was small. Some of his correspondence and speeches (at Basel and Florence) have been published.

ED. *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno*, ed. G. Mercati (Rome 1926). A.W. Ziegler, "Vier bisher nicht veröffentlichte griechische Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *BZ* 44 (1951) 570–77. Idem, "Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 135–42. G. Hofmann, "Quellen zu Isidor von Kiew als Kardinal und Patriarch," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 143–57.

SOURCE. M.A. Kazakova, ed. "Pervonačal'naja redakcija Choždenija na Florentijskij sobor," *TODRL* 25 (1970) 60–72. Germ. tr. G. Stöckl in *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz 1954) 149–89.

LIT. A.W. Ziegler, "Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 393–410. Gill, *Personalities* 65–78. J. Krajcar, "Metropolitan Isidore's Journey to the Council of Florence. Some Remarks," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 367–87. —A.P.

**ISIDORE OF MILETUS**, architect associated with ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES in the design and construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople; died before 558. He issued a revised edition of the works of ARCHIMEDES, wrote a commentary on Heron of Alexandria's treatise *On Vaulting* of the late 1st C., and invented a compass with which to construct parabolas. One of his students, EUTOKIOS of Askalon, commented on Archimedes, while another added book 15 to the *Elements* of EUCLID. Isidore consulted with Anthemios and Justinian I on the problem of flooding at DARA.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:505–08. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112f. J. Warren, *Greek Mathematics and Architects to Justinian* (London 1976). —M.J., W.L.

**ISIDORE OF PELOUSION**, ascetic and writer; saint; born Alexandria between 360 and 370, died after 433; feastday 4 Feb. Isidore lived as presbyter and monk in a monastery near Pelousion on the Nile. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (PG 146:1249–53) calls him a pupil of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, which perhaps should not be taken literally. The *Souda* dubs him philosopher and rhetorician, while his Orthodoxy, erudition, and style are commended by SEVEROS of Antioch and PHOTIOS (ep.207.18–19, ed. Laourdas-Westerink, 2:107). Much of this praise is merited by his 2,000 or so surviving letters, originally collected at the AKOIMETOI monastery in Constantinople—according to U. Riedinger (*ZNTW* 51 [1960] 157), a pseudonymous work by some Akoimetoï monks. The prime interest of the letters is theological, revealing Isidore as a careful, rather than hysterical, opponent of heresy, rebutting Arianism and Manichaeism in elegant Greek, while addressing CYRIL of Alexandria on the hypostatic union and also warning against contemporary tendencies toward MONOPHYSITISM. Isidore is equally level-headed on biblical exegesis (resisting extreme allegorism) and on ascetic and moral principles. A lost work, *Against the Hellenes*, may have shown him in a less temperate mood. Some of his letters were translated into Church Slavonic (I. Dujčev, *BS* 23 [1962] 327f).

ED. PG 78:9–1674. Partial Latin tr.—*Quarante-neuf lettres de saint Isidore de Péluse*, ed. R. Aigrain (Paris 1911).

LIT. P. Evieux, "Isidore de Péluse, État des recherches," *RechScRel* 64 (1976) 321–40. C. Fouskas, *St. Isidore of Pelusium, His Life and His Works* (Athens 1970). A. Schmid, *Die Christologie Isidors von Pelusium* (Fribourg 1948). M. Kertsch, "Isidor von Pelusion als Nachahmer Gregors von Nazianz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 113–22. —B.B.

**ISIDORE OF SEVILLE**, bishop of Seville (from ca.600); prolific author and churchman in Visigothic Spain; born in Byz. Spain? ca.570, died 636. His attitudes toward the VISIGOTHS and Byz. appear to have been complex. In Constantinople, Leander, his brother and predecessor at Seville, had negotiated an alliance between Byz. and the Visigothic usurper Hermenegild (579–84) and become friends with the papal *apocrisarius* Gregory (the future GREGORY I THE GREAT) as well as a correspondent of Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES. How far Isidore's *Etymologies*, or *Origines* (ed. W.M. Lindsay [Oxford 1911])—the basic encyclopedia of the medieval West—reflects contemporary

reality is controversial, but it certainly records the Visigothic destruction of Byz. CARTAGENA (15,1,67; cf. H.J. Diesner, *Philologus* 119 [1975] 92–97) and mentions the Byz. ship type *durcon* (*dorkon*, 19,1,10; cf. D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters* [Göttingen 1985] 47). Both recensions of the aggressively pro-Gothic *The History of Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* narrate the Goths' confrontations with the Byz.—sometimes called simply *milites*—from the 4th to 7th C., particularly the contest for southern Spain. Events in the *History* are dated by the provincial era and the regnal year of Byz. emperors. Isidore cites the burden of Byz. TAXATION as a cause of loyalty to the barbarians (ch.15). His chronicle draws largely on VICTOR TONNENSIS but implicitly develops an anti-Byz. theme (M. Reydellet, *MEFR* 82 [1970] 363–400); its final section notes Byz. events from Justin II to Herakleios, including AVAR attacks, strife between FACTIONS, and the loss of "Greece" to the Slavs (P. Charanis, *BZ* 64 [1971] 22–25). The literary biographies of *Famous Men* treat Latin authors of Byz. Spain, Justinian I, JOHN OF BICLAR, Victor Tonnensis, and Patr. John IV of Constantinople.

ED. *Las historias de los godos, vándalos y suevos*, ed. C. Rodríguez Alonso (Leon 1975), with Sp. tr. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:267–303, 424–81. *Famous Men*—ed. C. Codoñer Merino (Salamanca 1964).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 86–88. J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, vol. 2 (Paris 1959) 846–61, vol. 3 (1983) 1174–80. —M.McC.

**ISIDORE OF THESSALONIKE**. See GLABAS, ISIDORE.

**ISIDORE THE YOUNGER**, architect; fl. mid-6th C. He was the nephew of ISIDORE OF MILETUS and chief architect (*mechanopoios*) of the commission responsible for rebuilding the dome of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after its first collapse in 557 (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.8.25; Agath. 5.9). Of his work there remain *in situ* 12 ribs in the north and south sectors of the present dome (the west sector exhibits the restoration of Trdat, 986–94; the east sector, the restoration of 1347–54). The younger Isidore's dome is about 6 m higher than the original; his work shows greater care and precision than was exercised in later restorations. Isidore the Younger collaborated with John of Constantinople in building new fortifications at

ZENOBIA on the Euphrates, and he may be the Isidore named in an inscription of 550 from Chalkis ad Belum (*IGLSyr* 2 [1939] nos. 348–49).

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:508–10. W. Emerson, R.L. Van Nice, "Haghia Sophia, Istanbul," *AJA* 47 (1943) 404, 423–36. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 89–91. —W.L., M.J.

**ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST**. Attacks on Islam were written by both Christians living within the caliphate and those in Byz. territory. The polemic produced in Arab-controlled lands was predominantly apologetic and decreased after the 11th C. Byz. polemic, on the other hand, continued until the end of the empire, and its goal was refutation rather than apology. The amazing success of the Muslims in the 15th C., however, diverted the focus of the discussion; the defeat of the Christians was certainly to be explained not by the superiority of Islam but by the sins of the Greeks.

Vestiges of early polemic are attributed to the 8th C., but their MS tradition is questionable. The letter of Leo III to the caliph 'Umar II (717–20) survives only in translation (the Armenian version is preserved in LEWOND), and among works on the subject by JOHN OF DAMASCUS only a chapter in his book *On Heresies* seems to be authentic, albeit interpolated. THEODORE ABU-QURRA tried to defend Christianity in a pragmatic form accessible to his Muslim audience. NIKETAS BYZANTIOS launched an attack on Islam; he was followed by the monk Bartholomew of Edessa. The most important polemicists of the later period were John VI Kantakouzenos, who composed a treatise against Islam, and Manuel II, who wrote a *Dialogue with a Persian*.

Earlier Byz. polemic relied primarily on hearsay information about Islam, and John of Damascus was content to ridicule outlandish legends. Niketas Byzantios, on the other hand, studied the QUR'AN, probably in a Greek translation. The discussion concentrated on theological, moral, and political problems. The central theological problem was the consistent monotheism of Islam that could not be reconciled with the Christian concept of the TRINITY and the incarnation of the Logos. The Christian apologists responded that such an approach deprives God of his reason (Logos) and spirit, and implicitly severs the link between mankind and the Godhead; Niketas called the God of Islam *holosphairos*, "all-spherical," or *holosphynos*, "solid," emphasizing matter as his essence. In the

field of morality, Christian apologists stressed the superiority of the Christian monogamous family over Islamic polygamy and sodomy; they also criticized the hedonistic tendencies of Islam as reflected in its image of Paradise. Another Christian argument was the defense of the thesis of free will against the belief in predestination that contributed so much to the idea of the Islamic holy war.

Politically, each side tried to demonstrate the lack of unity in its adversary: the Muslims criticized the Christians for being split into 72 races, while the letter of Leo III asserts that Islam is torn apart by schisms more serious than those that used to rage in the Christian world. While defending the truth of their religion, Christian apologists affirmed that MUHAMMAD was a false prophet and a licentious man and that the Qur'an was a false book. The Byz. church required Muslim converts to anathematize the God of Muhammad, the prophet himself, the caliphs, and some tenets of Muslim dogma. Manuel I, who settled many Turks in Byz. territory, encountered strong resistance from the clergy when he tried to have the anathema of the "solid" (*holosphyros*) God of Muhammad deleted from the catechetical books. With difficulty he prevailed and an anathema against Muhammad and all his teachings was substituted (Nik.Chon. 213.51–219.70).

LIT. A.T. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam* (Leiden 1972). J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *DOP* 18 (1964) 113–32. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Attitudes toward Islam during the Late Middle Ages," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 263–86. O. Mazal, "Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Islam in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 17 (1985) 1–19. R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes* (Paris 1985). —A.K.

#### ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART.

Islam as a religion and political entity had an impact on Byz. as early as the mid-7th C., but it hardly affected the arts during the Umayyad Caliphate, which adopted Byz. forms rather than transmitting its own. Although scholarly opinion is divided on these issues, early Islam may also have had some effect on the changes in coinage introduced by Justinian II and on Iconoclasm. No significant impact of a new Islamic art was in fact possible before the appearance of techniques, styles, and subjects that were consciously and formally new and different from Byz. ones or before

the growth of centers of taste, production, and consumption that could compete with Constantinople and the other major cities of the empire.

The usually accepted time for the appearance of a coherent new Islamic art is the end of the 8th C. when BAGHDAD, the recently founded 'Abbāsid capital, began to outstrip Constantinople in wealth and resources. Later, CORDOBA, Cairo (al-FUSTĀT), and many other North African, Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian cities developed as centers of artistic production competing with both Baghdad and Byz. The preponderant impact, however, would always be from the East, as the Islamic world inherited from Sasanian Iran the partly real and partly mythic function of representing to the Mediterranean world the exotic East and because more consistent—friendly or hostile—Byz. relationships existed with Eastern rather than Western Muslim societies. The most important post-'Abbāsid Islamic dynasties and periods for which significant official or commercial contacts with Byz. can be assumed or shown to have had artistic components are the FĀTIMIDS, the SELJUQS, and, from the 13th C. onward, the Turkish *beyliks* of Anatolia, among whom the OTTOMANS became the most prominent.

A chronology or typology of the impact of Islamic art on Byz. is difficult to establish, but some specific examples outline its probable pattern.

One of the earliest examples is the palace of Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople with its wild animals, AUTOMATA in the shape of birds or lions, and garden of artificial trees made of precious metals. According to textual descriptions, this palace was similar to 'Abbāsid palaces in Baghdad. Ruins of a palace on the Asian side of the Bosphoros (possibly BRYAS) with a domed audience hall can also be related to a sequence of partly earlier Islamic palaces (S. Eyice, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 245–50). Possibly, however, these Byz. or Muslim examples and the stories around them simply derive from the same antique sources.

More complete series of objects with Islamic motifs appear during the Macedonian and Komnenian periods, and in fact down to the Latin conquest of 1204. Textiles, esp. SILKS, use roundels with animals or hunting scenes typical of Islamic and earlier Iranian designs, just as clothing, esp. official or expensive COSTUME, tends to adopt "oriental" cuts and motifs. CERAMIC vessels and TILES used for the decoration of buildings

pick up several techniques (SGRAFFITO, splash, luster imitation) developed in the Muslim world and at times even some of their motifs. ENAMELS used on the crown of Constantine IX and on the PALA D'ORO show dancers and hunters typical of Islamic objects, even though the technique itself is not Islamic. A rather remarkable series of silver objects with courtly and other scenes found in Central Russia has been interpreted as Byz. but contains many Islamic features (Darkevič, *Svetiskoe iskusstvo* 232).

The imitation of Arabic writing, esp. its angular style known as Kufic, becomes a common decorative motif in Greek churches; this type of ornament has been called "pseudo-Kufic." By 1200, according to Nicholas MESARITES, a palace known as the Mouchroutas (probably some misunderstanding of the Ar. *mahrūtah*, "cone") or "Persian house" stood to the west of the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS; it was covered by a stalactite dome with paintings. A curious glass cup looted by the Venetians in 1204, now in the Treasury of S. Marco in Venice, contains, next to beautifully copied antique motifs, the imitation of an Arabic inscription so well done that it seems legible (*Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise* [Paris 1984] 180–83). The underwater excavations at Serçe Liman off the coast of southern Turkey (G. Bass, *JGS* 26 [1984] 64–69) uncovered a Byz. ship, probably of the 11th C., carrying thousands of objects in GLASS and other techniques originating from the Byz. Empire as well as Iran, Syria, Egypt, and perhaps even China. As early as the 11th C., a donor in a Cappadocian church is represented wearing a turban (Thierry, *Nouvelles Églises*, pl.94).

Such examples could easily be multiplied and from the 9th C. onward traces of Islamic influences are found in Byz. Nevertheless, in comparison with the art of other Christian groups in western Asia (Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Copts), who were under Islamic political domination, Byz. art was less consistently affected. Islamic influences hardly ever occur in religious art and never affect style and expression, the formal means by which Byz. art differentiates itself from other medieval traditions. In other words, Islamic forms played almost no role in the Byz. visual expression of Christianity.

Islamic themes are most apparent in the secular art of emperors and in many aspects of material culture. There are several explanations for this

phenomenon. One is that, in the 8th–12th C., Islamic artisans and a Muslim patronage developed, originated, and sponsored a large number of technical inventions in ceramic, textiles, glass-making, and METALWORK; these were, for the most part, easily transmissible and improved the quality of objects used in daily life. The ship of Serçe Liman was one example of a widespread trade in practical objects and, wherever these objects were made, they share the very Islamic objective of enhancing the potential of everyday activities. Both Byz. and Islam used the same Late Antique sources, and resemblances are therefore sometimes misleading. What Muslim princes introduced into the language of imperial art is an emphasis on representations of pleasure (dancing, singing, music, hunting) as an expression of power and wealth. Thus, the Islamic impact was first thematic, then functional or technical, and more rarely formal.

In a phenomenon somewhat similar to the impact of classical art, Islamic elements appear as significant components of Byz. art in the 9th–12th C., when the Byz. felt strong enough to incorporate such exotic themes as seemed interesting. Islamic influence is less immediately apparent in later times. When Byz. was weaker, its material culture more consistently shared with neighboring Turkish or turkified establishments; the maintenance of an unadulterated Christian art was an unwritten necessity for self-identity and survival.

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 1:265–90. G.C. Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *DOP* 18 (1964) 1–32. E. Coche de la Ferté, "Décors en céramique byzantine au Musée du Louvre," *CahArch* 9 (1957) 187–217. N.P. Ševčenko, "Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 28 (1974) 353–60.

—O.G.

#### ISOCHRISTOI. See ORIGEN.

ISRAEL (Ἰσραήλ), the chosen people of the Bible. The etymology of the name was explained by the church fathers as either "seeing" ("the mind seeing God" in MAKARIOS THE GREAT, PG 34:800B) or "conquering" (Justin Martyr, PG 6:765D). The church fathers distinguished the old Israel, whose rejection of Christ caused their subsequent sufferings, from the new chosen people, the Christians; Israel became a designation of the church and also of the Byzantines. In Byz. rhetoric of the



12th C. the image of Israel often appears in a context of expectations: after present miseries "the new Israel" will be elevated by the "wise architect," just as the old Israel was liberated by Moses (e.g., Nikephoros BASILAKES, ed. Garzya 61.34–62.3). Niketas Choniates, while describing the defeat at Myriokephalon (Nik.Chon. 188.19–26), recalls "a seed left for Israel," so that God's inheritance should not utterly disappear.

In OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION the chosen people were often seen as allusions to Byz. ideology and current events. Triumphs and epiphanies experienced by leaders such as David, Moses, and Joshua frequently include assemblages of men, women, and children; elaborations upon their respective biblical accounts, these suggest the fortunes of the Byz. themselves. The CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, depicted in MSS such as the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, was interpreted as the living Christian's entry into the Promised Land through the grace of baptism. The ode (Ex 15:1) sung by the Israelites on this occasion is prescribed in *De cer.* (610.3–5) as appropriate to the celebration of triumphs over the Arabs and received special attention in aristocratic Psalter illustration. The theme is translated from a particular historical setting to a transcendental plane in the liturgy. Most developed among such biblical metaphors is the JOSHUA ROLL, which has been interpreted as an epic of Holy Land conquest by Nikephoros II Phokas or John I Tzimiskes (M. Schapiro, *GBA* 35 [1949] 161–76), even though neither of these emperors ever reached Palestine. —J.I., A.K., A.C.

**IṢṬAKHRĪ, AL-**, more fully Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, geographer and cartographer of Persian origin who wrote in Arabic; born Iṣṭakhr (near ancient Persepolis) late 9th C., died Baghdad after 952. His *Routes and Kingdoms* (written 933–50) is the earliest surviving work of the systematic school of Islamic geography (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS). It is based partly on the now lost *Maps of the Regions* by al-Balkhī (died after 920), on written and oral reports as well as al-Iṣṭakhrī's own observations as a traveler throughout the Islamic East. Beginning with a map of the world, it then concentrates on Islamic territory, dividing it into 20 regions with maps, and includes a map and brief description of the Mediterranean. It is unclear whether he traveled in the Mediterranean

regions. His first maps of Egypt and North Africa were criticized and updated by his junior continuator, ibn Hawqal. Several later cartographers redrew al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps. His work was extensively used by later Arab and, more particularly, by Persian and Turkish geographers.

His information on Byz., the frontier regions (prior to the Byz. capture of Melitene, 934), and the Mediterranean is less detailed than that of ibn Hawqal, the latter often entirely superseding it in this respect. It is, however, still valuable for Byz.'s northern neighbors, particularly the Khazars, Rus', Slavs, and Bulgarians.

ED. *Al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, ed. M. al-Ḥinī (Cairo 1961).  
LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 196–98. A. Miquel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:222f. —A.Sh.

**ISTANBUL.** See CONSTANTINOPLE.

**ISTHMOS.** See CORINTH; HEXAMILION.

**ISTRIA** (Ἰστρία), peninsula extending into the northeastern Adriatic Sea, part of the Roman *provincia Venetiarum et Histriae*, which bordered on DALMATIA to the south. The TABULA PEUTINGERIANA presents Istria as an area of numerous cities. The region lay south of the mainstream of barbarian raids and retained its Roman character until the end of the 6th C. Ostrogothic domination (493–539) did not leave substantial traces in the material culture, and excavations on the peninsula have uncovered both Byz. coins of the 6th C. and traditional Roman houses (G. Bordenache in *Rendiconti. Accademia d'Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli* 34 [1959] 177–96). The restoration of Byz. rule in Istria in the mid-6th C. was of short duration: the LOMBARDS invaded it in 568 and gradually reduced Byz. territory to the littoral. In 680 the Lombards took Friuli and established the border between themselves and the empire; the remaining Byz. section formed a part of the exarchate of RAVENNA until the fall of the latter to the Lombards in 751. Thereafter Istria constituted an independent administrative unit under the authority of a local *tribunus* but was not a theme (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 68–70).

Archaeological excavation has revealed the precarious situation in Istria during the Lombard, Avar, and Slav invasions: on the one hand, tombs

of soldiers, for example, a cavalryman from Brežac of ca.600; on the other hand, strongholds with rural population, some of them episcopal centers (Pola, Parentium, Tergeste, etc.). In Parentium (POREČ), Bp. Eufrasius completed a complex of ecclesiastical buildings in the 6th C. The slavization of Istria began at the end of the century; there were two streams of Slavs—Slovenians (in the north) and Croats. The Roman population maintained its position primarily in the region of Pola; while cemeteries of the 7th–8th C. are predominantly pagan, several churches were built during this period (e.g., St. Sophia in Dvograd dated by a lost inscription to 770).

In 788 CHARLEMAGNE took Istria and, in the treaty of Aachen (812), made Byz. formally renounce this territory. Eventually Istria became a base for Venetian penetration of the Balkans.

LIT. E. Klebel, *Über die Städte Istriens* (Lindau-Konstanz 1958). L. Bosio, *L'Istria nella descrizione della Tabula Peutingeriana* (Trieste 1974). B. Marušić, *Istrien im Frühmittelalter* (Pula 1960). M. Kos, *O starejši slovenski kolonizaciji v Istri* (Ljubljana 1950). L. Margetić, *Histrica et Adriatica* (Trieste 1983). G. Cuscito, *Cristianesimo antico ad Aquileia e in Istria* (Trieste 1977). S. Mlakar, *Istra u antici* (Pula 1962).

—I.Dj.

**ISTROS.** See DANUBE.

**ISTVÁN II** (Stephen), king of Hungary (1116–31); born ca.1100/1, died 1 Mar. 1131. Son of Kálmán (Coloman, r.1095–1116), István was a rival of his uncle Álmos, who (with his infant son Béla) had been blinded by Coloman. At the start of István's reign, Álmos fled to Constantinople, where Alexios I and John II supported him. Around 1127, because of a trade dispute or because John refused to yield Álmos, the Hungarian king raided Byz. territory, destroying Belgrade, and plundering Niš (NAISSUS) and Serdica. Around 1128 John responded with an expedition that took Chramon (Kama) and the land between the Sava and the Danube and defeated the Hungarians north of the Danube. Once he had withdrawn, the Hungarians retook Chramon and destroyed BRANIČEVO. John returned (ca.1129) and rebuilt Braničevo. Although István's plans were betrayed, John was forced to withdraw. Around 1129 or 1130 peace was concluded between István and John.

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:56–63. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970) 78f. —C.M.B.

**ITACISM**, incorrect representation in writing of the high front vowel *i*, and in a wider sense incorrect representation of vowels, in Medieval Greek. Greek orthography became fixed in the classical period and was not modified to take account of the radical phonological changes, particularly in the vowel system, which took place between Hellenistic and Byz. times. Papyrus documents show frequent confusion of *ει* and *ι* by the 2nd C. B.C. and of *η* and *ι* a little later. Confusion of *οι* and *υ* appears from the 1st C. A.D. Confusion of both of these with *ι* is infrequent before the 9th C. The outcome is that from the 9th C. *ι*, *ει*, *η*, *ηι*, *οι*, *υ*, and *υι* represented the same sound and were frequently substituted for one another in writing. In the same way *ο* and *ω*, *αι* and *ε* were confused. Manuals of ORTHOGRAPHY laid down rules for correct spelling of words containing these phonemes. The ordinary man, however, cared less about accuracy than the schoolmasters, and incorrect substitution was common in documents, MSS, and even in inscriptions and on the seals of high officials throughout the Middle Ages and later. The reason is that most copyists carried their text from exemplar to copy in the form of an auditory image, which they then wrongly translated into visual symbols in the act of writing. Although these errors rarely gave rise to misunderstanding, occasionally they caused serious corruption, often worsened by the attempts of subsequent copyists to make sense of the text they found in their exemplars. Thus *σύν οἰστισιν* becomes *συνίστησιν*, *τί οὐ τῶν* becomes *τοιούτων*, and *δαῖτα* becomes *δὲ τὰ*.

LIT. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 183–294. F.W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913) 184. N.A. Macharadse, "Zur Lautung der griechischen Sprache der byzantinischen Zeit," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 144–58. —R.B.

**ITALOS, JOHN.** See JOHN ITALOS.

**ITALY** (Ἰταλία). In the 4th–5th C. the *diocesis Italica* consisted of two vicariates: the *regio annonaria* (with its capital at Milan), encompassing the provinces of Venetia-Istria, Emilia-Liguria, Alpes Cottiae, and RAETIA, and the *regiones suburbicariae* (capital at Rome), composed of Tuscany-Umbria, Picenum-Flaminia, CAMPANIA, Samnium, CALABRIA-APULIA, LUCANIA-Bruttium, SICILY,





SARDINIA, and Corsica. The traditional assumption that Italy went through an economic crisis in the 4th–5th C. has been questioned; ancient *municipia* survived in Italy at least through the 6th C., and agricultural production remained stable in the Annonarian vicariate in northern Italy (L. Ruggini, *Economia e società nell' "Italia annonaria"* [Milan 1961]); K. Hannestad (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Belgrade 1964] 155–58) assumes that after the crisis of the 4th C. Italian agriculture flourished under Ostrogothic rule.

In the 4th and 5th C. ROME (and later MILAN)

served as the residence of the Western Roman emperors. The Western emperor was at first the colleague and often the younger brother of the (senior) Eastern augustus (Maximian Herculus under Diocletian, Constans I under Constantius II, Valentinian I and Gratian under Valens, Honorius under Arkadios) but subsequently became an independently elected ruler. The authority of the Western Roman emperors in Italy ended in 476 with the overthrow of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS by the Herulian ODOACER. Soon thereafter, in 488, the OSTROGOTHS invaded Italy;

by 493 they took RAVENNA and established their kingdom. Under THEODORIC THE GREAT the Ostrogoths enjoyed *de facto* independence of Constantinople but still acknowledged its suzerainty. The economic and social changes of the Gothic period (493–555) are as yet inadequately understood. Archaeological evidence in conjunction with the works of CASSIODORUS, however, indicates a general separation of Italy from the unified Mediterranean economy and the emergence of regional economies throughout the peninsula. Justinian I expended great effort to restore Byz. rule over Italy; his lengthy war against the Ostrogoths caused much hardship for the local population. After the Byz. reconquest, Justinian's measures, esp. the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA, were aimed at restoring the prewar situation and *latifundia* of Roman landowners, which had been partially seized and divided by the Goths and their Italian allies. Byz. rule in Italy was soon challenged; in 568 the LOMBARDS invaded Italy and quickly occupied its northern part. The Byz. retained Ravenna and VENICE in the north and Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Campania in the south. Sicily was able to repel the Lombard attacks and also stayed in Byz. hands. The remaining Byz. possessions formed an administrative unit—the EXARCHATE of Ravenna. Gradually, a third factor emerged on the scene—the PAPACY, which expanded its jurisdiction in Sicily and elsewhere.

The political makeup of Italy changed again during the 8th C. Byz. lost Ravenna to the Lombards in 751, but strengthened its position in southern Italy and esp. Sicily, transferring their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Constantinople and confiscating the papal estates; the territory was substantially hellenized and firmly incorporated into the Byz. administrative system based on THEMES. The Lombard kingdom became decentralized, resulting in the establishment of several independent duchies (BENEVENTO, SALERNO, and later CAPUA); in the mid-8th C. its northern part was conquered by the FRANKS, who became a new factor in the struggle for hegemony in Italy. Relying on Frankish support, the papacy rejected Byz. suzerainty and gradually formed an independent state (by 800).

Arab raids, which began (in Sicily) as early as the mid-7th C., increased in the 8th and 9th C. and forced the Byz., popes, Franks, Lombard rulers, and semi-independent cities (NAPLES,

AMALFI, GAETA, Venice) into an anti-Muslim alliance (although in some cases Italian cities and principalities preferred the support—or peace terms—granted by the Arabs). The alliance was not effective, however, and by the beginning of the 10th C. Sicily was essentially lost to the Arabs. In the 10th-C. political struggles, two major powers predominated in Italy: Byz., which retained firm control in southern Italy, and the Ottonians, who inherited Frankish claims and interests in Italy. Before 969 the Byz. KATEPANATE of Italy was created, later (ca. 1040) replaced by the *doukaton* of Italy. The administrative term *Italia*, which was used in Greek sources synonymously with LONGOBARDIA, did not include Calabria and Sicily: thus ARGYROS, son of Melo, was titled "*doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia" (Falkenhäusen, *Dominazione* 48–63). At the same time the term could be applied to the whole peninsula (without Sicily) and to the Frankish kingdom of Italy.

Abundant Greek and Latin private documents reveal much about the southern Italian villages of the 9th–11th C. They did not employ the open field system; the peasantry paid rent predominantly in kind; free and semifree peasants were numerous; and villages often concluded contracts with the lords that fixed payment amounts and defined the rights of peasants (M.L. Abramson, *VizVrem* 7 [1953] 161–93).

In the 10th C. neither Germany nor Byz. was sufficiently successful at subjugating Italy; the early 11th C. saw a peaceful but unstable situation interrupted by the short-lived campaign of George MANIAKES. In the same century appeared a new power that replaced both the Byz. and the Arabs—the Normans, who established their state in southern Italy and Sicily. At the same time another new factor emerged, namely, the commercial cities of northern Italy (Venice, GENOA, PISA, etc.), which eventually came to dominate trade in the eastern Mediterranean. In the 12th C., Byz., for the last time, attempted to recover its possessions in southern Italy. The empire often had the support of Italian cities (ANCONA, Milan, Venice), but the Norman resistance, the lack of mutual understanding with the papacy, and esp. the powerful interference of the German emperors made the Byz. efforts fruitless.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 deprived Byz. of its status as a

world power, making any further intervention in Italy impossible. In contrast, Italian republics began to penetrate the territory of "Romania"; they had been granted commercial privileges and tax exemptions since the late 10th C., but during the 12th C. Byz. maintained control over the Italian colonies and skillfully played off their rivalries. The defeat of 1204 opened up the Levant to the Venetians, who together with the Genoese exercised domination over both Constantinople and the Byz. provinces. Sicily, esp. under CHARLES I OF ANJOU, served as a base for hostile operations against Byz. Both Italian trade domination and the transformation of Byz. into a source of food supply for Italy contributed to the empire's growing poverty, although individual Greek merchants and artisans maintained their activity and operated with substantial capital. Cultural contacts between Byz. and Italy developed in the 14th and 15th C., with Greek books and scholars penetrating the Italian intellectual milieu. The Ottoman threat fostered discussion of a political and religious alliance, but Italian military assistance remained insignificant and could not prevent the fall of the empire to the Turks.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "L'administration du diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire," *Historia* 12 (1963) 348-79. T.S. Brown, "The Background of Byzantine Relations with Italy in the 9th C.," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 27-45. I. Bizantini in Italia, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982). R. Hiestand, *Byzanz und das regnum italicum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Zurich 1964). G.A. Loud, "Byzantine Italy and the Normans," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 215-33. Lamma, *Comneni*. M. Balard et al., *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Rome 1957). —A.K.

**ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM** (Account of the Pilgrims' Journey), a Latin history of the Third Crusade probably written by an English Templar in the Holy Land (at Tyre?) between 1 Aug. 1191 and 2 Sept. 1192, and certainly before 1194 (H. Möhring, *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 5 [1982] 149-67). In addition to firsthand experience and oral sources, the author used a lost account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* describes Frederick's crossing of the Byz. Empire and his difficulties with Isaac II's Pechenegs and Bulgars (291.20-296.7), insisting on Greek inferiority and their hatred of innocent Latins (292.12-293.9). It also treats the conflict with the Seljuk sultanate (296.11-300.6) and GREEK FIRE (323.20-324.18). Between 1216 and 1222, Richard, canon and later prior of Holy Trinity, London, revised the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and

combined it with a Latin translation of the *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War), material from ROGER OF HOVEDEN, and a lost English account of the Crusade to produce a new version (ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1 [London 1864; rp. 1964]).

ED. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer (Stuttgart 1962) 245-357.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, "Zur Verfasserfrage des *Itinerarium peregrinorum*," *ClMed* 26 (1965) 279-92. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 239f. —M.McC.

**IVAJLO**, Bulgarian tsar (1278-79). Known to the Byz. as Lachanas ("cabbage"), he was a swineherd who believed that he had a mission from God to save Bulgaria from the TATARS. A series of victories brought him broad popular support. He overthrew CONSTANTINE TICH in 1277, but Tŭrnovo held out under Tich's wife Maria (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 19-20, no.15). She preferred to marry Ivajlo and bring him to the throne, rather than allow her uncle MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS to impose his own nominee. She was overthrown while Ivajlo was away fighting the Tatars. He inflicted a series of defeats on the Byz. armies sent to support John Asen III (1279-80), but was forced to turn to the Tatars for help. Khan Nogay had him murdered at a banquet.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:543-75. D. Angelov, *Ivajlo* (Sofia 1954). P. Petrov, *Vŭstanieto na Ivajlo* (Sofia 1956).

—M.J.A.

**IVAN III**, grand duke of Moscow and Vladimir (co-ruler from 1450, prince from 1462); born 22 Jan. 1440, died Moscow 27 Oct. 1505. Son of Basil II, Ivan substantially expanded Muscovite territory during his reign, annexing both Great Novgorod (1478) and the principality of Tver' (1485). In 1472 Ivan took as his second wife SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, niece of Emp. Constantine XI. Thereafter he occasionally called himself "tsar" and began to use the emblem of the two-headed EAGLE on his seals. In 1492 Metr. Zosima referred to Ivan as a "new Constantine" and called Moscow a "new city of Constantine." In the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, Ivan assumed the role of defender of Orthodox Christianity and declared (in 1470) that the patriarch of Constantinople had no jurisdiction over the church of Moscow. Current scholarship (Obolensky, *Commonwealth* 364-67; Meyendorff, *Russia*

274), however, rejects earlier theories that Ivan claimed to be the heir to the Byz. Empire.

LIT. G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 1959) 13-133. K.V. Bazilevič, *Vneš-njaja politika Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva. Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1952). —A.M.T.

**IVAN ALEXANDER**, Bulgarian tsar (1331-71). Descended from the Asen dynasty on his mother's side, Ivan Alexander reached the throne as a result of a coup d'état supported by a faction among the boyars. Throughout his reign he strove to prevent formation of an anti-Bulgarian coalition in the Balkans. Allied from 1332 with STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, Ivan inflicted a severe defeat on the Byz. in that year and regained some territory south of the Balkan range. During the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47 he supported John V Palaiologos against John VI Kantakouzenos and as a result added to his dominion a number of towns north of the Rhodope mountains, including PHILIPPOLIS. Later his hostility to Byz. led him to ally himself with the Ottoman Turks and with their help to recover several fortresses on the Black Sea coast. In 1365, however, he was defeated by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY and the Hungarians, both of whom supported papal plans for church union. He maintained good relations with Dubrovnik and Venice. His policy of giving parts of his kingdom as appanages to his sons contributed to the fragmentation of the Second Bulgarian Empire and to its inability to resist Turkish pressure. A notable patron of literature and art, Ivan made TŭRNOVO the seat of a flourishing Slavic literary culture, which later influenced the development of Russian culture. Several MSS written and illuminated for him survive. He was married twice, to Theodora, daughter of the Rumanian prince Ivanco Basarab, and later to Sarah-Theodora, a converted Jew.

LIT. P. Mutačiev, *Istoriya na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1943) 241-87. Kosev et al., *Bŭlgarija* 1:218-41. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460)* (Sofia 1985) 149-78, 435-51. K. Mečev, "Car Ivan Aleksandŭr kato dŭržaven i kulturen stroitel," in *Veličieto na Tŭrnougrad*, ed. A. Popov (Sofia 1985) 122-43. J. Andreev, "Ivan Alexandŭr et ses fils sur la dernière miniature de la Chronique de Manassès," *EtBalk* 21.4 (1985) 39-47. —R.B.

**IVANKO** (Ἰβάρκος), nephew of ASEN I (Akrop. 1:21.1f) and founder of an independent Bulgarian principality; died after 1200. In 1196 Ivanko assassinated Asen. Niketas CHONIATES attributes

this murder to Ivanko's involvement in a love affair with the sister of Asen's wife. He also suggests (Nik.Chon. 471.86) that Ivanko was possibly incited by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. Ivanko's attempt to establish his power in Tŭrnovo failed: Asen's brother, PETER OF BULGARIA, besieged the city, and, lacking assistance from Byz., Ivanko had to flee to Constantinople. There he was betrothed to the emperor's granddaughter Theodora and received the name Alexios. Alexios III appointed him governor of Philippopolis. Around 1198 or 1199 Ivanko proclaimed his territory independent, allied himself with KALOJAN, and assisted a Cuman raid into Macedonia. After some unsuccessful expeditions against Ivanko (during which the *protostrator* Manuel KAMYTZES was taken captive), Alexios III lured him into a trap (1200). Deceived by a false oath, Ivanko entered the imperial camp, where he was immediately seized. His brother Mitos (Mitja?) fled, and Ivanko's ephemeral principality in Rhodope was annexed by Byz.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:89-120, 132-34. Brand, *Byzantium* 125-31. —A.K., C.M.B.

**IVERON MONASTERY**, Iberian (Georgian) establishment on the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, approximately 4 km from Karyes. Until between 1010 and 1020 Iveron (Ἰβήρων) was called the "monastery of the Iberian" or "of Euthymios"; thereafter it was called the "lavra of the Iberians." The first Georgians to come to Athos were John the Iberian and his son EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, who entered the Great Lavra of Athanasios in the 960s before moving to nearby *kellia*. In 979/80 the ascetic/general John TŌRNIKIOS, after winning a battle over the rebel Bardas SKLEROS and amassing vast amounts of booty, returned to Athos to found a new lavra for Iberians at the site of the monastery "tou Klementos." At this time Tornikios received the KOLOBOU MONASTERY from Emp. Basil II. Under the first *hegoumenoi*—John the Iberian (980-1005), Euthymios (1005-1019), and Euthymios's cousin George (1019-29)—a scriptorium was established for the translation of Greek religious texts into Georgian and the copying of Greek and Georgian MSS. Thereafter Iveron continued to be an important center of Byz.-Georgian cultural interaction and the dissemination of texts in Georgian. In the mid-11th C. the translator and hagiogra-



pher GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI served as *hegoumenos*. The number of monks at the monastery reportedly grew to 300, and Iveron initially owned more land than Lavra. In addition to extensive properties on Athos, Iveron had possessions in Chalkidike, the Strymon valley, and Thessalonike.

Throughout the Byz. period there was rivalry at Iveron between the community of Greek monks, who were in the majority, and the Georgians; the two groups celebrated the liturgy separately. The Georgians were in authority in the early period, and held their services in the *katholikon*, even though they were outnumbered. In the 14th C., however, the Greeks gained dominance at Iveron; an act of 1356 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2396), noting that the Greek monks were "more numerous and capable," stated that the *hegoumenos* was to be Greek and that the Greeks were entitled to hold their services in the principal church. Although it appears no *typikon* was ever written, chapters 34–70 of the *vita* of John and Euthymios, which describe the organization of Iveron, resemble a monastic rule.

The archives contain over 150 documents of Byz. date; those published to date (the earliest is of 927) deal primarily with sales and donations of property; they provide valuable information on the topography and prosopography of Macedonia. The will of Kale Pakouriane (of 1090) contains a long list of liturgical vessels and textiles given to the monastery. Iveron's library preserves a major collection of 337 Byz. MSS, in addition to 86 Georgian MSS, including unique hagiographical codices. The most important Byz. books are cod. 463, a lavishly illustrated 12th-C. copy of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (*Treasures* 2:60–91, 306–23), and the 13th-C. Gospel book cod. 5 (*ibid.* 34–53, 296–303).

The *katholikon*, which has undergone numerous restorations and modifications, was originally built in 980–83 and is one of the oldest surviving Christian structures on Athos. Dedicated to the Virgin, it is a cross-in-square church, with side chapels added later. Its pavement probably dates to the mid-11th C.

SOURCES. J. Lefort et al., *Actes d'Iviron, I. Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris 1985). Dölger, *Sechs Praktika*. Dölger, *Schatz*. 35–38, 43–47, 69–71, 153–170, 180–84, 193–209, 230–32, 234–50, 255–61, 263–79, 292–308. (For ed. of *vita* of John and Euthymios, see EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN.)

LIT. BK 41 (1983)—entire issue devoted to 1,000th anniversary of foundation of Iveron. Lampros, *Athos* 2:1–

279. R. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC* 3 8 (28) (1931–32) 289–361; 9 (29) (1933–34) 114–59, 225–71. —A.M.T., A.C.

IVEROPOULOS, JOHN. See PETRITZOS MONASTERY.

IVORY (*ἐλέφας*), made from ELEPHANT tusks, the principal organic material used in the creation of ceremonial and useful objects, icons, and appliques for furniture and doors. Dependent on commerce with Africa and India, the availability of ivory varied greatly, although the appeal of its exotic origin and lustrous nature never waned. Its reputation in late antiquity as an imperial material is indicated by the barbarian offering of a giant tusk on the BARBERINI IVORY. In fact, from the beginning of the 4th C. until at least the mid-6th, ivory was relatively cheap: in Diocletian's PRICE EDICT, its cost per pound is one-fortieth that of an equivalent weight in silver.

Abundant statuettes, CASKETS AND BOXES for medications and other items, and decorative plaques were carved in Egypt and exported, as were the 8 stools and 14 chairs sent by Cyril of Alexandria to the court of Theodosios II. Egypt as a source of worked ivory (as against BONE CARVING), which is attested by both papyri and excavations, had been contested but is now confirmed by finds at Abū Mīnā (J. Engemann, *JbAChr* 30 [1987] 172–186). By the 4th C. ivory was also carved in Constantinople. An edict of 337 (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) includes ivory workers in a list of artisans who were exempted from civil obligations so that they might improve their craft and teach it to their children—a clause that suggests the means by which techniques were transmitted. The widespread manufacture of ivory DIPTYCHS is apparent from an edict of 384 (*ibid.* XV 9.1) forbidding all but ordinary consuls to issue them. While many consular diptychs can be ascribed with certainty to Constantinople, the place of origin of the cathedra of MAXIMIAN and the so-called five-part diptychs remains disputed, as does that of the scores of surviving pyxides (see PYXIS) decorated with pagan or Christian subjects. While the consular diptychs can be precisely dated, other pre-Justinianic ivories cannot.

It is probable that Constantinople's access to ivory was disrupted in the late 6th and 7th C. There is no evidence for ivory carving in the

ensuing "Dark Age," although such activity has been claimed for Christian workshops in Syria-Palestine. When the ivory trade resumed—possibly no earlier than the reign of Leo VI—East Africa was in Arab hands. Thereafter, ivory was a coveted substance, used in the fabrication of far fewer types of objects than before the 7th C. and generally reserved for sacro-political emblems and ecclesiastical artifacts. The aulic connections of the material are epitomized in a relief in Moscow (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no. 35), apparently made in direct response to the beginning of Constantine VII's sole rule in 945. The dates of other pieces with imperial images and/or inscriptions are disputed, but their function is perhaps indicated by three relatively large TRIPTYCHS. Few in number compared to the more than 200 smaller icons that survive, they are much more elaborately carved and may have been revered in private chapels of the imperial court and the urban elite. The only ivory *staurotheke* (*ibid.*, II, no.77) has a later inscription that says it was used by an emperor Nikephoros (Botaneiates?) to put the barbarians to flight.

Many ivories were sent to the West, where they were applied to the covers of books, the contents of which provide *termini ante quem* for these plaques. Such exports continued until ample Western access to raw ivory, occurring in and after the 11th C., put an end to this commerce. No Byz. pieces have been shown to belong to the 12th C., a period when emperors and other dignitaries commissioned their portraits in other expensive materials. This absence suggests that supplies of ivory were diverted at their source to the West. Substitutes were then prized: John Tzetzes records his gratitude for a "Russian-carved" inkwell (or inkstand?) made of walrus (or narwhal) tusk that he received from Leo, metropolitan of Dorostolon (J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 215–21). Only one object with imperial likenesses, a tiny circular box at Dumbarton Oaks that depicts members of the family of John VIII, can be attributed with confidence to Palaiologan craftsmen.

No ivories are listed in preserved wills and very few in monastic INVENTORIES and TYPIKA. Nothing is known of modes of production. Since the corpus of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, pieces dated to the 10th and 11th C. have been divided into five groups, supposed to be the products of different ateliers, but there is no basis on which to assume the existence of workshops in this medium

other than the fact that craft practices were transmitted to successive generations. That ivory workers also carved bone and STEATITE is a more plausible hypothesis, given the technical, iconographical, and formal resemblance between products in these three media. A late reference to ivory is made by Anna Komnene (*An.Komn.* 1:112.21f) who compares the grace of her mother's hands to ivory carved by some artificer. For this workman she uses the generic term *technites*, whereas in late antiquity this craft had been practiced by specialists known as *elephantourgoi*.

LIT. W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz 1976). A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1930–34; rp. 1979). A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory* (Washington, D.C., 1985). J.-P. Caillet, "L'origine des derniers ivoires antiques," *Revue de l'Art* 72 (1986) 7–15. —A.C.

IZBORNIKI (lit. "Selections") of 1073 and 1076, the two earliest extant dated nonliturgical MSS from Rus'; also known as the *Izborniki of Svjatoslav* (i.e., Jaroslavič of Kiev, 1073–76) from the eulogy in the 1073 MS and the colophon in the 1076 MS. The 1073 *Izbornik* (Moscow, Hist. Mus. Sinod. Sobr. 1043) contains a translation of a Greek FLORILEGIUM close to that of Vat. gr. 423 and Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 120. The 1073 MS is one of more than 20 MSS of this translation. The core of the work is a version of the *Erotapokrisis* ascribed to ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. This is flanked by briefer theological, rhetorical, and chronological articles by, for example, Michael Synkellos, Theodore of Raithou, George Choiroboskos, and Patr. Nikephoros I. Its prototype was Bulgarian: the *enkomion* to Svjatoslav was originally addressed to Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA (but cf. L.P. Žukovskaja, ed., *Drevnerusskij literaturnyj jazyk v ego otnošenii k staroslavjanskemu* [Moscow 1987] 45–62).

The 1076 *Izbornik* (Leningrad, Publ. Lib., Soobranie Ermitažnoe 20) is the only complete MS of its type and does not reflect an equivalent Byz. *florilegium*. Rather it contains extracts from previous Slavonic translations, at least in part via previous Slavonic compilations (including passages from the *florilegium* represented in the 1073 *Izbornik*). In character it is gnomic and hortatory, with substantial segments of, for example, *Ecclasiasticus*, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Gennadios I, the *Sententiae* ascribed to HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM, JOHN KLIMAX, AGAPETOS, and APO-



PHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Some of its sources are unidentified, and its provenance—Kievan or Bulgarian—is disputed.

ED. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda. Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow 1983). *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1965).

LIT. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.*, ed. B.A. Rybakov (Moscow 1977). H.G. Lunt, "On the *Izbornik* of 1073," in *Okeanos* 359–76. W.R. Veder, "The *Izbornik* of John the *Sinner*," in *Polata künigopis'naja* 8 (June 1983) 15–37.

—S.C.F.

**IZMARAGD** (from Gr. *σμάραγδος*, "emerald"), a compendium of ethical instruction compiled in Rus', probably in the early 14th C., initially in 88 chapters. The precepts in *Izmaragd*, aimed mainly at laymen and priests, concern the life of a Christian in society: marriage, work, relations with authority, charity, and the blessings derived from reading. The sources of *Izmaragd* overlap with those of other Slavonic compilations (the *IZBOR-*

*NIKI* of 1073 and 1076, *ZLATOSTRUJ*, *Zlatoust*) and include translated extracts from pseudo-Chrysostom, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Genadios I, the *Pandektes* of ANTIOCHOS and of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, pseudo-Athanasios, *Ecclesiasticus*, the vita of Niphon of Constantia, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. *Izmaragd* also contains works ascribed to KIRILL of TUROV, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, and SERAPION OF VLADIMIR. A second version in 165 chapters probably dates from the late 15th C. It draws on a similar range of sources (though only 50 chapters are borrowed directly from the first version), with additional material from PALLADIOS, John MOSCHOS, and the *Dilogues* of GREGORY I THE GREAT.

LIT. V.A. Jakovlev, *K literaturnoj istorii drevnerusskich sbornikov. Opyt izslédovanija "Izmaragda"* (Odessa 1893; rp. Leipzig 1974). V.P. Adrianova-Perec, "K voprosu o krugé čtenija drevnerusskogo pisatelja," *TODRL* 28 (1974) 3–29. O.V. Tvorogov, "Izmaragd," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 249–53. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:36–112.

—S.C.F.

**JABALA**, the first attested GHASSĀNID chief in the service of Byz.; died ca.528. Around 500 he appeared as a warrior in occupation of the island of Iotabe, which had been captured in the reign of Leo I by AMORKESOS. After hard-fought battles, Romanos, the energetic *doux* of Palestine, was able to force Jabala out of Iotabe and restore Byz. rule. In the general settlement with the Arab tribes who attacked the frontier, Anastasios I concluded a peace with the Ghassānids in 502 that made them the dominant federate group in Oriens. Jabala remained the principal figure in Byz.-Arab relations for another quarter of a century. The Ghassānids became staunch Monophysites, a fact reflected in the appearance of the Monophysite firebrand Simeon of Beth-Arsham at Jabala's camp in Jābiya ca.520, invoking the extension of aid to the Christians of NAJRĀN and South Arabia. Jabala probably died at the battle of Thanuris (528) while fighting in the Byz. army against the Persians.

LIT. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran* (Brussels 1971) 272–76.

—I.A.Sh.

**JACOB BARADAEUS** (*Βαραδαῖος*, Syr. Burde'ana, "man in ragged clothes"), Monophysite bishop of Edessa (from 542/3); born Tella, Osrhoene, ca.500, died Kasion, near the Syro-Egyptian frontier, 30 July 578. He was the organizer of the Monophysite church, called JACOBITE after him. In 527/8 the monk Jacob went to Constantinople, where he became a favorite of the empress Theodora and also gained the support of the Arab chieftain Hārith ibn-Jabala (ARETHAS). When Ephraim of Antioch (527–45) launched a severe attack against the Monophysites, Theodora urged Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, to consecrate two bishops in Syria to counterbalance Ephraim's activities—Theodore in Bostra and Jacob in Edessa (542/3).

According to John of Ephesus (PO 19:154), Jacob's diocese extended over most of the East, where the Monophysite cause had been severely weakened by Justinian's persecution. Jacob was

tireless in his missionary activity, appointing Monophysite bishops in many cities, including Chios, Ephesus, and Antioch. Although much of his work was in Asia Minor and along the coasts of the Mediterranean, most of the bishops were drawn from Syrian monasteries, giving the Monophysite hierarchy a distinctly Syrian character. Justinian attempted to arrest Jacob, but he was frequently in disguise (hence his sobriquet) and was never caught. Some of Jacob's letters, written originally in Greek, have survived in Syriac.

ED. See *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 7170–99.

LIT. H.G. Kley, *Jacobus Baradaeus de stichter der syrische monophysitische kerk* (Leiden 1882). D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research," *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45–86. E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (Louvain 1951) 157–245. A. van Roey in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:339–60.

—T.E.G.

**JACOBITES**, Syrian MONOPHYSITES, followers of JACOB BARADAEUS. Although Monophysitism had individual followers from the time of the Council of CHALCEDON, the movement was not given firm institutional form until the missionary activity of Jacob Baradaeus beginning ca.542. The Jacobite church traced its roots to Patr. Theodosios of Alexandria (535–66), who consecrated Jacob. Although many Jacobite churches were established in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, the hierarchy of the church was made up largely of Syrian monks who brought with them their language and spiritual ideals. Jacobite missionaries spread their teachings as far as Persia, but their real centers were the villages and monasteries of Syria, and many bishops lived in desert monasteries rather than cities. The Jacobite church survived the Persian and Islamic conquests, although with decreased numbers, into modern times.

LIT. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 285–87, 318–20, 326. S.P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1955).

—T.E.G.

**JACOB OF SARUG** (or Serugh), Syriac poet and theologian; born Curtam, near Sarug on the Euphrates, ca.451, died Batnan 29<sup>?</sup> Nov. 521. Edu-

cated in the Nestorian school of Edessa, he nevertheless became a follower of CYRIL of Alexandria. He served as *chorepiskopos* in the district of Sarug and in 519 was elected bishop of Batnan. Jacob's religious creed was attacked by his contemporaries: Nestorian chroniclers characterized him as a turncoat who accepted the beliefs of the ruling emperor (P. Krüger, *OstSt* 13 [1964] 15–32); an anonymous Monophysite accused Jacob of falling at the end of his life into a horrible heresy, that is, the creed of Chalcedon (P. Krüger in *Wegzeichen* [Würzburg 1971] 245–52). In his works Jacob did not follow the final formula of Chalcedon but taught that the incarnate Christ was "one nature out of two."

A prolific author, Jacob left homilies in prose and verse as well as numerous letters; not all of these have survived. He interpreted Scripture in an allegorical or typological manner: Moses had to place a veil over his face after the Theophany on Mt. Sinai because the Israelites were not mature enough to receive the divine truth; it was removed, according to Jacob, after the Incarnation that allowed the world to see the Son of God openly (S. Brock, *Sobornost* 3 [1981] 70–85). The theme of the Incarnation attracted Jacob: he perceived it symbolically as "three wombs": Mary's womb, the womb of the Jordan (baptism), and the womb of Sheol (death, or the baptism on the cross), and discovered the prefigurations of these baptisms in the Old and New Testaments (S. Brock, *OrChrAn* 205 [1976] 325–47). A man of Christian culture, Jacob strongly opposed any remnants of classical civilization and sharply criticized theatrical performances (W. Cramer, *JbAChr* 23 [1980] 96–107).

ED. *Homiliae Selectae*, ed. P. Bedjan, 5 vols. (Paris 1905–10). *Six homélies festales en prose*, ed. F. Rilliet (Turnhout-Brepols 1986). *Epistulae*, ed. G. Olinder [= *CSCO, Scriptores Syri*, 57] (Paris 1937).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 4 vols. (Louvain 1973–80). T. Jansma, "Die Christologie Jakobs von Serugh," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 5–46. P. Peeters, "Jacques de Saroug, appartient-il à la secte monophysite?" *AB* 66 (1948) 134–98. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 113–41. —T.E.G.

**JACOB'S LADDER**, a ladder ascending to heaven seen by the Hebrew patriarch Jacob during his dream (Gen 28:10–22). John Chrysostom (PG 59:454–55), Theodoret of Cyrillus (*Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Mol-

inghen, vol. 2 [Paris 1979] 216, ch.27.1.4–5), and others interpreted it as a metaphor for the ascent to God. As an image for the Virgin, it figures in the AKATHISTOS HYMN; the biblical account was read at the Great Feasts of the Virgin (Birth, Annunciation, Dormition).

**Representation in Art.** The ladder was illustrated already by the 4th C., for example, at Dura Europos and the Via Latina catacomb, and appears in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and the OCTATEUCHS. It was the explicit model for illustrations to the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, and icons based on this text. Jacob is shown ascending the ladder on the Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), depicting the ascent to God rather than the details of the Old Testament account. In Palaiologan painting (e.g., in the CHORA) the ladder appears as a prefiguration of the Virgin (S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:334–36).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:519–25. C.M. Kauffmann, *LCI* 2:370–83. M. Putscher, "Die Himmelsleiter. Verwandlung eines Traums in der Geschichte," *Clio medica* 13.1 (1978) 13–37. —J.H.L., C.B.T.

**JAMES** (Ἰάκωβος). Three individuals named James were associated with Jesus; as a result there has been confusion over their identities. (1) The apostle James Major ("the Great"), the son of Zebedee, was the elder brother of the apostle JOHN; he preached in Palestine, was beheaded, and was commemorated on 15 Nov. and 30 Apr. (2) The apostle James Minor ("the Less"), son of Alphaeus, was martyred by clubbing and was commemorated on 9 Oct. (3) James, the "brother of the Lord" (*adelphotheos*), was Christ's half-brother. He became the first bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred when the Jews pulled him from the height of the Temple, and was commemorated on 23 Oct. The last two Jameses are sometimes conflated.

The Epistle of St. James in the New Testament is usually attributed to James *adelphotheos*; John Chrysostom wrote a commentary on this epistle (PG 64:1039–52). Several other works were ascribed to this James: the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, a homily on the Dormition (actually a compilation of JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike [M. Jugie, *PO* 19 (1926) 344–438]), and a dialogue with John the Theologian on the departure of the soul (*Anecdota graeco-byzantina* [Moscow 1893],

ed. A. Vassiliev, 317–22). The ancient liturgy of St. James is also traditionally ascribed to the brother of the Lord. James was praised by various authors, including Andrew of Crete, Hippolytos of Thebes, and Niketas Paphlagon. The center of his cult in Constantinople was the Church of the Virgin Mary in Chalkoprateia.

**Representation in Art.** James the *adelphotheos*, although not an apostle, was conflated with them in artistic representations: James Major and James Minor often wear his episcopal robes, and his white hair sometimes replaces their brown hair. The figure of James Major—known with his brother, John, as "thunder-voiced"—illustrates Psalm 76:19 in several marginal PSALTERS; here, as in the scene of their calling, both are beardless youths. In the scene of the TRANSFIGURATION, James Major is brown-haired; it is as a mature man with brown hair and beard that he is shown preaching at Psalm 19 in the marginal Psalters and at his martyrdom in a MS in Paris (B.N. gr. 102—H. Kessler, *DOP* 27 [1973] pl.1).

LIT. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 2.2 (Braunschweig 1883–84) 201–57. F. Halkin, "Une notice byzantine de l'apôtre saint Jacques, frère de saint Jean," *Biblica* 64 (1983) 565–70. *BHG* 763y–766i. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

**JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS** (an unidentified monastery), the author, probably of the 12th C., of six homilies on the Virgin. Nothing is known of his life. A. Kirpičnikov (*Letopis'* 2 [1892] 255–80) identified him with another James, the author of letters addressed to the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE; this identification remains debatable. The homilies are devoted to the life of the Virgin from her conception to her visitation with Elizabeth. They are preserved in two deluxe MSS, Paris, B.N. gr. 1208 and Vat. gr. 1162, probably from the second quarter of the 12th C., which were profusely illustrated by the major atelier then active in Constantinople. Their numerous INITIALS, both floral and zoomorphic, and their elaborate HEADPIECES are hallmarks of this atelier, which also produced the CODEX EBNERIANUS.

ED. PG 127:543–700.

LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: The Monk Iakovos," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 63–71. J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *DOP* 36 (1982) 83–114. Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339." —R.S.N., A.K.

**JANISSARIES** (γιανιτσαροι). According to the traditional etymology, a term deriving from the Turkish *yeni çeri*, "new army," which was the OTTOMAN sultan's personal army or Kapıkulları (lit. "slaves of the Porte"), the troops of the palace. The army of the Janissaries was the result of the *devshirme* (Turk. "collection, recruiting"), an Ottoman institution, namely the periodical levy of Christian boys living within the sultan's territories (*dhimmi*) for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries and later to enter palace service or the administration. The same term is used in the earliest Ottoman sources with the meaning of *pencik*, that is, the collection of the fifth part of the prisoners, an old Islamic institution, called by the Byz. πέμπτον (Kantakouzenos) or πενταμορία (Chalkokondyles) and by the Latins *pendameria* (Veneto-Cretan text of 1402). The earliest reference to the *devshirme* as an institution applied to the sultan's subjects appears in the Life of St. PHILOTHEOS OF ATHOS, apparently composed in the second half of the 14th C. (B. Papoulia, *SüdostF* 22 [1963] 259–80), and in a sermon of Isidore GLABAS, metropolitan of Thessalonike, delivered in 1395 (S. Vryonis, *Speculum* 31 [1956] 433–43). The Greek term *gianitzaroi* also designated the Christian guards of the Byz. emperor ca.1437. In that case it probably constituted the Greek rendering of the Latin or neo-Latin *ginetari*, *gianetario*, *janizzeri*, etc.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:110f, 113. G.T. Den- nis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. V.L. Ménage, *ET* 2:210–13. Idem, "Some Notes on the Devshirme," *BSOAS* 29 (1966) 64–78. E.A. Zachariadou, "Les 'janissaires' de l'empereur byzantin," in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata* (Naples 1982) 591–97. —E.A.Z.

**JARMĪ, AL-**, more fully Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī, Arab official and warrior who wrote books on Byz. based on information obtained as a prisoner of war; fl. 9th C. His biography is only known from al-Mas'ūdī, who describes him as an eminent man in the Arab-Byz. frontier region. He was captured by the Byz. ca.837 and was released in 845. His writings on Byz. are now lost. They were used by IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-Mas'ūdī (and probably ibn al-Faḡh, ca.900). According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih* 191), al-Jarmī was well informed on Byz. His writings dealt with historical, political, administrative, topographical,

and strategic matters as well as the northern neighbors of Byz. Al-Jarmi's description of Byz. THEMES and other aspects of the Byz. army and administration are extremely accurate and detailed, forming the core of practically all such accounts in Arab geographers. Of special importance are his descriptions of routes into Byz. Asia Minor and practical instructions on the suitable times for raids into Byz. territory.

LIT. W. Treadgold, "Remarks on the Work of Al-Jarmi on Byzantium," *BS* 44 (1983) 205-12. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Garmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18-29. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xviii, 2:391-95. A. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ûdi and His World* (London 1979) 234. -A.Sh., A.M.T.

**JAROSLAV** (Ἰεροσθλάβος), prince of Kiev; son of VLADIMIR I of Kiev; baptismal name George; born 978, died Kiev 20 Feb. 1054. Victorious in his war for the succession, Jaroslav became the ruler of all Rus' in 1036. In 1037 he began to construct the new city of Kiev on the Constantinopolitan pattern, with its own "Golden Gate" and stone churches. The Cathedral of St. Sophia (see KIEV) contains a fragmentary fresco of the founder Jaroslav and his family. His victory over the PECHENEGS turned their main raids toward the DANUBE and the Byz. provinces. In 1043 he sent a naval expedition of about 400 vessels and up to 20,000 men against Constantinople; defeated in the Bosporos by the Byz. general THEOPHANES, the fleet returned home with serious losses. Six thousand warriors lost their boats, but reached shore and were taken prisoner; many were blinded. The attack on Constantinople can be seen as either a belated attempt to support George MANIAKES or a trade conflict. The peace treaty of 1046 restored the alliance, sealed by the marriage of Constantine IX's daughter to Jaroslav's son, VSEVOLOD.

In 1051, after Jaroslav nominated ILARION as metropolitan of Kiev, the bishops of the Russian eparchy elected and consecrated him, basing their action on the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES. Although they ignored the designative and consecratory rights of the patriarch of Constantinople, Byz. jurisdiction itself was not in question since, no later than 1054, a Greek named Ephraim who bore the title of *protoproedros ton protosynkellon* was metropolitan of Kiev.

LIT. Shepard, "Russians Attack." Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pts.IV (1981), 15-66; V (1972), 5-31. -An.P.

**JEREMIAH** (Ἰερεμίας), one of the four great PROPHETS, also considered to be the author of the Old Testament Book of Lamentations; feastday 1 May or 4 Nov. (Halkin, *infra* 111). ORIGEN wrote commentaries on both books (Jeremiah and Lamentations), offering an allegorical rather than a "historical" interpretation; thus in some cases (e.g., *Werke* 3<sup>2</sup> [1983] 5.8) he discarded the exegesis of Jeremiah as a reference to Christ and insisted on explaining his words as allusions to mankind's moral infamy. After John Chrysostom and esp. Theodoret of Cyrhus, the image of Jeremiah as prophet of Christ's advent became entrenched in Byz. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the imperial *Menologion* of the 11th C. (Halkin, *infra*) have Jeremiah announce to the Egyptian priests the fall of their idols and the birth of the Savior in the manger. Byz. legend ascribed to Jeremiah a miraculous power to expel asps (identified as crocodiles). He is described as a short man with a sharp-pointed beard. His memory was celebrated in the Church of Apostle Peter, near Hagia Sophia (Janin, *Églises CP* 398).

**Representation in Art.** Images of Jeremiah are found principally among the prophets in monumental art and in the PROPHET BOOKS. The depiction of Jeremiah with long dark hair and beard in Florence Laur. 5.9 (late 10th C.) is one of the most monumental images of Byz. illumination, but his book offered little to the repertoire of narrative iconography, even in contexts such as the *Sacra Parallela*.

LIT. BHG 777-79. Y. Congar, "Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna (Jér. 1.10) 'in Geschichte und Gegenwart,'" in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich 1957) 671-96. F. Halkin, "Le prophète 'saint' Jérémie dans le ménologe impérial byzantin," *Biblica* 65 (1984) 111-16. A. Heilmann, *LCI* 2:387-92. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* (Wiesbaden 1979) 45.

-J.L., J.H.L., A.K.

**JERICHO** (Ἰεριχώ, Hebr. Yeriho), ancient city in the southern Jordan Valley that flourished during the late Roman period: the MADABA MOSAIC MAP represents it with ramparts, gates, and palm trees. By 325 Jericho was a bishopric. After the earthquake of 551 Justinian I ordered the repair of its churches of Elisha and the Virgin; the latter is identified as a large 6th-C. basilica uncovered at Tell Hassan. The remains of successive churches of the 4th-9th C. were discovered at Khirbat en-Nitla, as well as an 8th-C. synagogue. The city became a monastic center, with a hospital and

several hospices; a mosaic floor with a Nestorian inscription was found. Among the city's attractions for pilgrims was Elisha's spring.

Jericho was destroyed by Persian and Arab invasions and became a village: John PHOKAS (ch.20) describes the area as countryside covered with gardens and vineyards, but Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.280-87) saw only a stifling sandy valley. The Crusaders built a castle and Church of the Trinity at Jericho.

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:359f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 928. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 160. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 72-75. EAEHL 2:570-75. -G.V., Z.U.M.

**JEROME**, more fully Eusebius Hieronymus, biblical exegete and translator, saint; born Stridon in Dalmatia 331 (Kelly) or ca.348, died Bethlehem 30 Sept. 420. Jerome was early exposed to both classical and Christian culture at Rome, being baptized and studying under the scholar Donatus. Years of travel and asceticism in the West and East followed. He learned Hebrew as a hermit in the Syrian desert. Jerome was ordained at Antioch, where he studied Greek and heard APOLLINARIS lecture. A visit to Constantinople in 381 acquainted him with GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Back in Rome he became secretary to Pope Damasus (366-384), also functioning as spiritual and worldly adviser to wealthy Roman ladies, such as MELANIA THE YOUNGER. After the death of Damasus, renewed travels ended at BETHLEHEM where he ruled a newly founded monastery and devoted himself to scholarship.

Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin (Vulgate) is preeminent among his writings. Voluminous biblical commentaries are enriched by the secular learning brought to bear on sacred texts. Equally important for his contemporaries were his *De viris illustribus* (On Famous Men) of 392, a catalog of 135 Christian authors, both Greek and Latin, from St. Peter to himself, and his Latin paraphrase and expansion of the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, a world history from the birth of Abraham to 325, with much emphasis on chronology and synchronization of events. His many letters mirror the social and intellectual life of the times. He also wrote vituperative attacks on heresies and heretics, the fruit of his passionate involvement against Arianism, Origenism, and Pelagianism. Jerome's famous dream, in which God invited him to choose between Cicero and

Christianity, crystallizes the dilemma of how to reconcile the old Roman culture with the new Christian religion.

ED. PL 22-30. *Opera*, ed. G. Morin, P. Antin, 2 vols. (Turnhout 1958-59). *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R.W.O. Helm (Berlin 1956). *Hieronymus liber De viris illustribus*, ed. E.C. Richardson (Leipzig 1896). *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. F.A. Wright (London-New York 1933), with Eng. tr. *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*, tr. M.L. Ewald, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1964-66). *Saint Jerome, Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, tr. J.N. Hritzu (Washington, D.C., 1965).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: his Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London 1975). K. Sugano, *Das Rombild des Hieronymus* (Frankfurt 1983). D.S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964). A.S. Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *TAPA* 50 (1919) 150-67.

-B.B.

**JERUSALEM** (Ἱεροσόλυμα), the present Old City, lies near the summit of the Judaeian Hills on a pair of rocky spurs sloping south toward the junction of two valleys, the Hinnom (Gehenna) to the west and south and the Kidron (Valley of Jehosaphat) to the east. The eastern spur includes the ancient Temple Mount, now the Haram al-Sharif. The broader and higher western spur, in antiquity nearly bisected by a transverse valley, terminates in Mt. SION (Zion), towering above the Hinnom Valley.

In the late Roman period Jerusalem retained the plan and the name of Aelia Capitolina, a Roman colony founded by Hadrian between 130 and 135. On the existing street grid Hadrian had imposed two monumental colonnaded streets, one leading south from the main north gate (the present Damascus gate) along the western spur, and the other descending the Tyropoean Valley between the two spurs. The Temple Mount lay in ruins, and Aelia's principal temple, to Capitoline Jupiter, dominated the city from the higher western spur, adjacent to the colonnaded street. To the south of the temple opened the city's forum, part of it over the transverse valley, which Hadrian had filled in to provide the needed space. Another major street, perhaps not colonnaded, extended from the main west gate (now the Jaffa gate) east across the western spur and the Tyropoean Valley to the Temple Mount.

Roman Aelia's small Christian community had venerated caves in Bethlehem 9 km to the south, and at Gethsemane and on the Mount of Olives just east of the city. Outside the walls stood a house church and a small suburban community on Mt. Sion. The Christians played no role in the



city, of which the empire's Christians were scarcely aware.

This changed dramatically in 326 when, according to tradition, HELENA reached Jerusalem. The year before, Bp. Makarios of Jerusalem had secured permission from Constantine I at the Council of NICAIA to destroy the Capitoline temple. While removing the foundations, in Helena's presence, workmen uncovered an empty tomb which was identified as that of Christ. A rock nearby was taken to be Golgotha. This discovery created a sensation among Christians and quickly stimulated PILGRIMAGE from as far away as the western provinces. Constantine ordered a basilica (which became the city's episcopal see) constructed just to the east of the tomb.

Retaining its Roman plan, Aelia now became a Christian city and, in common parlance, was once again called Jerusalem or "the Holy City." An outpouring of public and private wealth gave the city's topography a Christian appearance. Besides the complex surrounding the Holy SEPULCHRE, Constantine built the Eleona church on the MOUNT OF OLIVES and a great basilica in BETHLEHEM. By the end of the 4th C. the Roman noblewoman Poimonia had financed the Ascension Church (Imbomon) near the Eleona, and unknown benefactors the Church of the Apostles on Mt. Sion and a church in Gethsemane. Bishops such as CYRIL of Jerusalem became the most powerful men in the city.

Constantine enforced Hadrian's edict excluding Jews from Jerusalem but permitted them entrance to mourn the destruction of the Temple—in Christian eyes salutary proof of Christianity's triumph. With similar symbolism but opposite intentions, Julian the Apostate lifted the Hadrianic ban and resolved to rebuild the Jewish Temple. Work began in 362/3 but was soon suspended. Christian pilgrims to the Temple Mount were shown the bloodstains of Zacharias there (*Proto-evangelion of James* 23.2–3) as well as the standing Herodian retaining walls (of considerable height) and the various underground chambers said to belong to Solomon's palace.

By the end of the 4th C., virtually the entire pagan population had embraced the victorious faith. By 381–84, when EGERIA visited Jerusalem, asceticism had struck root, and monks and consecrated virgins, many from abroad, formed an important part of the populace. Mainly Western

ascetic communities existed on the Mount of Olives by 375, and a decade later St. JEROME and his protégé Paula founded rival monasteries in Bethlehem. Immigrant ascetics like MELANIA THE YOUNGER helped the city's economy with generous endowments to churches, monasteries, and XENODOCHEIA.

Like PALESTINE as a whole, Jerusalem profited from traffic in RELICS. Rich in ordinary "blessings" (see EULOGIA), Jerusalem also possessed the wood of the TRUE CROSS; bits of it, acquired for a price, or stolen, or given as presents, soon made their way across Christendom. Similarly, Bp. JOHN II of Jerusalem took control of the relics of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which came to light in 415. In 420 or 421 John's successor dispatched Stephen's right arm to Constantinople, in return for which Theodosios II sent money to Jerusalem and dedicated a gem-encrusted cross on Golgotha.

Melania influenced ATHENAIIS-EUDOKIA, consort of Theodosios, who first came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage in 438/9 and then, exiled from the court, settled permanently (ca. 443–60). Eudokia endowed monasteries, founded hostels for pilgrims and the poor, and built churches to the Virgin at Siloam—on the south flank of Jerusalem's eastern spur—and perhaps at the Sheep Pool, the latter commemorating Mary's birth. Eudokia's Basilica of St. Stephen, north of the city, remained the largest church for a century. Above all, the exiled empress built a new fortification wall whose defensive perimeter finally incorporated Mt. Sion and the southern suburbs as far as Siloam. In the mid-5th C., Jerusalem reached a pinnacle of population and wealth unequaled since the Herodian period. Despite this, CAESAREA MARITIMA held primacy among the sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF).

After Constantine and Eudokia, Justinian I ranks as Jerusalem's third imperial benefactor. He built the Nea Ekklesia of Mary Theotokos, the city's largest church, and extended the main colonnaded street south to its west façade. This completed the urban plan of Jerusalem as depicted on the MADABA MOSAIC MAP.

In 614 the Persians besieged and captured Jerusalem with heavy destruction and loss of life, gave the city over to the Jews, and carried off the True Cross (*Expugnatio Hierosolymae AD 614 re-*

*censiones arabicae*, ed. G. Garitte, 2 vols. [Louvain 1974]). Herakleios forced the Persians to withdraw; the return of the city's talisman is variously dated to 629, 630, and 631 (V. Grumel suggests 21 March 631 [ByzF 1 (1966) 139–49]); within the decade, however, Jerusalem fell to the Arabs. About March 638, after a long siege, Patr. SOPHRONIOS surrendered Jerusalem to the Caliph 'Umar, who refrained from praying at the Lord's Tomb and thus preserved the site for Christianity. The Muslims, who likewise called Jerusalem "the Holy City" (al-Quds), built their shrines, the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque, on the Temple Mount. Christian pilgrimage continued on a smaller scale. In 1009 the mad Fātimid caliph al-Hākim leveled the Holy Sepulchre, but Constantine IX soon restored it (R. Ousterhout, *JSAH* 48 [1989] 66–78).

The Crusaders entered Jerusalem in 1099 and established the Kingdom of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF). Europeans ruled the city from 1099 to 1187 and from 1229 to 1243, gave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre its present form and built the Gothic Church of St. Anne. They turned the Dome of the Rock temporarily into a church, the *Templum Domini*, and the knightly Order of Templars established itself in al-Aqsa. Despite subsequent rebuilding, the Old City today retains the urban plan of the Roman and Byz. periods.

In art, biblical exegesis, and theology a celestial Jerusalem paralleled and sometimes reflected the terrestrial city. Conforming to biblical prophecies about Jerusalem, this conception became an archetype of the human soul, of the Christian church, and of individual church buildings. It provided an image of paradise, as in Revelations 21–22 and the 10th-C. vision of the Monk Kosmas (*Synax.CP* 111–14), where the heavenly city with golden streets and a palace could equally be Constantinople, sometimes called by the Byz. the New Jerusalem.

**Pilgrimage Sites.** In addition to the Holy Sepulchre, six sites in Jerusalem were of special interest to pilgrims.

1. The *House of Caiaphas*, where part of Jesus' trial took place and Peter denied him (Mt 26:57–75), was east of Mt. Sion. Peter's repentance (Mt 26:75) was remembered there in the early stationary liturgy of Holy Thursday. By the 6th C. at the latest, a church of St. Peter replaced "ruins"

of at least the house and continued to be a focus of interest through the Latin Kingdom.

2. The *Garden of Gethsemane*, just east of the city, was the site where Jesus prayed (Mk 14:32–42) and was betrayed by Judas (Mk 14:43–50). Early pilgrims used Gethsemane as a place of prayer. By the late 4th C. a church was built there; probably the earthquake of 746 destroyed it. Sources refer to a rock or a cave of the betrayal. The BREVIARIUS, Patr. Eutychios of Constantinople, and the PIACENZA PILGRIM held that Jesus had a supper at Gethsemane; Eutychios distinguishes this "first supper" from the "second" meal at Bethany (Jn 12:2) and the "third," that is, the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER). A certain Theodosius set the WASHING OF THE FEET at Gethsemane, which was also identified with the tomb of the Virgin's DORMITION.

3. The *Praetorium*, or residence of Pontius Pilate (Mk 15:16), was in fact in the area of the Tower of David, but the place pointed out to Byz. pilgrims was in the Tyropoean Valley. A church existed there from the mid-5th C., decorated perhaps with murals depicting the narrative of Mark 15:16–20. From the 6th C., pilgrims were shown the stone (with footprints) upon which Christ stood during his trial, Pilate's seat, and a portrait of Christ.

4. The *Sheep Pool* (pool of Bethesda, John 5:2) was located near the east gate of the city. Excavations have shown that the site was originally a pagan healing shrine; porticoes enclosed its two pools during the Roman period. By the mid-5th C. a "Church of the Sheep Pool" was on the spot, with a courtyard overhanging the pools. It was the LOCUS SANCTUS not only of the healing of the paralytic (and preserved his couch), but also of the birth of the Virgin.

5. *Siloam* was a pool on the south side of the city where Jesus sent the blind man to wash and be healed (John 9:7). A traditional healing shrine, it was enclosed by a square colonnade in Roman times, and, in the 5th C., marked by a church that attracted the sick (PIACENZA PILGRIM, *Travels* 24) seeking the EULOGIA of the waters. Remains of both stages have been found by excavation.

6. The *Tower of David*, on the site of the present Citadel, is portrayed on the Madaba mosaic map as two towers to the right of the west entrance to the city. The name was applied generally to the originally three-towered fortress built there

by Herod the Great, where Byz. pilgrims believed David had composed or recited the Psalms.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*. H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jerusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. in 4 (Paris 1912-26). N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983) 205-46. —K.G.H., G.V.

**JERUSALEM, ASSIZES OF**, designation given to a group of treatises, chiefly of the 13th C., which record the procedures, customs, and laws of the kingdom of JERUSALEM; some of the royal laws ("assizes") incorporated data from the 12th C. The principal group of treatises, composed in Old French by Jean d'Ibelin and others, relates to the usages of the High Court of the kingdom, which judged cases involving the king and his barons. These represent Western feudal law, interpreted by the baronial jurists so as to weaken royal power. A second, smaller group of treatises records the practices of the Court of Burgesses, esp. that at ACRE, which tried cases involving nonnobles, chiefly merchants. Of these latter treatises, the *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* was strongly influenced by a Provençal compilation ultimately deriving from the CODEX THEODOSIANUS. Because these codifications continued in use on Cyprus, parts of them were translated into Greek for the benefit of the formerly Byz. inhabitants. Jean d'Ibelin's treatise influenced the Assizes of ROMANIA.

ED. French—RHC *Lois*. Greek—Sathas, *MB* 6.

LIT. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277* (London 1973) 121-84. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980) 343-468. —C.M.B.

**JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF**, Crusader state that existed from 1100 to 1187. Following the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the kingdom was established with the coronation of Baldwin I, 25 Dec. 1100. Its kings claimed suzerainty over other Crusader leaders, the princes of ANTIOCH and the counts of EDESSA and TRIPOLI. While Byz. claimed sovereignty over some Crusader states in Syria-Palestine, only in the reign of Manuel I was an effort made to assert supremacy over the kingdom. In order to secure assistance against Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, BALDWIN III and AMALRIC I sought an alliance with Manuel. The latter's patronage at Bethlehem is commemorated by the mosaicist EPHRAIM in a Greek

inscription (1169). But Byz. exercised no real sovereignty over the kingdom. Initially, the Greek Christians of Palestine accepted Crusader rule. By 1187, however, those in Jerusalem were sufficiently alienated to be willing to help Saladin take the city (2 Oct. 1187). After the Third Crusade, the kingdom was reestablished at ACRE.

LIT. J.L. La Monte, "To What Extent Was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States?" *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 253-64. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Prawer, *Royaume latin*, vol. 1. —C.M.B., A.C.

**JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF**. The see's prestige, as the original mother church of Christendom, was first formally recognized at NICAEA I (canon 7). The extensive building program and support of the emperors, beginning with CONSTANTINE I, were crucial in its eventual rise to patriarchal status. Despite Nicaea's acknowledgment, however, its incumbents remained subject to the metropolitan see of CAESAREA MARITIMA (under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH), which had precedence as the capital of the administrative province of Palestina Prima. Finally, at the Council of CHALCEDON, Jerusalem was ranked fifth as an independent patriarchate with power of jurisdiction over the three provinces of Palestine: Caesarea, Skythopolis, and Petra (cf. S. Vailhé, *ROC* 4 [1899] 44-57), comprising 59 bishoprics. The skillful diplomacy of Patr. JUVENAL was largely responsible for this change. Still, the new patriarchate never became a force in church politics or achieved the prominence of the other major sees. Its decline began with the Persian attack on the city (614) and its conquest by the Arabs (638), when most of the bishoprics disappeared. Vacancies, as in the other patriarchates under Muslim rule, were frequent, although in 1027 an agreement with the caliph allowed the installation of imperial candidates. Jerusalem kept direct relations with Rome, and, during and after the events of 1054, was not automatically anti-Latin. Nonetheless, with the arrival of the Crusades and the establishment of a rival LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM, relations with the Latins gradually deteriorated. Many of the patriarchs during this period lived as exiles in Constantinople.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym*. G. Fedalto, "Liste vescovi del patriarcato di Gerusalemme I. Gerusalemme e Pa-

lestina prima," *OrChrP* 49 (1983) 5-41. A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054-1090)* (Rome 1939). —A.P.

**JESSE, TREE OF**. See TREE OF JESSE.

**JESUS PRAYER**. See HESYCHASM.

**JEWELER**. The Byz. distinguished the goldsmith (*chrysochoos*) from the silversmith (*argyrokopos*) (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:225, 228). Often they used the word *chrysochoos* in the broad sense of a jeweler, for example, *chrysochooi* were ordered to make crowns (Kantak. 2:564.12-13). Sometimes (as in *TheophCont* 450.17-19) a clear distinction is made between craftsmen working in gold (*chrysostiktai*) and those working in silver (*argyrokopoi*). In the vita of Theodore of Sykeon, an *argyrokopos* seems to be an individual who sells silver vessels, but employs others to make them.

A passage in John Moschos (PG 87:3088CD) describes the production of JEWELRY and METALWORK in Constantinople: the artisan began his career as an APPRENTICE; after mastering the craft, he worked under the supervision of an *epistates* who directed clients to him. The precious materials were rigorously controlled and the object was weighed before the gems were set in the metal. The prestige of goldsmiths in the 6th C. is shown by their taking precedence over all other merchants and artisans in *adventus* ceremonies (*De cer.* 484.9). Some jewelers were clerics, such as the *argyrokopos* Romylos, a deacon of the church of Gethsemane, who worked in Jerusalem (CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, ed. Schwartz 184.21-23). Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33:349A) describes experienced *chrysochooi* who worked with minute tools and melted gold over a fire, while John TZETZES (*Hist.* 4:887-88) refers to their tiny clay smelting furnaces. He also states that *chrysochooi* made tar models that they then covered with silver or gold.

Some jewelers plied their craft in state workshops under the supervision of the *archon ton chrysochoeion* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:341-43), whom Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) likens to the *chrysoepsetes* mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and other texts. In an edict of 1202 (MM 3:57.27-28) the *archon ton chrysochoeion* is a high-ranking official titled *megalodoxotatos* who was the owner of several houses.

The chapter on the guild of the ARGYROPRATAI in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* refers frequently to *chrysochooi*; the relationship between the two terms is unclear. *Chrysochooi* were specifically prohibited from working in their own houses and had to set up their workshops on the MESE. They were also forbidden to purchase more than one pound of uncoined gold (bullion) at a time. Sjuzjumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 136) considered the *chrysochooi* jewelers and the *argyropatai* inspectors who controlled the sale of precious metals, jewelry, gems, and so forth, while Stöckle thought that the *argyropatai* were both jewelers and inspectors.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20-22. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 6f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 199-202. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 150-53. Sodin, "L'artisanat urbain" 94-97. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 81f. —A.K., A.C.

**JEWELRY** (κόσμος, lit. "ornament"). Byz. jewelry continued Greco-Roman traditions but was also influenced by Eastern decorative and nonfigural types, with an admixture of local elements wherever in the empire it was produced. The forms of objects made by JEWELERS in Rome, Constantinople, Athens, Antioch, or Alexandria thus varied considerably. Byz. jewelry may generally be distinguished by its extensive use of color, usually achieved with GEMS or ENAMELS. In his preface to the best-known medieval handbook on artistic technique, the Western monk Theophilus (ca.1110-40) specifically associates color with the Greeks. This 12th-C. notice is late witness to a tradition reverting to the 3rd or 4th C., when NIELLO seems first to have been applied to gold and silver. But the association of gems and ornament with Byz. in the Western mind persisted at least down to the time when German envoys to Constantinople in 1196 pointed out that they were not "worshippers of ornaments and garments secured by brooches suited only for women" (Nik.Chon. 477.82-83).

Our knowledge of Byz. jewelry comes from examples found in TREASURES, accounts of items that have not survived, and illustrations in mosaics, painting, textiles, metalwork, and MS illumination. The procession of female saints in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, shows matching sets of HAIR ORNAMENT, EARRINGS, NECKLACE, BRACELET, RINGS, and BELT FITTINGS. Gold plaques and gems were sewn on clothing, and antique coins were incorporated into other items



of personal adornment. The importance of precious stones is indicated by their frequent imitation in the borders of miniatures in MSS and on mosaic pavements and wall panels as much as by the jeweled walls in depictions of the heavenly cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and gem-encrusted thrones, crosses, liturgical vessels, and book covers.

Byz. jewelry is further characterized by the extensive use of Christian iconography and sacred objects, worn thus for protection as well as ornament. These pieces could incorporate an inscription or symbol, an image, a cross or Christogram, or be carried in an ENKOLPION, an invention of the Byz. Jewelry was not only an outward symbol of faith or wealth but also served as a badge of office. Special FIBULAE, rings, and belt buckles, awarded by the emperor and often inscribed, indicated status within the civil service or the army. Belisarios rewarded his soldiers with ARMBANDS and TORQUES (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.1.8). Jewelry was also made to adorn and protect animals. FLOOR MOSAICS show race horses wearing jeweled trappings and hunting dogs with gem-studded collars. Apotropaic devices (e.g., ivy leaf, swastika, sunburst, crescent) as well as Christian symbols decorate charms and AMULETS worn by animals.

A great variety of techniques was used in the manufacture of jewelry. Gemstones were mainly polished. They might then be drilled and/or carved as a CAMEO or engraved as a SEAL. Metal might be cast or worked in repoussé, then have added niello, enamel, or engraving, or be cut into OPUS INTERRASILE. It could also be made into a simple wire, which was worked as filigree or drawn through successively smaller holes in a wooden or metal board. This wire was used in fine gold work and incorporated into textiles.

While members of the imperial court adorned themselves with crowns, necklaces, great ropes of pearls, and large gems, ordinary people also had access to the work of jewelers. Their products, known from archaeological excavation, were usually made of gilded bronze imitating gold or had colored glass paste simulating gems in rings and earrings. Bracelets in this category tend to be fairly plain; there are surprisingly few traces of necklaces, with the exception of fragments of chain and ornaments, such as amulets or crosses, that may have been suspended on the chain. Glass bracelets—a form of jewelry probably invented

for the mass market in Roman times or intended as a substitute for ivory or precious metal—were found in large numbers, sometimes in contexts that suggest local manufacture.

Because of the mixture of styles in many pieces, dating is often hard to establish. Gems were often set into a new ring or even recarved. Antique coins included in jewelry provide only a *terminus post quem* for dating. An inscription on an item often helps, as may controlled excavation. Representations of jewelry in datable works of art can also provide a base for comparison.

In very broad, general terms, the evolution of Byz. jewelry was from simple to complex, from light to heavy, from small to large, but these criteria must be applied with care. Earrings started out in the 4th C. as simple hoops and, by the 10th–12th C., were open filigree work with multiple projections in a three-dimensional form. They were complex but light. Bracelets changed from narrow, solid, or cutwork bands to wide, hinged bands, sometimes worked in repoussé. Necklaces developed from simple chains or strands of beads, made of polished and drilled stones and pearls, to more complex forms with multiple hanging elements. Early gold and silver gem-mounts were made in an openwork technique; by the 11th–12th C. they were solid and rather heavy in appearance. In all cases, however, the combination of influences listed above must be studied along with techniques used in cutting stones by wheel or burin, types of enamel, working of metal (e.g., cast, *opus interrasile*, granulation), and methods of working links in a chain. The study of this technology is still at a very early stage. When sufficient context is lacking, as is often the case with “mass-produced” work—the so-called costume jewelry of gilded bronze and glass—one can only try to fit such pieces as far as possible into this general typology.

LIT. T. Hackens, R. Winkes, *Gold Jewelry: Craft, Style and Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinople* (Louvain 1983) 141–60. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Antiker Schmuck vom 2. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Bern 1961). L. Niederle, *Příspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperků ze IV.–X. století* (Prague 1930), with rev. M. Andreeva, *BS* 2 (1930) 121f. —S.D.C., A.C.

**JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE.** The influence of Jewish art and architecture on the history of Byz. art is a much debated problem. The fact that, in spite of Exodus 20:4, Jews had

developed artistic practices by the 1st C. B.C. allows the possibility that Jewish models helped shape Christian art, which first arose only in the late 2nd/early 3rd C. Key to the whole discussion has been the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS (before A.D. 256), the only Jewish monument with an elaborate program of narrative and symbolic art. According to Weitzmann (K. Weitzmann, H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* [Washington, D.C., 1990]), the paintings at Dura were derived from an illustrated Septuagint, from which, in turn, came motifs and compositions in Christian art that strikingly resemble the Dura paintings. Since direct evidence of illustrated Jewish MSS in late antiquity is lacking, however, other scholars have inferred other means of transmission (oral or literary tradition, the tradition of monumental art itself, or of certain minor arts [finger rings], etc.) or have argued against the possibility of any influence at all. H. Brandenburg (9 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 [1978] 331–60), for instance, has described the Christian and Jewish arts of Late Antiquity as arising out of the *koine* of the late Roman world, this common source accounting for their similarities. After the 6th C. evidence of Jewish artistic practices in Byz. virtually disappears.

LIT. *No Graven Images*, ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971). —W.T.

**JEWISH LEGENDS, ILLUSTRATION OF.** Ever since the discovery in the 1930s of the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS with its extensive decorative program of anthropomorphic religious scenes, art historians have enthusiastically debated the possible existence of biblical and nonbiblical illustration among hellenized Jews of late antiquity and its potential role in the formation of Early Christian Old Testament iconography. The accepted approach has been to isolate nonbiblical iconographic elements among Christian Old Testament picture cycles and to match them with their appropriate textual tradition within the vast body of Jewish legends. Thus, the hitherto unexplained “court official” going through a gate in the miniature of Joseph’s promotion by Pharaoh in the Vienna GENESIS (ed. Gerstinger, pl.32) is identified on the basis of Jewish legendary texts as Potiphar hurrying home to tell his wife of Joseph’s exaltation (O. Pächt in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda*

[Vienna 1959] 219). Usually left unresolved, however, is whether the sources were visual or textual—that is, by way of lost JEWISH ART or by way of Jewish textual traditions adopted by and popularized among Christians. The Potiphar legend cited above, for example, is attested in several Christian authors whose works were popular at the time and in the region (Syria-Palestine, 6th C.) where the Vienna Genesis may have been produced (H. Näf, *Syrische Josef-Gedichte* [Zurich 1923] 73–75).

LIT. J. Gutmann, “Prolegomenon,” in *No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971) xi–lxiii. R. Stichel, “Ausserkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments,” *RQ* 69 (1974) 159–81. C.-O. Nordström, “Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art,” *CahArch* 15 (1965) 179–205. —G.V.

**JEWISH LITERATURE** used by Byz. Jews and Christians included the Hebrew Bible, Hellenistic apocrypha—in Judeo-Greek translation—Jubilees (Little Genesis), and Old Testament and some New Testament pseudepigrapha. Along with the Greek works of JOSEPHUS and PHILO, these influenced subsequent Byz. language, style, and culture. After A.D. 70, Jews wrote down and further developed their oral tradition, which was encyclopedic for internal Jewish intellectual and social concerns. This Hebrew and Aramaic literature included Mishnah (2nd-C. code) and Talmud (3rd–5th-C. commentary); *responsa*; midrash (ethical and historical folklore, e.g., “Throne and Hippodrome of King Solomon”); apocalypse (e.g., 10th-C. *Hazzon Daniel*, which comments on emperors from Michael III to Constantine VII); mystical works (e.g., *Eben Saphir*, a 14th-C. kabbalistic and Aristotelian commentary on the Bible that includes contemporary historical data); numerous commentaries on the Bible; and oral tradition by Rabbanite and Karaite Jews. This extensive literature contains valuable linguistic and historical material for Byz. studies, esp. the demotic translations of biblical books, bilingual dictionary aids, and extant marriage contracts. Of particular interest are *Megillat Ahimaaz*, an 11th-C. family chronicle from southern Italy in rhymed prose; *Sepher Yosippon*, a unique 10th-C. history of ancient Israel based on the Vulgate and *Hegesippus*, which Judah ibn Mosconi of Ohrid reedited and expanded (ca.1356); a Hebrew translation of pseudo-Kallisthenes’ Alexander Romance; and



abbreviated Hebrew translations of nonextant Byz. chronicles that preserve unique historical data. A prolific religious and secular poetic tradition followed Jewish patterns and contemporary styles. Secular studies include monographs on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, esp. by Shabbetai Donollo (913–ca.982) and Shemaryah Ikriti (1275–ca.1355), who castigated Byz. philosophers for failing to understand Creation. A number of valuable historical sources are extant, such as BENJAMIN OF TUDELA and Jacob ben Elia's unique account of 13th-C. persecutions in Epiros and Nicaea.

LIT. *Anthology of Hebrew Poetry in Greece, Anatolia, and the Balkans*, ed. L. Weinberger (Cincinnati 1975). E. Lieber, "Asaf's Book of Medicines, A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *DOP* 38 (1984) 233–49. Starr, *Jews* 50–65. Bowman, *Jews* 129–70. Ankori, *Karaites*. T. Reinach, "Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgarotone," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 (Paris 1924) 118–32. —S.B.B.

**JEWS** (Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἑβραῖοι), also called Israelites, term used for the ancient inhabitants of Judah and Israel as well as for Byz. citizens who practiced JUDAISM. Byz. Jewish history has two aspects: the history of the Jews in Israel, where their autonomy was recognized, and that of the Jews of the Greek-speaking diaspora, where they formed an integral part of the Byz. population.

**The Jewish Community of Israel.** This community was organized under a bureaucracy of scholars headed by a *nasi*, called in Greek "patriarch of the Jews." After the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D.70), Jews established new administrative centers in the Galilee (Usha, Sepphoris, Tiberias), where they flourished until the 7th C. Christian-Roman legislation periodically restricted their right to hold slaves, proselytize, build new synagogues, work for the government, teach in public institutions, or serve in the army. These discriminatory laws, summarized in the codes of the 5th–6th C. and epitomized in the *Ecloga* and *Basilika*, were designed to limit the Jews' enfranchisement, separate them from Christians, and support the view that God rejected the Jews. Rabbinic leadership also erected social barriers to preserve the Jewish community. Christian imperial policy in Palestine paralleled these restrictions and emphasized the church's claim as the New Israel: churches and monasteries were built on

biblical holy sites, and Hadrian's ban on Jewish settlement in Jerusalem or its environs was periodically enforced. During the Muslim conquest, SOPHRONIOS still argued that Jews had no right to settle in Jerusalem; they were allowed, however, to mourn one day a year (9th of Ab) at the ruins of the Temple (the Byz. city dump) as a demonstration of God's rejection of Old Israel.

The ability of the Jews to survive the Christian onslaught in their own land slowly deteriorated despite sporadic revolts (most important of which was in 351) and an attempt to rebuild the Temple with Julian's permission. In 429 the office of *nasi* was recognized as vacant by Theodosios II; as a result the autonomous central Jewish leadership in the empire was effectively abolished. Justinian I clashed with the Jews on many fronts. His Code repeated a number of Jewish liabilities and introduced new restrictions. He also interfered with Jewish religious practices (nov.146; Prokopios, *Buildings* 6:11.22). Jews fought alongside the Vandals and the Ostrogoths against Byz. attempts to reconquer the Western Empire; they participated also in the Nika revolt in Constantinople and the rioting of 580. Justinian ended their autonomous rule of Jotaba (ca.535), which had lost its independence under Anastasios I (498). They rebelled in 556, again in 578 (together with SAMARITANS), and assisted the Persian conquest of Palestine in 614–17. Herakleios slaughtered many in revenge after his reconquest and even forcibly baptized Jews, despite his promise to Benjamin of Tiberias not to harm them.

**The Jewish Diaspora.** The Jews flourished in both commercial and administrative centers and in smaller locales. Their quarter, called *Hebraike*, was usually located near the market and running water. Many of these communities dated from the Hellenistic period, for example, Berroia in Macedonia, Patras, Thessalonike, Crete; many are known from southern Italy: Bari, Oria, Siponto, Venosa, Otranto. Jews also lived in Ioannina, Ohrid, Kastoria, Adrianople, Serres, Mistra, Nicaea, Attaleia, Ephesus, and Philadelphia. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA visited some 25 Byz. Jewish communities and describes Patras, Krissa, Thebes (2,000 inhabitants), Corinth, Chalkis, Armylo, Drama, Kallipolis, Constantinople (2,500 inhabitants), and the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Modern scholars extrapolate Benjamin's unique population data (approximately

9,000) to a Byz. Jewish population ranging from 12,000 to 100,000 based on differing interpretations of his numbers (individuals, heads of families, families, or guild members) and adding locales not mentioned. In Constantinople Jews lived at various times along either shore of the Golden Horn (e.g., *Hebraike skala* and Pera) and in the Chalkoprateia and Vlanca quarters. Under the Palaiologoi, some Byz. Jews obtained Venetian and Genoese privileges and lived in their quarters. Jews worked as dyers and weavers (silk and wool), tanners, furriers, smiths and glassmakers, wholesale and retail merchants both international and local, real estate agents, physicians, translators, scribes, and agriculturalists.

The Jewish communities, led by rabbis appointed with government consent, enjoyed autonomy in religious and social affairs. The rabbi was chief judge and spokesman for the community and in larger cities was assisted by various functionaries (e.g., teachers, ritual slaughterers) supported by a communal tax system. The community supplied social services: education, care of the sick, dowries for orphans, burial in a Jewish graveyard, etc. Part of the communal taxes went to the government, although whether there was a special Jewish tax is undetermined despite much scholarly speculation. Financial support to the *nasi* was diverted after 429 to the imperial treasury and called *aurum coronarium*. When and if this tax was abolished is uncertain. Jews contributed to the *archipherekitai* of the Sanhedrin in Israel, which flourished until the Muslim conquest, and to the 10th- and 11th-C. academies.

Jews regularly immigrated into the empire from Muslim and western Christian lands. These immigrants rapidly became culturally assimilated and strongly identified with Byz. culture, although there was occasional social tension with native Jews. There was close contact with KHAZARIA, whose Jewish kings welcomed refugees from Romanos I's persecution of Jews, and later with Crimean KARAITES. The attitude of Jews toward Byz. was ambivalent. Predating Christianity in many Greek-speaking areas, they now lived among a triumphant, arrogant, and multiethnic Christian population whose literature, religion, liturgy, and art derived in part from Jewish sources. They experienced ANTI-SEMITISM through imperial policy, intellectual snobbery, and ecclesiastical polemic. Byz. religious art, save for canonical Old

Testament figures and scenes, confined representations of Jews to such pejorative contexts as among the Damned in the LAST JUDGMENT. There were Jewish scholars with whom Christians (e.g., Pletthon) studied privately and who occasionally responded through biblical commentary and liturgical verse; they were forbidden, however, to insult Christianity. Their doctors, skilled in Greek and Arabic medicine, treated the general population: an Egyptian Jew was physician to Manuel I. Yet Byz. ecclesiastics consistently denigrated Jewish doctors: even though 9th- and 10th-C. hagiography shows some respect for Jewish doctors, it expresses suspicion of their education and disdain for their religion.

Occasional debates with Christians are recorded; some may have led to conversion, which the church heartily encouraged. Still, few voluntary conversions are attested, the most famous being CONSTANTINE THE JEW; Makarios, spiritual adviser to Manuel II; and possibly ROMANOS THE MELODE. The Byz. church consistently opposed forced baptism of Jews (such as those effected by Herakleios, Leo III, Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos) for theological reasons and upheld the right of Jews to practice their ancestral religion. Jews replied to imperial persecution by identifying government with Esau/Edom, the biblical adversary of Israel. In nearly every century, but esp. during periods of international tension, there were messianic hopes for and occasional movements toward the repatriation of Jews to an independent Israel. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was marked both by such messianic expectations and by a moving Hebrew lament for the city.

LIT. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, 2 vols. (Paris 1914). M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (Jerusalem-New York 1984). Starr, *Jews*. Bowman, *Jews*. Ankori, *Karaites*. E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 2 vols. (New York 1959–84). Jacoby, *Société*, pt.II (1967), 167–227. *Greek Orthodox–Jewish Consultation* (GORThR 22.1 [1977] = *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13.4 [1976]). —S.B.B.

**JOB** (Ἰώβ). To judge by the number of surviving MSS, the Book of Job, an account of the suffering of an innocent man, was read significantly more in Byz. than in the West. Origen led the church fathers in distinguishing three types of just man, represented by Noah, Daniel, and Job. A CATENA on Job was compiled, probably in the 6th-C. circle of Prokopios of Gaza. The COMMENDATIO ANIMAE

includes Job, and references to him in hagiography were frequent. For instance, the Life of St. JOHN ELEMENON (ch.28) compared the saint to Job in his virtuous response to catastrophic loss. The monk Niketas patterned the opening of his Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL ON the Book of Job (L. Rydén, 17 *CEB*, Major Papers [Washington, D.C., 1986] 542f).

**Representation in Art.** The scene of Job on his dung heap (Job 2:8) was widely illustrated, occurring already in the 4th C. (e.g., sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, died 359) and as the frontispiece to Job in the 7th-C. Syriac Bible of Paris (B.N. syr. 341) and the 10th-C. Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. It occasionally appears later in monumental art (e.g., Hagia Sophia, Trebizond). After the Psalter, Job was the most frequently illustrated Old Testament book in Byz. A large group of catena MSS were illustrated with an extensive cycle. These fall into an early group (Patmos 171; Vat. gr. 749; Venice, Marc. gr. 538, dated 905; Sinai gr. 3) and a more numerous group of 12th-through 14th-C. MSS. All contain a dense narrative illustration interspersed with the text of Job 1 and 2—the subject of lengthy comments in the catena—and a repetitive, formulaic treatment of Job's discussions with his visitors. The miniatures in the first group, esp. Sinai gr. 3, treat the setting illusionistically, which suggests an early model; the Patmos Job may be a product of the years of Iconoclasm.

Job is usually represented as a patriarchal figure with long white hair and beard, cut short in due course (Job 1:20). His youthful appearance in the Leo Bible may be explained as a misunderstanding of this shaven-headed type. Job may also appear as an ancestor of Christ, even as a king, owing to the SEPTUAGINT conflation of Job with Jobab, King of Edom (Job 42:17d, Gen 30:32–33).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:131–52. R. Budde, *LCI* 2:407–14. P. Huber, *Hiob. Dulder oder Rebell?* (Düsseldorf 1986). S. Papadaki-Ökland, "The Illustration of Byzantine Job Manuscripts" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1979).

—J.H.L., C.B.T.

**JOB** (Ἰώβ), monk who wrote a Life of St. THEODORA OF ARTA and hymns for the Nativity, Epiphany, and Pentecost; fl. second half of 13th C. He has been identified with the monk Job IASITES, known from George PACHYMERES also as Iasites Melias, an adviser of Patr. JOSEPH I and author

of a *tomos* against the Latins, written for that patriarch with the help of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:487.10–17, 489.15–18). Job Iasites was punished in 1273 with Manuel HOLOBOLOS for opposing the Union and was exiled to Bithynia in 1275 (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:503.25–505.4, 535.1–3). Perhaps two exegeses, one on the Psalms (PG 158:1053–56) and one on the sacraments, which bear the name of Job Hamartolos, are to be ascribed to Job.

ED. Life of Theodora—PG 127:904–08. M. Petta, "Inni inediti di Iob monaco," *BollBadGr* n.s. 19 (1965) 81–139.

LIT. S. Pétridès, "Le moine Job," *EO* 15 (1912) 40–48. *PLP*, no.7959. —R.J.M.

**JOEL** (Ἰωήλ), compiler of a world chronicle beginning with Creation and ending in 1204; fl. first half of the 13th C. The work is basically a list of rulers (Jewish, Oriental, Roman, and Byz.), their length of reign, and the cause of their death. The period from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos to 1204 is treated most briefly; the rapid changes in ruler from Manuel I's death to 1204 demonstrate the inevitability of the blow of divine justice in the form of the Latin conquest. Joel is perhaps also the author of an unpublished *THRENOS* on the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

ED. *Cronografia compendiaría*, ed. F. Iadevaia (Messina 1979).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:476. Eu. Tsolakes, "He cheirographe paradosse tou chronographikou ergou tou Ioel," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 449–61. E. Kojčeva, "Srednovekovnata búlgarska istorija v svetlinata na edin neispolzuvan dosega istoričeski izvor," *IstPreg* 40 (1984) no.6, 84–89. —R.J.M.

**JOHN** (Ἰωάννης), Semitic personal name (etym. "God's grace"). The name appears in the Old Testament in the form Ioanas (1 Chr 3:15, 26:3, etc.); in the New Testament, Johns play an important role, esp. JOHN THE BAPTIST and JOHN the apostle. From the end of the 4th C. onward we meet the name in Rome and Asia Minor (O. Seeck, *RE* 9 [1916] 1743–47; *PLRE* 1:459), at first infrequently—Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention a single John. Then the name acquired popularity. Sozomenos cites 11 Johns, including the Baptist and the Apostle—second only to EUSEBIOS (14); in Prokopios there are already 32 Johns, followed far behind by THEODORE (11) and PAUL (10). The name maintains its dominance in Theophanes the Confessor (67), but in Skylitzes

(48) and Anna Komnene (14) John is second to Constantine, with 60 and 15, respectively. In the acts of Athos, however, it remains dominant: *Lavra*, vol. 1, encompassing the 10th–12th C., lists 90 Johns ahead of NICHOLAS (42) and GEORGE (41), while *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.) includes 350 Johns and 275 Georges. John was the third most common imperial name and the most frequently used by patriarchs of Constantinople (14 individuals). In panegyrics the typical epithet of John was *charitonimos*, "named after grace"; another, "the son of thunder" (after Mk 3:18) was applied specifically to the apostle. By the 12th C., if not earlier, the composite Kaloioannes ("good John") was created.

—A.K., A.M.T.

**JOHN**, apostle and saint; often called John the Theologian; feastdays 26 Sept., 8 May, and others. The son of Zebedee, he was considered to be the author of the fourth GOSPEL and of three epistles in the New Testament canon; already in the 3rd C. Dionysios of Alexandria had rejected the possibility of John's authorship of the APOCALYPSE (Book of Revelation). His Gospel was widely commented on: ORIGEN compiled a lengthy commentary in order to refute the views of the Gnostics; he was followed by DIDYMOS THE BLIND, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, CYRIL of Alexandria, AMMONIOS of Alexandria, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The major problem for EXEGESIS was the difference between John and the three synoptic gospels, so that some doubts concerning its authenticity were expressed, esp. by the so-called *alogoi*: EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus censured this heresy and tried to show that the Gospels did not disagree. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS compiled a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel of John. The epistles attracted less attention.

John was popular in hagiography and homiletics; numerous apocryphal acts as well as homilies survive, among others by pseudo-Chrysostom, ANDREW OF CRETE, Cyril of Alexandria, and later writers such as Constantine AKROPOLITES, PALAMAS, and Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS. Byz. legend made John a grandson of Joseph the Carpenter and thus nephew of Jesus; after Mary's Dormition he preached throughout Asia Minor and was exiled by Domitian to the island of PATMOS. Frustrated by the apostasy of his disciple (a local bishop who became a robber), John attempted suicide by

poison, but the cross he wore negated its effect. From Patmos John went to Ephesus where he worked miracles and died peacefully. At least eight churches in Constantinople were dedicated to John (Janin, *Églises CP* 264–70).

**Representation in Art.** John has two guises in art: young and beardless as the beloved disciple; white-haired, balding, and long-bearded as the visionary evangelist. As the disciple, John appears in scenes of his calling, his mother's plea, the TRANSFIGURATION, Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER), CRUCIFIXION, and at Christ's tomb. In this guise, he is indistinguishable from the young disciple who witnesses Christ's actions in countless scenes. John barely figures in Acts illustration and his further imagery draws on apocrypha: his prominent role in the DORMITION of the Virgin; his voyage to Patmos (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol. 302v), where he dictated his Gospel under divine inspiration; and his self-burial at Ephesus (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II). As an evangelist, John is shown seated before a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS) or standing and dictating to his secretary, Prochoros—an image also drawn from his apocrypha. Consistently in the latter composition and sometimes in the former, the divine inspiration he receives is shown by an arc of Heaven or the HAND OF GOD. In Paris, B.N. gr. 93, the hill behind him becomes a mandorla, stressing his ecstatic condition. The frontispiece of a lectionary in the Skeuophylakion at Iviron, Athos, likens him to Moses on Sinai (Xyngopoulos, *infra*, pl.54). Only rarely (e.g., Moscow, Univ. Lib. 2280, fol. 347r, of 1078) is he portrayed as the author of the Apocalypse.

LIT. BHG 899–932t. M. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel* (Cambridge 1960). E. Junod, J.-D. Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: Le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel 1982). H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *DOP* 15 (1961) 127–39. A. Xyngopoulos, "Euangelistes Ioannes-Moïses," *DChAE* 18 (1975–76) 101–08.

—J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

**JOHN I**, patriarch of Antioch (429–441/2). Before his elevation John had been a student at Antioch with NESTORIOS. Although John disapproved of his friend's repudiation of the title THEOTOKOS and even wrote to him counseling moderation, he supported him against CYRIL of Alexandria in the ensuing controversy over NES-



TORIANISM. John's unintentionally late arrival for the opening of the Council of EPHEsus (431) prompted Cyril to proceed with Nestorios's condemnation. This resulted in a countercouncil, in which the Antiochian delegation headed by John had Cyril condemned. The moderates of both parties, however, desired peace and, in 433, signed the so-called Symbol of Union that ended the schism. In effect, John implicitly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorios in return for Cyril's toleration of Antiochian terminology regarding the duality of the nature of Christ. Also, both men accepted the legitimacy of the term *Theotokos*. Nevertheless, their more extreme followers rejected the settlement. The resulting tension led directly to the "Robber" Council of EPHEsus (449) and the Council of CHALCEDON. Some of John's correspondence with PROKLOS of Constantinople, Cyril, and THEODOSIOS II dealing with the Nestorian dispute has survived.

ED. Letters—ACO I,1,1:93–96, 119; I,1,4:7–9, 33; I,1,5:124–35; I,1,7:84, 146, 151–61; III, IV, passim.

LIT. P.T. Camelot, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris 1962).

—A.P.

**JOHN I**, pope (from 13 Aug. 523); born Tuscany, died Ravenna 18 May 526. In 525/6 the Ostrogothic ruler THEODORIC THE GREAT sent John to Constantinople as head of a delegation to protest imperial measures against the Arians. After the end of the AKAKIAN SCHISM Emp. Justin I sought rapprochement with Rome and arranged a spectacular welcome for the pope: the wording of the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS humiliavit se pronus* suggests that the emperor performed PROSKYNESIS. John celebrated the Easter liturgy in Constantinople, while Patr. Epiphanius (520–35) was relegated to a secondary role in the service. All of this made Theodoric suspicious, and, despite the success of John's mission, he detained the pope in Ravenna where he died several days later. The recorded details of John's imprisonment and martyrdom appear to be fictitious.

LIT. W. Ensslin, "Papst Johannes I. als Gesandter Theoderichs des Grossen bei Kaiser Justinus I.," *BZ* 44 (1951) 127–34. P. Goubert, "Autour du voyage à Byzance du Pape Saint Jean I.," *OrChrP* 24 (1958) 339–52. H. Löwe, "Theoderich der Grosse und Papst Johann I.," *HistJb* 72 (1953) 83–100.

—A.K.

**JOHN I**, archbishop of Thessalonike, politician, writer, and local saint; died ca.630 (Stiernon) or ca.649 (Jugie). John participated in the defense

of Thessalonike against the Avars and Slavs and was responsible for introducing the feast of the DORMITION to that city. He wrote the first version of the miracles of St. DEMETRIOS and several homilies, among which those on the Dormition were the most popular. In them John, having promised to remove all heretical elements from the narrative of Mary's death, placed an unusual emphasis on the filial affection of Christ for his mother. He also stressed St. Peter's primacy over the other apostles.

ED. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," *PO* 19,3:289–526.

LIT. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 778–80. M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge* (Vatican 1944) 139–54. Idem, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de Thessalonique: son témoignage sur les origines de la fête de l'Assomption et sur la primauté de saint Pierre," *EO* 21 (1922) 293–307.

—A.K.

**JOHN I DOUKAS**, *sebastokrator* of Thessaly (1267/8?–1289?); born Epiros? ca.1240?, died 1289 or earlier. He was the illegitimate son of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and half-brother of NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. Married to the daughter of the Thessalian VLACH chieftain Taron, John led a contingent of Vlach troops to support his father at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). According to George Akropolites (Akrop. 170.5–9), John surrendered to the Nicene commander after the Epirot army fled in despair. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:119–21), on the other hand, relates that John treacherously agreed to attack the Latin forces after being insulted by WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN. After the battle John repented his actions and returned to his father.

Upon Michael II's death (1266 or 1268), John's rule over Thessaly was confirmed, with its capital at NEOPATRAS. Although MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS married his nephew to John's daughter and granted John the title *sebastokrator* in the effort to secure an alliance, John became an implacable enemy of the Byz. emperor. He defeated an imperial army sent to besiege Neopatra (1272–73), entered into commercial agreements with the Angevins, and ardently opposed the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. He convened a synod at Neopatra in 1277, attended by anti-Unionist exiles, which anathematized Michael VIII and Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS (R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 31 [1965] 374–408). It was on a campaign against John in 1282 that Michael VIII fell ill and died. The Church

of Porta Panagia near Trikkala, built by John in 1283, contains portraits of the *sebastokrator* and his family (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 8, 33–35).

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros* I 154f, 172–81, 186–89. Nicol, *Epiros* II 9–11, 19–21, 31–36. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 64–73, 231. *PLP*, no.208.

—A.M.T.

**JOHN I TZIMISKES** (Τζιμισκής), emperor (969–76); born Chozana, Armenia, ca.925, died Constantinople 10 Jan. 976. John was a general of Armenian origin; according to LEO THE DEACON (p.92.1–5), his name was an Armenian version of the Greek *Mouzakites*, meaning "of short stature." He was related to the KOURKOUAS family; his mother was the sister of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; and his first wife Maria was the sister of the *magistros* Bardas SKLEROS. John first distinguished himself under CONSTANTINE VII by capturing Samosata in 958. He was the staunchest supporter of Nikephoros II but later changed sides. Head of an aristocratic coup, he murdered the emperor on the night of 10/11 Dec. 969 with the help of Nikephoros's wife THEOPHANO. Yielding to the demands of Patr. POLYEUKTOS, John banished Theophano; he then married Theodora, Constantine VII's daughter and the aunt of the legitimate emperors, BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII. Acting in close concord with the church, John cancelled Nikephoros's legislation against church land ownership. Two rescripts (*sigillia*) of 974 and 975 manifest John's flexible policy toward monastic land ownership: although his fiscal functionaries proclaimed the necessity of restoring "to the emperor" state-controlled peasants who fled to the DYNATOI and onto church property, they permitted a number of peasants to remain on monastic *proasteia* "by virtue of previous chrysobulls."

John conducted an energetic foreign policy: he repelled SVJATOSLAV from Bulgaria (971), subduing part of this country; concluded an alliance with ORTO I (972); and fought successfully in Syria. In 970/1 the *patrikios* Nicholas, a eunuch, defeated the Fāṭimid army near Antioch (P. Walker, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 431–40), and in 975 John led a victorious campaign into Syria, forcing Damascus to pay tribute and capturing Beirut. The unsuccessful siege of Tripoli, however, was a setback, and John's claim of conquests in Palestine (in a letter to the Armenian king AŠOT III) does not find support in Arabic sources (P. Walker,

*Byzantion* 47 [1977] 301–27). MATTHEW OF EDESSA preserves a legend that at the end of his reign John returned the crown to Basil II and retired to a desert monastery (M. van Esbroeck, *BK* 41 [1983] 71); on the other hand, there were rumors that he had been poisoned by BASIL THE NOTHOS.

Apart from his coins, only one portrait of John is known. The Madrid SKYLITZES MS, however, richly illustrates his career with 41 miniatures, including his conspiratorial arrival at the BOUKOLEON palace, arranged by Theophano, and her subsequent expulsion—both by boat. John's triumphal entry into Constantinople in 971 (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, fig.221) shows him accompanied by a horse-drawn icon of the Virgin.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris 1925). Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie*, 11–19. V. Tüpkova-Zaimova, "Les frontières occidentales des territoires conquis par Tzimiscès," *Recherches de géographie historique*, 2 (Sofia 1975) 113–18. N. Thierry, "Un portrait de Jean Tzimiskès en Cappadoce," *TM* 9 (1985) 477–84.

—A.K., A.C.

**JOHN II**, bishop of Jerusalem (386/7–417), succeeding CYRIL of Jerusalem; born ca.356. He was a monk in Jerusalem before his election to the episcopate. His Origenist sympathies were denounced by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, both in a sermon delivered in his presence in Jerusalem in 392 and in two letters, one of which survives in a Latin translation made by JEROME. His pro-Origenist position also caused John to break with former friends such as THEOPHILOS of Alexandria when the latter switched from support to condemnation of that belief.

John may be the author of the five *Mystagogical Catecheses*, addressed to neophytes in Easter week, that form part of the collection of Cyril of Jerusalem's 24 catechetical lectures. One MS does attribute them to John, others give joint credit to Cyril. Possibly John revised these lectures, which Cyril had written and delivered.

ED. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F.L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838).

LIT. E. Yarnold, "The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," *Heythrop Journal* 19 (1978) 143–61.

—B.B.

**JOHN II**, metropolitan of KIEV (ca.1077–89), of Greek origin. A writer on canon law, John was praised in the POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET for his



erudition (*PSRL* 1:208); the belief that he was the uncle of Theodore PRODROMOS is probably incorrect (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 357f; S. Franklin, *BS* 45 [1984] 40–45). John addressed a letter (with a treatise on the AZYMES appended in the Greek version) to the (anti-)pope Clement III (1080–1100) and wrote a set of *Canonical Responses* to the monk James. The letter focuses on Latin “innovations,” mainly as listed in the 867 encyclical of PHOTIOS (Saturday fasts; the eating of cheese, eggs, and milk during Lent; celibate clergy; confirmation exclusively by bishops; the *filioque*), but with additional emphasis on the azymes. The tone is firm but conciliatory. John’s *Canonical Responses* treat miscellaneous practical difficulties encountered by the propagandists of Byz. Christianity in Rus’: pagan customs in public and private life, marriages and other contacts with non-Orthodox foreigners, and the proper behavior and organization of the clergy. John’s main source is the NOMOKANON OF 14 TITLES, but the suggestion that he was responsible for its translation (R.G. Pichoja, *ADSV* 11 [1975] 133–44) is tenuous. Some scholars believe that John composed the extant office to BORIS AND GLEB.

ED. *Tou hosiou patros hemon Ioannou, metropolitou Rosias, epistole pros Klementa, papan Romes*, ed. S.K. Oikonomos (Athens 1868). *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv latinjan*, ed. A.S. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 169–86. *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, ed. L.K. Goetz (Stuttgart 1905; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 114–70.

LIT. B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris 1924) 32–41. J. Spiteris, *La critica bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome 1979) 38–44. Podskalsky, *Rus’* 174–77, 186f, 286f. —S.C.F.

**JOHN II KOMNENOS**, emperor (from 15 Aug. 1118); born Constantinople 13 Sept. 1087, died near Anazarbos 8 Apr. 1143. John succeeded his father Alexios I against the wishes of IRENE DOUKAÏNA and ANNA KOMNENE; the latter conspired on behalf of Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Byz. historians describe John’s reign only briefly. His domestic policy is little known. Austere in manner, John tried to regulate even the costume of his courtiers; he was nonetheless tolerant and eschewed maiming as a punishment. He entrusted military command to noble relatives but put civil administration in the hands of men of obscure origin, such as JOHN OF POUTZE and Stephen Meles, the *logothetes tou dromou*. John centralized the ad-



JOHN II KOMNENOS. Portrait of the emperor and his wife Irene; mosaic. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

ministration of the army and navy and for this purpose charged the state treasury with maintaining vessels and their crews, previously the burden of the maritime regions (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 234–36). He founded the monastery of the PANTOKRATOR and wrote its *typikon*. The dynastic sense that underlay this foundation also prompted other works, including a lost mosaic of John mourning his dead father whose victories were depicted (Magdalino-Nelson, “Emp. in 12th C.,” 126–30). A mosaic in Hagia Sophia portrays John, his wife, Irene, and, to one side, his son, Alexios.

John capitalized on Alexios I’s military successes. Most of John’s wars were in Anatolia, esp. against the DANIŞMENDIDS (he captured Kastamon and Gangra after the death of GHĀZĪ in 1134). He subdued the RUBENIDS of Cilicia (1137) and made RAYMOND OF POITIERS his vassal (1138), but the ensuing campaign from Antioch to inner Syria failed before the walls of Aleppo and Shayzar. In the northwest, John crushed the Pechenegs in 1122 (not 1123 as in B. Radojičić, *ZRVI* 7 [1961] 178) and defeated the Serbians and Hungarians in 1127–29 (not 1125 as in Radojičić, 182f). He attempted to annul Venice’s privileges but in 1126 was forced to yield to a Venetian expedition. Theodore PRODROMOS was John’s official eulogist. Allegedly John died in a hunting accident, but one cannot rule out the possibility of assassination (R. Browning, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 229–35).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:1–193. Angold, *Empire* 150–60. A.P. Kazhdan, “Ešče raz o Kinname i Nikite Choniata,”

*BS* 24 (1963) 9–23. G. Ostrogorsky, “Autokrator Johannes II. und Basileus Alexios,” *SemKond* 10 (1938) 179–83. —C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

**JOHN II KOMNENOS**, emperor of Trebizond (1280–97); born ca.1262/3, died Limnia, near Trebizond, 16 or 17 Aug. 1297. Son of MANUEL I KOMNENOS of Trebizond, John succeeded his brother GEORGE KOMNENOS as ruler of Trebizond. He initially incurred the anger of the Byz. emperor Michael VIII by styling himself “emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans.” Michael sent frequent embassies to the “ruler (*archegos*) of the Lazos,” as Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:270.9) calls John, to criticize his wrongful use of the imperial title. In 1282 John went to Constantinople and married Michael’s daughter Eudokia, receiving the Byz. title *despotes*; he then changed his imperial title to “emperor and *autokrator* of all the East, the Iberians, and the transmarine provinces.” The chief events of John’s reign were the siege of Trebizond in 1282 by the Georgian king David IV (V) and the brief usurpation of the throne in 1284/5 by John’s half-sister Theodora (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 33 [1975] 187–210). John was a patron of the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 27–32. *PLP*, no.12106. —A.M.T.

**JOHN III**, patriarch of Antioch (4 Oct. 996–July 1021). His surname Polites perhaps derives from the fact that he was a native of Constantinople. Originally *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, he was elevated to the see of ANTIOCH by Emp. Basil II following the abdication of Agapios (978–96). Since John feared that, before he reached his see, his predecessor might attempt to recover the throne, he agreed to be consecrated in Constantinople and thus to renounce (in writing) his right to be ordained by the metropolitans of Antioch. This questionable act, by which Antioch became ecclesiastically subject to Constantinople, was later revoked by Patr. PETER III, but it is not known with what success. The practice probably continued.

During his tenure John also chose to surrender to Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem (986–1006), the annual sum of money sent by the church of GEORGIA to Antioch for the preparation of the Holy Chrism, which the Georgians now received from Jerusalem. John did not, however, abandon

his privilege of confirming the KATHOLIKOS of Georgia, or the right to be commemorated by the Georgian episcopate in the liturgy. An extract of John’s only known work, *Responsa de baptismo*, addressed to Theodore of Ephesus, was published by Allatius. This reply was probably written while John was still *chartophylax*; normally, canonical questions requiring no synodical decision were referred to this official.

ED. L. Allatius, *De aetate et interstitiis in collatione ordinum* (Rome 1638) 215.

LIT. V. Grumel, “Les patriarches grecs d’Antioche du nom de Jean (XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” *EO* 32 (1933) 281–84. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 837–39. —A.P.

**JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (31 Jan. 565–31 Aug. 577); born Sirmis near Antioch ca.503 (L. Petit, *DTC* 8 [1947] 830), died Constantinople. First a lawyer (SCHOLASTIKOS) in Antioch, in 548/9 he was sent to Constantinople as *apokrisiarios* of the patriarch of Antioch. Justinian I, shortly before his death, selected John to replace EUTYCHIOS as patriarch. John crowned Justin II and supported his policy. John of Ephesus presents the patriarch as an eager anti-Monophysite who ordered persecution of the Monophysites through all the provinces; John of Nikiu, on the other hand, ascribed to him a book, *Mystagogia*, that allegedly dealt with a single substance of Christ, both divine and human (Beck, *Kirche* 423). Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.75) mentions a catechetical sermon of John on the Trinity, delivered in 567/8, that was refuted by John PHILOPONOS; the doubts of W. Kroll (*RE* 9 [1916] 1792) concerning this evidence are not valid. Probably while still in Antioch, John composed the SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES. Haury (*infra*) identified him with John MALALAS on the basis of the similarity in names, origin, and scanty biographical data. Although possible (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:319f), the identification is far from certain.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 250–59. J. Haury, “Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos?,” *BZ* 9 (1900) 337–56. Cf. E. Stein, *Jahresberichte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 184 (1920) 86f, no.232. L. Petit, *DTC* 8 (1947) 829–31. —A.K.

**JOHN III VATATZES**, emperor of Nicaea (from ca.15 Dec. 1221); born ca.1192, died Nymphaion 3 Nov. 1254. He married Irene, daughter of THEODORE I LASKARIS, and ca.1244 Constance

("Anna"), an illegitimate daughter of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN. His succession was opposed by Theodore's brothers, who had Latin backing. John defeated them at the battle of POIMANENON in 1224 and was able to drive the Latins out of northwestern Asia Minor, thus rounding off the Nicaean territories in Asia Minor. His bid to secure control of ADRIANOPLE, the key to Thrace, was thwarted by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. Only in 1234 was John able to establish a permanent bridgehead in Thrace, thanks to an alliance concluded with JOHN ASEN II. The latter's death left a power vacuum in the southern Balkans, which John was quick to exploit. An astute campaign made him master of the region in 1246 and brought him his greatest prize—the city of Thessalonike. His remaining years were devoted to protecting and extending his European territories and seeking ways of recovering Constantinople.

When alliance with Frederick II Hohenstaufen brought him little material reward, he turned to the papacy in 1248. He was willing to make unprecedented concessions over papal claims to PRIMACY in the hope that the papacy would withdraw its backing for the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but these plans came to nothing. Still, John had created the conditions that made the eventual recovery of Constantinople possible and had turned the Nicaean Empire into the strongest power of the region, with territories stretching from the Turkish frontier to Albania. At the end of his reign his relations with the aristocracy were soured by the need to secure the succession of his son THEODORE II LASKARIS. In 1252 he had the leader of potential aristocratic opposition, MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS, arraigned on a charge of high treason.

John III was a ruler of the highest ability and of great tenacity of purpose. Remembered as "a kind and gentle soul" (Akrop. 1:103.19–20), he was revered after his death as a saint by the Greeks of Asia Minor (D.J. Constantelos, *Kleronomia* 4 [1972] 92–104). He was buried in the monastery of Sosandra near Nymphaion.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 106–09, no.72. D.I. Polemis, "Remains of an Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes" in *Okeanos*, 542–47. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 93–97. J. Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222–54," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, 1978).

—M.J.A.

**JOHN IV KOMNENOS**, emperor of Trebizond (1429–1459/60?); born before 1403 (Kuršanskis) or ca.1404/5, died 1460. Son of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS and Theodora Kantakouzene, as a youth he murdered his mother's suspected paramour and rebelled against his father. He then fled to Georgia, where he married the daughter of King Alexander I (1412–42). In 1427 he went to Kaffa and in 1429 returned to Trebizond where, with Genoese assistance, he overthrew his father and had him assassinated (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43). John's reign was preoccupied with defending Trebizond against the continuing onslaughts of the Turks, both Turkomans and Ottomans. He evidently favored union with Rome in hopes of Western assistance against the Turks (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 26 [1964] 305f). After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans attacked Trebizond by land and sea in 1456 and forced John to pay tribute to MEHMED II. By his second wife, a Turk, John had a daughter Theodora whom he married to Uzun Hasan, chief of the White Sheep Turkomans, in exchange for the Turkoman pledge to defend Trebizond against the Ottomans (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 34 [1977–8] 77–87).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 81–96. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no.12108. K. Barzos, "He moira ton teleutaion Megalon Komnenon tes Trapezountos," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 270f.

—A.M.T.

**JOHN IV LASKARIS**, emperor in Nicaea (1258–61); born Nymphaion? 25 Dec. 1250, died ca.1305. He was the only son and heir of THEODORE II LASKARIS, whom he succeeded in Aug. 1258. The boy's rights were progressively set aside by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Once the latter had recovered Constantinople, he felt secure enough to have John blinded on Christmas Day 1261 and confined in the fortress of Dakibyze on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara. Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS excommunicated Michael in protest. This prompted the people around Nicaea to rise up in support of a pretender claiming to be John. The rebellion was quickly crushed, but a strong current of support for the Laskarid cause endured, esp. in Asia Minor. When ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS visited Asia Minor in 1284, he found it politic to placate those with Laskarid sympathies by visiting John in his dungeon and begging forgiveness for what his father had done. With John's death, the Laskarid cause withered

away. A cult seems to have grown up around John; the Russian pilgrim Stefan of Novgorod recorded that in the mid-14th C. it was centered on the monastery of St. Demetrios at Constantinople, where his body was to be seen (I. Ševčenko, *SüdostF* 12 [1953] 173–75).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 111, no.76.

—M.J.A.

**JOHN IV NESTEUTES** (Νηστευτής, "Faster"), patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 582–2 Sept. 595); born and died Constantinople. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP*, col. 7.22), he was a coinmaker by profession, then joined the clergy and was elected patriarch. The legend preserved by Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok., bk.7.6.4) described him as living in extreme poverty, owning only a wooden pallet, thin blanket, and plain cloak. John was very close to Emp. Maurice, whose son Theodosios was crowned at the age of four and a half by the patriarch. John fought against heresies and, despite Maurice's resistance, introduced capital punishment for magicians. His claims to the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH led to a conflict with Pope Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I.

Little of his writing is preserved; his long speech on penitence, temperance, and chastity (PG 88:1937–78) is a collection of citations from John Chrysostom. Several penitentials are preserved under John's name (a *Kanonarion*, the *Akolouthia and Order for Penitents* [PG 88:1889–1918], and the *Indoctrination of Nuns*), but all three are spurious, having been written several centuries later.

ED. N. Suvorov, "Verojatnyj sostav drevnejšego ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 357–434; 9 (1902) 378–417. N.A. Zaozerskij, A.S. Chachanov, *Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijach: gruzinskoj, grečeskoj i slavjanskoj* (Moscow 1902).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 264–72. Beck, *Kirche* 423–25. R. Janin, *DTC* 8 (1947) 828f. E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 71–127.

—A.K.

**JOHN IV (V) OXEITES**, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (ca.1089–1100); died after 1100. All we know about John before his patriarchate is that he was a monk; the conclusions of Ch. Papadopoulos (*EEBS* 12 [1936] 361–78) should be treated with caution. Appointed patriarch before Sept. 1089, he remained in Constantinople until 1091. John's situation in Antioch under Seljuk rule was miserable, esp. during the Crusaders'

siege of the city; after their victory he had under his jurisdiction both the Greek and Latin clergy of Antioch. Eventually he was charged with plotting to surrender the city to the emperor, left for Constantinople, and in Oct. 1100 officially renounced his patriarchate. John retired to the HODEGON monastery but incited the hatred of the monks and probably moved to the island of Oxeia (Princes' Islands), where he was later buried.

John's works had a clear political imprint. In 1085 or 1092 he issued a treatise on CHARISTIKIA, which he blamed for the decline of monasticism. He also wrote a diatribe accusing Alexios I of responsibility for all the internal and international problems of Byz. His invectives were addressed also against those who possessed "cities within the cities" (P. Gautier, *infra*) and esp. against tax collectors, whereas he lamented the plight of poor peasants, merchants, and craftsmen (p.33.19–22). John also wrote a treatise on AZYMES, possibly in connection with the Byz. dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO in 1112.

ED. P. Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène," *REB* 28 (1970) 19–55. Idem, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 91–131. B. Leib, "Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *OC* 2 (1924) 244–63.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964) 128–57.

—A.K.

**JOHN V KATHOLIKOS**, patriarch of Armenia (897–925) and historian; born Draxanakert mid-9th C., died Vaspurakan soon after 925. As *katholikos*, John (Arm. Yovhannes) played a role in diplomacy both between the BAGRATID Armenian kings and their Armenian rivals, and between Armenia and both Byz. and Muslim rulers.

The first third of his *History* is primarily a résumé of earlier sources. John developed the concept of the strong royal power of the Bagratid dynasty and justified it by reference to the Bagratids' succession from previous royal houses (M.O. Darbinian-Melikian, *IFŽ* [1982] no.3, 119–25). The *History* contains the earliest Armenian reference to Bagratid descent from King DAVID of Israel, although earlier MOSES XORENAC'I had claimed a Jewish origin for that family. The main part is an eyewitness account of John's own times and of his role in Armenian politics. It includes a letter to him from NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople, and one from John himself to



Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, written in 914. The *History* is the most important source for the reigns of Smbat I and his son Ašot II.

ED. *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow 1853; Tbilisi 1912), rp. with introd. K. Maksoudian (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI* [sic] dit *Jean Catholikos*, tr. J. Saint-Martin (Paris 1841). —R.T.

**JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS**, emperor (1341–91); born Didymoteichon 18 June 1332, died Constantinople 16 Feb. 1391 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 8of, n. 214). During his 50-year reign John faced numerous rebellions and a civil war; he actually ruled only about 30 years. Nine years old at the death of his father ANDRONIKOS III (1341), John came under the control of his empress-mother ANNA OF SAVOY, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, and Alexios APOKAUKOS. The same year JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS was proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichon and began the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. After the victory of Kantakouzenos, John married the usurper's daughter Helena and remained in the background until he forced Kantakouzenos's abdication in 1354. Shortly thereafter his mosaic portrait was set up in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Mango, *Materials* 74–76, fig. 97).

During the 1350s and 1360s John attempted to gain Western assistance against the Turks. To this end he journeyed in 1366 to Hungary (J. Gill, *BS* 38 [1977] 31–38) and in 1369 to Rome, where he declared his personal conversion to Catholicism. On his way home he was detained in Venice because of his debts and was forced to promise the cession of TENEDOS to the Venetians (R.-J. Loenertz, *REB* 16 [1958] 217–32). After the Serbian defeat at MARICA (1371), John realized the necessity of seeking an accommodation with the Turks and became an Ottoman vassal. His remaining years were troubled by the rebellions of his son ANDRONIKOS IV (1373, 1376–79) and grandson JOHN VII (1390). To conciliate his heirs, John had to allocate to them appanages and divide the empire into semi-independent principalities, while he retained rule in the capital.

LIT. O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930). Barker, *Manuel II* 1–83. F. Tinnefeld, "Kaiser Ioannes V. Palaiologos und der Gouverneur von Phokaia 1356–1358," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 259–71. —A.M.T., A.C.

**JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS**, emperor (8 Feb. 1347–3 Dec. 1354 [A. Failler, *REB* 29 (1971) 293–302]); born ca. 1295, died Mistra 15 June 1383. The son, probably posthumous, of a Peloponnesian governor of the aristocratic KANTAKOUZENOS lineage, John Kantakouzenos was about the same age as ANDRONIKOS (III) PALAIOLOGOS and was his close friend until the emperor's death in 1341. His first known title was that of *megas papias* (1320); he became *megas domestikos* ca. 1325. He supported Andronikos's rebellion against his grandfather (1321–28) and was his principal general and adviser during his reign.

After Andronikos died, leaving a nine-year-old heir, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, Kantakouzenos failed to secure the regency. His power struggle with ANNA OF SAVOY, Alexios APOKAUKOS, and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS ended in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and Kantakouzenos was proclaimed co-emperor at Didymoteichon (26 Oct. 1341). Thanks to his extraordinary wealth (in land and livestock), the support of landed magnates in Thrace and Thessaly, and military aid from Serbs and Turks, Kantakouzenos eventually emerged victorious. On 21 May 1346 he was crowned at Adrianople and in Feb. 1347 entered Constantinople. He was crowned a second time (21 May) and married his daughter Helena to John V.

During his brief reign Kantakouzenos crushed the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike (1349) and supported PALAMISM at the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The relatively peaceful relations between John V and John VI lasted until 1351; in 1352 a new civil war broke out. Although Kantakouzenos used Ottoman troops (who established themselves at KALLIPOLIS, their first European foothold), he was defeated by John V, who assumed sole power (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 21 [1982] 127–41). After his abdication Kantakouzenos became the monk Ioasaph, retiring first to the MANGANA monastery, then to CHARSIANEITES. He made at least two trips to MISTRA, where his son MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS was *despotes* (1347–80). He continued to influence both political and religious affairs until his death (cf. Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 119–93; J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 14 [1960] 147–77).

He also devoted himself to the preparation of his lengthy memoirs, the *Historiai*, one of the



JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. Portrait of the emperor at the Council of 1351. Miniature in a manuscript of his works (Paris gr. 1242, fol. 5v); 14th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

principal sources for the first half of the 14th C. In four books he treated events from 1320 to 1356, drawing on personal reminiscences and perhaps on a diary. The remarkable homogeneity of composition is a result of the subordination of the historical material to an overall structural theme. He used this very subjective work to justify his own actions and policies and to present himself as a tragic hero and as the central figure of events. At the same time his history is a useful complement to the account of Nikephoros GREGORAS. The bias of Kantakouzenos is offset by the author's first-hand knowledge of events, his precise chronology, and citation of original documents. His work is characterized by a belief in *ananke* (necessity) and *TYCHE* (fate or fortune); he believed that his eventual defeat was not caused solely by human factors, but by transcendent and cosmic forces. Kantakouzenos wrote in a simple style marked by the absence of rhetoric. His work was influenced by THUCYDIDES (T. Miller, *GRBS*

17 [1976] 385–95, and H. Hunger, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 181–93) and includes an unusual number of speeches.

Kantakouzenos also wrote treatises attacking Islam and Judaism, and pro-Palamite theological works, refuting John KYPARISSIOTES and Prochoros KYDONES. Portraits of Kantakouzenos as emperor and monk survive in a deluxe MS of his theological writings, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242, fols. 5v and 123v.

ED. *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn 1828–32). Germ. tr. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, *Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1982). Theological works—PG 154:372–710. *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita*, ed. E. Voordeckers, F. Tinnefeld (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).

LIT. G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakouzenos—Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch—in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1969). Dölger, *Paraspora* 194–207. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 35–103. A.P. Kazhdan, "L'Histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'oeuvre littéraire," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 279–335. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:465–76. Beck, *Kirche* 731f. *PLP*, no. 10973. —A.M.T.

**JOHN VII**, pope (1 Mar. 705–18 Oct. 707). Greek by birth, he was the son of a *curator sacri palatii* named Plato who moved to Rome from Constantinople. John inherited from his predecessors the problems of the canons of the Council in TRULLO, which Pope SERGIUS I had refused to sign. Emp. Justinian II took up the issue, sending copies of the canons to the pope and urging him to approve those that were acceptable and reject those that were not. John returned them without emendation or signature, causing the author of the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* to accuse him of cowardice. A fresco in the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, commissioned by John, may reflect his acceptance of the canons, however; instead of the Adoration of the Lamb of God, it represents Christ in human form. The canons of Trullo were not formally accepted in Rome until the pontificate of Constantine I (708–15). Both the frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua and the mosaics of John's oratory in Old St. Peter's are generally attributed to Byz. artists (M. Andaloro, *RIASA* 19–20 [1972–73] 183f). The latter program included John's portrait, today preserved in the Vatican grottoes, offering his foundation to the Virgin clad as a Byz. empress.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 211f. P.J. Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*



[*ActaNorv* 3] (Rome 1968) with add. J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 (1972) 364–74. J.M. Sansterre, “Jean VII (705–707): idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique,” in *Rayonnement grec* 377–88. —A.K., A.C.

**JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS** (the Grammarian), patriarch of Constantinople (21 Jan. 837?–4 Mar. 843 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 162–66, 506]); born Constantinople late 8th C., died western shore of Bosphoros before 867. John was born to a family (perhaps of Armenian origin) whose name is variously given as Morokardianos, Morochar-zamios, and Morocharzianos. He began his clerical career ca.811–13 as an *anagnostes* in the Hodegon monastery; according to PHOTIOS (homily 15, ed. Laourdas, 140.25–27) he was also an icon painter. Three letters addressed to him by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS are further proof of his original Iconodule position (V. Grumel, *EO* 36 [1937] 186). The epithet GRAMMATIKOS indicates that he was respected for his learning. By 814 he had become an Iconoclast and was chosen by Emp. Leo V to head a committee to collect a florilegium of patristic texts in support of ICONOCLASM, in preparation for the local council of 815 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which again condemned the veneration of images. He was rewarded with the post of *hegoumenos* of the Sergios and Bakchos monastery, which served as a center where recalcitrant Iconodules were “rehabilitated.”

John had a reputation for persuasive rhetorical skills, and debates with him became a hagiographical *topos* of the second Iconoclastic period. Under Michael II, John tutored the crown prince THEOPHILOS and is usually credited with inculcating strong Iconoclastic sympathies in his pupil. Upon Theophilos's accession to the throne, John became *synkellos*, and went on an embassy to the Arab caliph al-MA'MUN, probably in 829/30. Little is known of his actual patriarchate; he was deposed in 843 as a preamble to the restoration of images, excommunicated, and exiled from Constantinople. In some of the marginal PSALTERS, John is depicted as the principal adversary of the Orthodox patriarch NIKEPHOROS I who, as a pendant to St. Peter crushing Simon Magus, tramples John underfoot (Grabar, *Iconoclasm* 226–28, 287f, figs. 150, 155). John was probably the compiler of a collection of GNOMAI that served as the major

source for the *Gnomologion* of John Georgides (A. Kambylis, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 95, n.1).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 154–68. V. Laurent, “Jean VII le Grammaire,” *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, fasc. 24 (Paris 1964) 513–15. Lipšic, *Očerki* 296–301.

—A.M.T., A.C.

**JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS**, emperor (1390); born ca.1370, died Thessalonike 22 (23?) Sept. 1408. According to E. Zachariadou (*DOP* 31 [1977] 339–42), he was also called Andronikos. Eldest son of ANDRONIKOS IV, as a small child he developed a grudge against his grandfather JOHN V, who partially blinded him and his father after the latter's rebellion. John viewed himself as rightful heir to the throne and opposed his uncle MANUEL II, who had “usurped” his claim to the empire. Upon Andronikos's death in 1385, John inherited his appanage in Selymbria. In April 1390 he seized Constantinople with Genoese and Turkish support and reigned briefly until his deposition in September. After a reconciliation with Manuel, John served as his regent from 1399 to 1403 and was entrusted with the defense of Constantinople against the siege of BAYEZID I. The capital was saved by Bayezid's defeat at Ankara in 1402; the next year (3 June 1403) John signed a treaty with the Turks whereby the Byz. regained Thessalonike. His triumphal entry into the city and his family may well appear on a tiny ivory at Dumbarton Oaks. Shortly after Manuel's return from the West, John was made “*basileus* of all Thessaly” and *despotes* of Thessalonike, where he spent his final years quietly.

John was married to Irene GATTILUSIO, daughter of Francesco II of Lesbos. The union produced one son, ANDRONIKOS V, who predeceased his father. John thus died without an heir, leaving the lineage of Manuel unchallenged in its claim to the throne.

LIT. F. Dölger, “Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390–1408,” *BZ* 31 (1931) 21–36, corr. by P. Wirth, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 592–600. Oikonomides, “Ivory Pyxis” 329–37. —A.M.T., A.C.

**JOHN VIII**, pope (14 Dec. 872–16 Dec. 882); of Roman origin. John was elected despite the future pope FORMOSUS's opposition, which continued during the first years of John's pontificate. John faced the Arab invasions of southern Italy, often

supported by the rulers of Gaeta and other small Lombard princedoms; the pope built a navy to deter the Arabs, and until the death of LOUIS II the anti-Arab war proceeded successfully. After 875, however, Emp. Basil I was the most effective ally. The situation was complicated since John actively tried to establish papal control over Moravia (by supporting METHODIOS), Croatia, and Bulgaria. At a council in Constantinople in 879/80, the pope's legates were coerced into yielding; they joined the rehabilitation of Photios (the legend of the “second Photian schism” under John is a forgery—F. Dvornik, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 425–36) and also had to accept Byz. claims over Bulgaria, although the pope still tried to influence the Bulgarian khan BORIS I. Defeats by the Arabs, who gained a stronghold at GARIGLIANO and burned MONTECASSINO, as well as failures in Bulgaria and Moravia, gave new impetus to the opposition to the pope. The *Annals of Fulda* preserve a rumor that John was murdered.

LIT. F. Engreen, “Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs,” *Speculum* 20 (1945) 318–30. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode* (Prague 1933) 313–30. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:169–209. —A.K.

**JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES** (Χρυσόστομίτης), or Merkouropolos (Μερκουρόπωλος), patriarch in Jerusalem (ca.1098–1106/7?; on the name see B. Englezakis, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 506–08). Although his personality and patriarchate remain obscure, John must be identified with the anonymous metropolitan of Tyre who fled his own see to Jerusalem and was subsequently elevated to patriarch succeeding SYMEON II (cf. XANTHOPOULOS in PG 146:1196D). Despite the Crusaders' election of a Latin patriarch, John continued in his office. In 1107/8 he went to Constantinople, where he was recognized as the legitimate patriarch of Jerusalem (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.986). Grumel suggests that his patriarchate ended before 1122.

Of the three treatises on AZYMES attributed to him, only the last two are from his pen; the first is probably by EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA. An unpublished work on the origins of the SCHISM of 1054 may be his, although this seems rather doubtful (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 21 [1963] 54).

John is sometimes confused with John IX of Jerusalem, who was present at the local council

of Constantinople of 1156–57—the only known evidence of his patriarchate (I. Sakkellion, *Patmiake bibliothekē* [Athens 1890] 327). Englezakis has tentatively suggested that it was John IX who was actually John Chrysostomites, the monk mentioned in the *typikon* of the monastery at Koutzovente in Cyprus. One of these two Johns wrote the “dual” vita of John of Damascus and KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, which includes a rare attempt to evaluate Kosmas's literary activity.

ED. Treatises on azymes—Dositheos of Jerusalem, *Tomos agapes* (Jassy 1698) 516–38. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:303–50; 5:405–07.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 394. Th. Detorakes, *Kosmos ho Melodos: Bios kai ergo* (Thessalonike 1979) 39–50. BHG 395. —A.P., A.K.

**JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS**, emperor (1425–48); born 17/18 Dec. 1392 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 104 n.28), died Constantinople 31 Oct. 1448. Eldest son of MANUEL II and Helena Dragaš, he was made co-emperor before 1408 (Oikonomides, “Ivory Pyxis” 332–34) and became *autokrator* on 19 Jan. 1421 (F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 318f). He was the effective ruler during the final four years of Manuel's life and succeeded him in mid-1425. John took active part in two successful campaigns in the Peloponnesos. During his reign the Byz. regained control of most of the Morea and began to expand into Attica and Boeotia. Nonetheless, Thessalonike fell to the Turks in 1430 and, after the Turkish campaign of 1446, the Morea had to pay tribute to the sultan.

John pursued a policy of seeking rapprochement with the West in order to stave off further Ottoman advances. He was eager to achieve UNION OF THE CHURCHES and personally participated in the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he signed the decree of Union. After his return to Constantinople in 1440, however, he found much popular opposition to the decisions of the council. Moreover, the Crusade of 1444, a reward for the Union of Florence, never reached Constantinople, but was crushed by the Turks at VARNA. John died without ever implementing the Union. Despite three marriages, he was childless and was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE XI.

John appears as co-emperor with his father in the Louvre MS of the works of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.93) and,

again identified as *basileus*, with his first wife, Anna of Moscow, on the so-called Large SAKKOS, probably sent to Moscow between 1411 and 1417. A number of portraits by Western artists (miniatures and bronzes) commemorate John's visit to Italy (*ibid.*, figs. 21–22, 178–79).

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no. 90. Gill, *Personalities* 104–24. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London 1982), pt. X (1972), 141–446. C. Walter, "A Problem Picture of the Emperor John VIII and the Patriarch Joseph," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 295–302. —A.M.T.

**JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (1 Jan. 1064–2 Aug. 1075); born Trebizond ca. 1010, died Constantinople. John was born to the XIPHILINOS family, which was reportedly of humble origin. After an education in Constantinople, he joined the circle of John MAUROPOUS and PSELLOS and was granted the post of *nomophylax* of the law school in the capital. J. Cvetler's hypothesis (*Eos* 48.2 [1956] 297–328) that Xiphilinos composed the novel on the foundation of the law school does not prove valid. In the late 1040s Xiphilinos fell out of favor with Constantine IX and was attacked by a certain Ophrydas who accused him of "freethinking." Psellos defended Xiphilinos and praised his love of knowledge. When CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDS was replaced as *mesazon* by the eunuch John ca. 1050, Xiphilinos and friends were forced to leave Constantinople. Xiphilinos took the monastic habit and was—unlike Psellos—content with his new situation; he soon began to retreat from the "emancipated" ideals of his youth. This created a tension in his relations with Psellos, who, even in his *enkomion* of Xiphilinos (*Sathas*, *MB* 4:421–62), was unable to refrain from criticism, conventional though it may be.

After the death of Leichoudes, who had become patriarch (1059–1063), Emp. Constantine X (allegedly at the recommendation of Psellos) summoned Xiphilinos from Mt. Olympos and appointed him patriarch. Under the difficult conditions of the growing Seljuk menace, Xiphilinos tried to establish union with the Armenian church. He also abolished a decision of Patr. Michael I Keroularios prohibiting metropolitans who resided in Constantinople from electing in the capital new bishops for vacant sees (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 18 [1960] 55–78). Xiphilinos wrote a number of legal works—according to W. Wolska-

Conus (*TM* 7 [1979] 13–53), scholia to the *BASILIKA*, *TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS*, *DE PECULIIS*, and *MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS*. He also wrote the *Miracles* of St. EUGENIOS.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 893–906. K. Mpones, *Ioannes ho Xiphilinos* (Athens 1937). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 49–55. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no. 18. —A.K.

**JOHN X**, pope (Mar./April 914–June 928); born Tossignano in the Romagna, died Rome 929. He owed his elevation to the noble Roman family of Theophylact. The major problem he had to face was the Arab threat; to fight them John advocated an alliance of Rome, Lombard princedoms in Italy, and Byz. In Aug. 915 the allies captured the Arab stronghold of GARIGLIANO. In 920 John's legates attended the council in Constantinople where the TOMOS OF UNION was signed; the next year, the envoys of Romanos I Lekapenos and Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS were sent to the pope to suggest that contacts between Rome and Constantinople be reestablished (Nicholas, ep. 53). John, however, taking advantage of the tense situation in the Balkans resulting from the war with SYMEON OF BULGARIA, tried to force papal influence on both Dalmatia and Bulgaria: in 925 TOMISLAV convened a synod in Split under John's direction (F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga naroda* [Zagreb 1962] 123); Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:507) surmised that the pope had promised to recognize Symeon's imperial title and the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church. John was deposed and imprisoned by Marozia, Theophylact's daughter.

LIT. T. Venni, "Giovanni X," *ASRSP* 59 (1936) 1–136. —A.K.

**JOHN X KAMATEROS**, patriarch of Constantinople (5 Aug. 1198–Apr./May 1206); died Didymoteichon June 1206. A member of the KAMATEROS family, John was related to the empress EUPHROSINE DOUKAINE KAMATERA, wife of Alexios III Angelos. Well versed in classical literature, his training included rhetoric and philosophy. After holding a series of ecclesiastical positions, he was *chartophylax* when chosen as patriarch to succeed George II XIPHILINOS. Between 1198 and 1200 he exchanged letters with INNOCENT III on the question of papal primacy; he attacked the FILIOQUE clause and asserted that Rome held first place in the pentarchy not on account of the

apostle Peter but because it was the imperial capital in the early Christian centuries. John intervened with Alexios III to gain the release of the banker KALOMODIOS. After Alexios's flight in July 1203, and the accession of Isaac II and Alexios IV, John continued to serve as patriarch. According to Western sources, he and Alexios IV submitted to the authority of Innocent III that same year. When Constantinople fell to the Crusaders in 1204, John took refuge at Didymoteichon. THEODORE I LASKARIS invited him to Nicaea to join the government-in-exile but John refused, perhaps because of old age.

ED. A. Papadakis, A.M. Talbot, "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence," *BS* 33 (1972) 26–41.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1193–1202. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 37–68. —A.M.T.

**JOHN XI BEKKOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (26 May 1275–26 Dec. 1282); born Nicaea? between 1230 and 1240, died in fortress of St. Gregory on the Gulf of Nikomedeia, March 1297 (V. Laurent, *EO* 25 [1926] 316–19). First mentioned as *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia (1263–75), John twice served as Michael VIII's ambassador: to Stefan Uroš I in Serbia in 1268 and to Louis IX in Tunis in 1270 (L. Bréhier in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* [Paris 1933] 139f). At first John opposed plans for the UNION OF THE CHURCHES and in 1273 was imprisoned; after further study of the Latin fathers, he changed his views and was released from prison. He became head of the Unionist party and was soon chosen patriarch. Throughout his patriarchate John supported Michael VIII, but he urged the emperor to be more lenient toward his opponents. As a result of this dispute John temporarily withdrew from the patriarchate between March and August 1279. He was deposed after Michael's death and thereafter bore the brunt of attacks from the anti-Unionist party that then came to power: in Jan. 1283 a synod at Constantinople formally charged him with heresy and banished him to Prousa. He was again condemned at the Council of Blachernai in 1285 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), by the *tomos* of GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and imprisoned, together with Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites.

ED. PG 141:9–1032.

LIT. *PLP*, no. 2548. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1424–1452. N.G. Xexakes, *Ioannes Bekkos kai hai theologikai antilepseis autou* (Athens 1981). Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 18–22, 48–57, 66–73. —A.M.T.

**JOHN XIII GLYKYS**, patriarch of Constantinople (12 May 1315–11 May 1319), writer, civil servant; born ca. 1260, died Constantinople soon after May 1319. John studied in Constantinople with GREGORY (II) OF CYPRUS in preparation for a civil service career; ca. 1282–1295/6 he was *epiton deeseon*. He accompanied Theodore METOCHITES to Cyprus and Armenia in 1294 to find a bride for MICHAEL IX; his account of this embassy, the *Presbeutikos*, has been lost. He then served as *logothetes tou dromou* until 1315 when he was made patriarch, despite the fact that he was a married layman with several children. John was already ill when he ascended the patriarchal throne and after four uneventful years was forced to resign for reasons of health. He spent his final days in the monastery of Kyriotissa in Constantinople.

John was active as a writer and teacher; his pupils included Nikephoros GREGORAS. He corresponded with many contemporary literati, for example, Maximos PLANOUDES, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and Metochites. His most important surviving work is a treatise on SYNTAX; his *enkomion* of Constantinople is not preserved. He was also a copyist of MSS. John is to be distinguished from the homonymous composer (*PLP*, no. 4267).

ED. Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, pt. 1:100–398, with Germ. tr. *Opus de vera syntaxeos ratione*, ed. A. Jahn (Bern 1849).

LIT. S.I. Kourousses, "Ho logios oikoumenikos patriarches Ioannes IG' ho Glykys," *EEBS* 41 (1974) 297–405. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2028–99. *PLP*, no. 4271. —A.M.T.

**JOHN XIV KALEKAS**, patriarch of Constantinople (Feb. 1334–between 2 and 8 Feb. 1347); born Apros, Thrace, 1283, died Constantinople 29 Dec. 1347. John began his career as a married priest in the entourage of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS; he then became a member of the palatine clergy. Despite John's marital status, Kantakouzenos supported his election as patriarch in 1334, after first arranging his *pro forma* election as metropolitan of Thessalonike. He presided over the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which con-



demned BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and exonerated Gregory PALAMAS.

After the rebellion of Kantakouzenos and his coronation at Didymoteichon, the patriarch excommunicated his former patron and became regent for JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, whom he crowned in Nov. 1341. He then turned against Palamas and threw his support to the anti-Palamite Gregory AKINDYNOS. In 1344 he excommunicated Palamas and deposed ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS from the see of Monemvasia. By 1346 the tide began to turn against John, after the murder of Alexios APOKAUKOS and Kantakouzenist victories in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. On 2 Feb. 1347, just before Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople, John was deposed by ANNA OF SAVOY and condemned by the synod (G. Dennis, *JÖB* 9 [1960] 51–55). He was briefly exiled to Didymoteichon but then returned to Constantinople, where he died.

ED. MM 1:168–242. P. Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas Patriarch von Konstantinopel, unedierte Rede zur Krönung Joannes' V.," *OrChrP* 27 (1961) 38–45.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2168–2270. *PLP*, no. 10288. —A.M.T.

**JOHN AKTOUARIOS**, or John Zacharias, chief physician at court of Andronikos II Palaiologos; born ca. 1275, died after 1328. When first mentioned in 1299 in a letter from George LAKAPENOS, John was studying medicine in Constantinople; sometime between 1310 and 1323, he received the title of AKTOUARIOS. He corresponded with Michael GABRAS and taught astronomy to George OINAIOTES (S.I. Kourouses, *Athina* 77 [1978–79] 291–386; 78 [1980–82] 237–76).

One of John's teachers was JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER, to whom he dedicated his treatise *On the Workings and Illnesses of the Spirit of the Soul*. The last of the great Byz. physicians, John was well acquainted with the medical classics and Greek literature and philosophy. The *Method of Medicine*, written for his friend Alexios APOKAUKOS, is generally based on GALEN, but the work is innovative on colics from lead poisoning, whipworm infestations, and the combination of several techniques of bloodletting. John's *Urines*, a masterpiece of Byz. diagnostics, is divided into four basic parts: various urines and their physiological characteristics; diagnostics; etiology; and prognosis (K. Dimitriadis, *Byzantinische Uroskopie* [Bonn 1971]

55–64). John's meticulous gradations of colors, consistency, sediments, and floating substances in given levels of the urine flask (*amis*, Lat. *matula*) are in a MS diagram (Ideler, *infra* 2:22). Much of his work is still unpublished.

ED. *De spiritu animali*, *De urinis*, and *De diagnosi* in *PhysMedGr* 1:312–86; 2:3–192, 353–463.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, "Johannes Aktouarios: Leben—Bildung und Ausbildung—*De Methodo Medendi*," *BZ* 76 (1983) 302–21. Eng. version in *DOP* 38 (1984) 121–33. *PLP*, no. 6489. —J.S., A.M.T.

**JOHN ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS**. See ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS.

**JOHN ANAGNOSTES**, early 15th-C. writer. Nothing is known of his biography; the name ANAGNOSTES is probably not a family name but an indication of the clerical rank of reader. John lived in Thessalonike during the siege of MURAD II in 1430, and composed a brief eyewitness account (*Diegesis*) of the failure of the city's Venetian occupiers to resist the Turkish onslaught. The most recent editor of the *Diegesis*, G. Tsaras, believes that John's account breaks off suddenly with the entrance of the Turks into Thessalonike, and that it was completed ca. 1453 by an editor who also composed the *Monody* on the fall of Thessalonike that has been attributed to John. The narrative is presented in literary language, but in a simple, straightforward manner, with precise details. A. Kazhdan (*BZ* 71 [1978] 301–14) has pointed out similarities between the account of John and the narrative of John KAMINIATES, which is traditionally assigned to the 10th C.

ED. G. Tsaras, *Diegesis peri tes teleutaias haloseos tes Thessalonikes. Monodia epi te halosei tes Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1958), with modern Gr. tr., rev. by J. Irmscher, *BZ* 52 (1959) 364–67. PG 156:588–632.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:484f. *PLP*, no. 839. I. Tsaras, "Ho tetartos katholikos naos tes Thessalonikes sto Chroniko tou Ioannou Anagnoste," *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 165–85.

—A.M.T.

**JOHN ASEN II**, Bulgarian tsar (1218–41); born ca. 1195/6, died 1241. John was the eldest son of ASEN I, one of the founders of the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1207, when the Bulgarian throne was seized by his cousin BORIL, John was forced to flee to Galicia (GALITZA), but he overthrew his rival in 1218. He was married to a Hungarian

princess and was content to allow the Bulgarian church to remain under papal auspices. On the strength of his Western ties he put himself forward in 1228 as a regent for BALDWIN II. The Latins of Constantinople rejected his offer, confident in the truce they had concluded with his erstwhile ally, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. This was the prelude to the latter's invasion of Bulgaria in 1230, but John defeated and captured him at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. An inscription John had erected at TŪRNOVO soon after recorded that his conquests stretched from Adrianople in the east to Dyrrachion in the west and set out his claim to the overlordship of Constantinople. He now styled himself tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks, reviving the claims of SYMEON of Bulgaria.

Seeking patriarchal status for the Bulgarian church, John turned to JOHN III VATATZES. The Nicaean emperor was willing to arrange this in return for a joint undertaking against the Latins of Constantinople. This alliance was sealed by the marriage of John's daughter Helena to THEODORE II LASKARIS, heir to the Nicaean throne. The head of the Bulgarian church was duly accorded patriarchal rank by a church council meeting at Kallipolis in 1235 (I. Tarnanidis, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 3 [1975] 28–52). The allies launched an assault on Constantinople. Such concrete gains as there were, however, went to the Nicaeans. John was therefore happy to come to an understanding with the Latins of Constantinople, until the sudden death of his Hungarian consort in 1237 convinced him that he was guilty of perjury; he hastened to make peace with the Nicaeans. In yet another turnabout he married Irene, daughter of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, whom he allowed to return to Thessalonike. These vacillations were forced upon him by the large-scale settlement in his territories of CUMANS, seeking refuge from the Mongols. They presaged the collapse of the Bulgarian state which followed his death.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:323–418. I. Dujčev, *Tsar Ivan Asen II* (Sofia 1941). Idem, *Prinosi kŭm istorijata na Ivan Asenja II* (Sofia 1943). V. Gjuselev, "Bulgarien und das Kaiserreich von Nikaia (1204–1261)," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 143–54.

—M.J.A.

**JOHN CHRYSOSTOM** (Χρυσόστομος, "golden-mouth"), bishop of Constantinople (26 Feb. 398–20 June 404); saint; born Antioch between 340

and 350, died Komana 14 Sept. 407; feastday 13 Nov., translation of his relics 27 Jan. Born to a rich family, John received an excellent education, esp. under LIBANIOS and DIODOROS OF TARSOS. He became a monk and retired briefly to the desert, then returned to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon (381) and priest (386) and became a popular preacher. Invited to Constantinople to succeed NEKTARIOS as bishop, John became involved in a series of political struggles, acting in opposition to court favorites (EUTROPIOS), the growing power of the Arian Goth mercenaries (GAINAS), the increasing influence of Alexandria (THEOPHILOS), and Empress EUDOXIA. His invectives against the latter, whom he called "Jezebel" and "Herodias," proved fatal to his career; deposed at the Synod of the Oak at Chalcedon in Aug. 403, then briefly recalled after popular riots in the capital in his favor, he was banished in 404 to Koukousos in Armenia and died three years later during a move to a harsher exile.

John's reputation as orator was sustained throughout the Byz. millennium. Almost all of his voluminous writings have survived, in approximately 2,000 MSS; in addition a large number of spurious works bear his name. For example, the LITURGY attributed to Chrysostom is not his work. The greater bulk of his oeuvre consists of exegetical homilies on particular books of the Old and New Testaments, the majority of them belonging to his Antiochene period. The preserved texts are often from his stenographers' notes rather than his own hand and are sometimes accompanied by a later polished version. John emphasized the historical and literal meaning of biblical texts, disdaining allegorical interpretations; he was also concerned to show how they could furnish spiritual guidance for everyday life. He used these homilies, esp. those on the New Testament (in particular the 90 on Matthew), as vehicles for attacks on ARIANISM, also combatting the Anomaeon views of EUNOMIOS in a series of sermons entitled *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*. John was more distinguished as an orator than as a theologian. He used vague terms when discussing the hottest controversies of his time: thus he spoke of the unity of the natures in Christ without a clear definition of the union (*henosis*); he avoided the term *theotokos* although he stressed Christ's love of his mother; his attitude toward ORIGINAL





JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Icon of St. John Chrysostom; mosaic, early 14th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

SIN allowed both Pelagius and AUGUSTINE to consider him an ally.

John wrote much on morality, praising the ascetic life and virginity, and attacking the cohabitation of the sexes in ascetic communities and priestly homes. His criticism of the circus, THEATER, and other public entertainments was sharpened by the loss of his own congregation to these rival temptations; ironically, his own literary imagery teems with metaphors of the Hippodrome and chariot racing. An essay entitled *On the Education of Children* stresses the duty of parents to teach morality to their progeny by example and to prepare them for eternity rather than life. John's ideal was the nuclear family in which the *pater familias* would exercise mild and just authority in order to educate, not castigate, his children.

John had a strong sense of social justice. He emphasized the extremes of wealth and poverty at Antioch and contrasted the extravagance of public games with the virtues of almsgiving. He was not a radical social reformer, however, and never advocated the abolition of slavery as an

institution. His 21 homilies titled *On the Statues*, rebuking the Antiochene mob for overthrowing the imperial effigies in 387 in protest against a new tax, complement the account by Libanios and are of great value to secular and social historians (R. Browning, *JRS* 42 [1952] 13–20).

The first biography of John (by PALLADIOS of Helenopolis?) appeared in 425, in the form of a fictitious dialogue in Rome between an anonymous Eastern bishop and the deacon Theodore (BHG 870). Several other vitae were also produced (F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* [Brussels 1977]).

**Illustration of the Homilies of Chrysostom.** Unlike the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, those by John were never codified in a standard edition and reproduced in numerous illustrated versions. Consequently, illuminators approached their task independently. Illustrations may provide commentary (Athens, Nat. Lib. 211) but more often represent the subject of the sermon. As author, John is depicted in the pose of an evangelist and is sometimes represented as inspired by Paul or Luke, shown leaning over his shoulder. In a Palaiologan portrait added to a 12th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 172 sup.), John's scroll changes into a stream of water for the faithful, an example of the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE used also for other church fathers in late frescoes and MSS. The characteristic features of John, his sunken cheeks and high forehead, became exaggerated in the Palaiologan period.

ED. PG 47–64. Eng. tr. P. Schaff, H. Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vols. 9–14 (New York 1889–93). For complete list of works, see CPG 2, nos. 4305–5197.

LIT. D.C. Burger, *A Complete Bibliography of the Scholarship on the Life and Works of St. John Chrysostom* (Evanston, Ill., 1964). P.C. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Munich 1929–30). Eng. tr. M. Gonzaga, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (London 1959–60). Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 241–54. *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin: Actes du Colloque de Chantilly, 22–24 septembre, 1974*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1975). T.E. Gregory, *Vox Populi* (Columbus 1979) 41–79. R. Hill, "Chrysostom as Old Testament Commentator," *Prudentia* 20 (1988) 44–56. S.P. Madigan, "Athens 211 and the Illustrated Sermons of John Chrysostom," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1984). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 110–19. —B.B., A.K., R.S.N.

**JOHN ELEEMON** (Ἠλεήμων, "the merciful"), Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (from 610); saint; born Amathous, Cyprus, died Cyprus 619/

20; feastday 12 Nov. Son of the governor of Cyprus, Stephen or Epiphanius (P. Pattenden, *JThSt* n.s. 33 [1982] 191–94), John received an appropriate education, married, and had children; both his wife and children soon died, however. At the instigation of the *patrikios* Niketas, who conquered Egypt for Emp. HERAKLEIOS, John became patriarch of Alexandria. He supported Orthodoxy against Monophysitism and the remnants of paganism, employing monastic organization as his instrument. Famous for his charity, he built seven hospitals in Alexandria and provided food to emigrés, esp. clergy, from territories occupied by the Persians (K. Galling, *ZDPV* 82 [1966] 46–56). Surrounded by intellectuals such as SOPHRONIOS and MOSCHOS, John was not without literary interests and himself compiled the *Life of St. Tychon of Amathous* (H. Delehay, *AB* 26 [1907] 244–47). He left Alexandria on the eve of the Persian invasion and returned to Cyprus. Plots were hatched against him in both Alexandria and Cyprus, but they came to naught and he died peacefully.

Both Moschos and Sophronios wrote biographies of John, known only from their epitomes (H. Delehay, *AB* 45 [1927] 19–74; E. Lappa-Zizicas, *AB* 88 [1970] 274–78). The major vita, by his younger contemporary LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, presents John as having close contacts with Niketas and being involved in urban life with its trade, handicrafts, and financial transactions. ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated the *Life* into Latin.

**Representation in Art.** John, always clad as a bishop, may be shown in the act of distributing alms, accompanied by a personification of Mercy (THEODORE PSALTER, fol.23v) and of Alexandria (Venice, Marc. Z 351, fol.179v). From the 13th C. onward, he frequently appears in sanctuary frescoes, one of the procession of bishops shown approaching the altar.

SOURCE. *Leontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974) 257–637, with Fr. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 195–262, with Eng. tr. *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen*, ed. H. Gelzer (Freiburg im Breisgau–Leipzig 1893).

LIT. BHG 886–89. H.T.F. Duckworth, *St. John the Almsgiver Patriarch of Alexandria* (Oxford 1901). G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:82f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**JOHN GEOMETRES**, or Kyriotes, poet of the second half of the 10th C. John was probably

born to a noble family, but the traditional view that his father was the *patrikios* and *strategos* Theodore is the result of a misinterpretation. John received a good education and served in the army but retired and became a monk. His identification with John of Melitene, whose poem is in the chronicle of Skylitzes (Skyl. 282f), is wrong (M. Bibikov in *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* [Sofia 1980] 65f). John's epigrams contain abundant material concerning Byz. wars against Bulgaria and the Rus', as well as internal revolts. His favorite hero is NIKEPHOROS II. He describes JOHN I, who murdered Nikephoros and destroyed images of him, as transformed by this crime from a lion into a hare, trembling before his subjects and frightened by false dreams. This "Macbethian" theme of retribution is accompanied by a Christian indifference to the material world: after a few unhappy years of rule the emperor found rest in a grave only three cubits long.

John's general outlook is pessimistic: he foresees a political crisis, onslaughts of barbarians, peasant poverty, earthquakes, and a menacing comet. He praises his father but is very critical of conjugal ties. In his *enkomion* of the oak, the theme of a mother's love for her offspring is strongly emphasized (A. Littlewood, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 133–44). An erotic theme is treated allegorically: the lover whom a girl asked for some water symbolized Christ assuaging a moral thirst. Besides epigrams and PROGYMNASMATA, John produced hymns and orations dedicated to the Virgin and speeches on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and St. PANTELEEMON. The so-called *Paradeisos*, a collection of monastic epigrams, was apparently by John (P. Speck, *BZ* 58 [1965] 333–36). C.A. Trypanis hypothesized that a fresco in KALENDERHANE CAMII presents John's portrait (in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* [Thessalonike 1975] 301f).

ED. PG 106:812–1002. *The Progymnasmata*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Amsterdam 1972). See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 554.

LIT. F. Scheidweiler, "Studien zu Johannes Geometres," *BZ* 45 (1952) 277–319. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2:107–24. P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich vojn Svjatoslava," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 224–29. —A.K.

**JOHN ITALOS** (Ἰταλός), philosopher; born southern Italy ca.1025, died after 1082. John moved to Constantinople ca.1049, attended the lectures of PSELLOS, and polemicized with him. Supported by MICHAEL VII and some civilian

officials, he replaced Psellos as HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. He fell into disfavor under Alexios I, however, and was condemned at a trial in 1082. Although the anathemas of 1082 accuse John of heresy and paganism (Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57–61), his own works present a rather moderate philosophy; accordingly, some scholars (such as N. Kečakmadze) describe John as a radical reformer, whereas P. Joannou, P. Stephanou, and L. Clucas emphasize his Christian orthodoxy. Thus his condemnation may have been caused by John's bad character (stressed by Anna KOMNENE), political considerations, or his attention to classical philosophers, above all ARISTOTLE. Whatever John's own views were, his works and his trial demonstrate that he and his contemporaries discussed key philosophical problems such as the eternity of the cosmos, the existence of *universalia*, the existence of matter and *physis* ("nature"). John apparently also refuted the Neoplatonic thesis concerning the dialectic emanation of the world from the One.

ED. *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, ed. P. Joannou (Ettal 1956). *Opera*, ed. N. Kečakmadze (Tbilisi 1966).

LIT. P. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz* (Ettal 1956). P. Stephanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome 1949). L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Munich 1981). —A.K.

**JOHN KLIMAX** (or ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος, "of the Ladder"), also called Scholastikos or Sinaïtes, theologian and saint; born before 579, died ca. 650 (F. Nau, *BZ* 11 [1902] 35–37); feastday 30 Mar. His biography is barely known. According to his encomiast Daniel of Raithou, John received a general (*enkyklios*) education (and possibly was a SCHOLASTIKOS), but at age 16 took monastic vows, lived as an anchorite at the foot of Mt. SINAI, and eventually became the *hegoumenos* of the Sinai monastery.

Klimax's major work, *The Ladder of Paradise*, or *The Heavenly Ladder*, summarizes the experience of the DESERT FATHERS as reflected in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. It is an unsystematic presentation of vices and virtues, in scenes and more often in direct indoctrinations and definitions; they do not form a hierarchy of modes of behavior and are only superficially connected with the concept of the ladder. John ends by quoting 1 Corinthians 13:13, saying that the three greatest



JOHN KLIMAX. Illustration from a manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax (Sinai, gr. 418, fol. 162v); 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. A depiction of Avarice: a rich man sits between a golden chest and a cupboard, while his servants drive away two beggars.

virtues are faith, hope, and *agape* (Christian love), of which *agape* is the worthiest. Even though the monastic status is considered as supreme, the layman is not excluded from salvation if he avoids theft, falsehood, hatred, etc. (PG 88:640C–641A). John refers to angels and demons and to biblical personages, but never mentions the Virgin (S. Rabois-Bousquet, S. Salaville, *EO* 22 [1923] 450). John's style ranges between enigmatic obscurity and aphoristic simplicity of presentation; almost hymnic is the cadence of his repetitive definitions ("Penitence is the revocation of baptism. Penitence is a contract with God concerning the second life," etc.—PG 88:764B). Metaphors and similes are abundant, often borrowed from animal mythology (e.g., a SNAKE struggling against a deer). The *Ladder* was extremely popular; the text was commented on by scholars including PHOTIOS (G. Hofmann, *OrChrP* 7 [1941] 461–79) and translated in the West and in the Slav countries.

**Illustration of the Ladder of Paradise.** Portraits of John appear occasionally in church decoration



JOHN KLIMAX. Icon of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax; 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

(Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 168f) and on icons, esp. those from Sinai. His text, however, was not illustrated in monumental painting. The *Ladder* was first extensively illustrated in MSS in the 11th C. The simplest versions show only the ladder's 30 rungs and sometimes the author, modeled on an EVANGELIST PORTRAIT. In Vat. gr. 394 and other MSS, the chapters receive detailed illustration that is noteworthy for its rendering of the abstract qualities of the text. Often included in MSS (e.g., Vat. gr. 1754, or the Haifa-Bucharest fragment) is a Penitential Canon that celebrates the deeds of the "holy criminals," described in ch. 5 of the *Ladder* (T. Avner, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 5–25). While most MSS were presumably intended for a monastic audience, at least two have other associations. Milan, Ambros. B. 80. sup. has monograms of Andronikos DOUKAS, a brother of Michael VII (J.C. Anderson, *REB* 37 [1979] 229–38), and Paris, B.N. Coisl. 263, written in 1059 for Eusta-

thios BOILAS, also contains his will in which he mentions that he owned two copies of the *Ladder*.

ED. PG 88:632–1209. Eng. tr. C. Luiheid, N. Russell, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (London-New York 1982).

LIT. W. Völker, *Scala Paradisi* (Wiesbaden 1968). E. von Ivanka, "Aufstieg und Wende," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 141–52. I. Hausherr, "The Monastic Theology of St. John Climacus," *American Benedictine Review* 38 (1987) 381–407. Iosef, metropolitan of New York, *Prepodobni Ioan Lestvičnik: Lestvica* (Sofia 1982). D. Bogdanović, *Jovan lestvičnik u vizantijskoj i staroj srpskoj književnosti* (Belgrade 1968). J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954). —A.K., R.S.N.

**JOHN LYDOS**, scholar, bureaucrat, and writer; born Philadelphia (Lydia) 490, died ca. 565? Well versed in Latin in addition to his native Greek, John came to Constantinople in 511 in search of a post in the palace ministries; he attended philosophy lectures in the interim. He owed the first of several appointments to the praetorian prefect Zotikos, a fellow countryman. John served 40 years in the civil service, earning the admiration of Justinian I, which helped him acquire a professorial chair. After retirement (ca. 551) he settled down to a literary life.

His major work is *On the Magistracies*, a history and description of late Roman BUREAUCRACY. The treatise is both interestingly antiquarian and a mirror of the social and intellectual life of his day, characterized by John's scholarly confidence (esp. his Latin expertise) and vicious attacks on high officials, notably JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, whose infamy he helped to secure. Continuity between the Roman past and the Byz. present is a major theme. The work is enriched by many digressions on scholarly matters, esp. philological. Also extant are *On the Months*, a history of calendars and feasts, again stressing continuity from Rome to Byz., and *On Omens*, a historical survey of divination and related matters that has earned John the label of last astrologer of the old world (Bandy, *infra*, xxix). Panegyrics on Zotikos and Justinian, a history of the latter's Persian war, and some poetry are lost.

ED. *De magistratibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1903). *On Powers*, ed. and tr. A.C. Bandy (Philadelphia 1983). *De mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1898). *Liber de ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth (Leipzig 1897).

LIT. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Within* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), with Eng. tr. of *Magistracies*. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "John Lydos on the Imperial Administration," *Byzantion* 44



(1974) 479–501. J. Caimi, *Burocrazia e Diritto nel De magistratibus di Giovanni Lido* (Milan 1984).  
—B.B.

**JOHN MERKOUROPOULOS.** See JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES.

**JOHN OF AMALFI** (?), Latin monk and priest, one of several Latin translators active in Constantinople in the 11th C. (P. Chiesa, *StMed*<sup>3</sup> 24 [1983] 521–44). Circa 1060–1100 John resided in the Greek monastery of “Panagiotum” (Panagiou?) in Constantinople, where, at the request of the Amalfitan aristocrat Pantaleon the *dishypatos*, he composed a *Book of Miracles* drawn from *The Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS, the legend of the Antiphonetes Icon, etc., arranged roughly according to theme and often concerning merchants. He also translated a sermon on St. NICHOLAS to complete the earlier work by JOHN OF NAPLES, and a Life of Irene, the latter in connection with the AMALFI colony’s church in Constantinople, S. Maria Latina (A. Hofmeister, *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 4.2 [1924] 129–53).

ED. *Liber de Miraculis*, ed. M. Huber (Heidelberg 1913), rev. C. van de Vorst, *AB* 33 (1914) 363–65.

LIT. A. Hofmeister, “Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitris Mauronis in Amalfi,” *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 27 (1932) 225–84, 493–508.  
—M.McC.

**JOHN OF ANTIOCH**, to be distinguished from John MALALAS, is a name to which many historical excerpts in various MSS are attached. That such an author lived is seemingly attested by John TZETZES (*Epistulae* 6; *Historiae* 6.556), but nowadays the name is thought to confound two individuals, one the 7th-C. author of a world chronicle from Adam to 610, the other a 10th-C. figure. Which excerpts belong to which writer is an often insoluble problem. Many are preserved in the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII; others derive from various quarters, including scholia to Homer’s *Odyssey* (ed. W. Dindorf, vol. 1 [Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1862] 3–6). The earlier author is sometimes equated with JOHN I, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (631–49). Overall, the fragments dealing with late Rome and early Byz. both enhance and supplement other fragmentary sources, while Lampros’s MS (*infra*) confirmed that the SOUDA and MAXIMOS PLANOUEDES used

John’s Roman Republic material. John was also a source for the *Epitome* of ZONARAS (M. diMaio, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 158–85).

ED. *FHG* 4:535–622, supp. *FHG* 5:27–38. S. Lampros, “Anekdoton apospasma Ioannou tou Antiocheos,” *NE* 1 (1904) 7–31, 495–98; 2 (1905) 240f; 3 (1906) 124–26. Eng. tr. of frs. 191–214 in C.D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila*<sup>2</sup> (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:326–28. F.R. Walton, “A Neglected Historical Text,” *Historia* 14 (1965) 236–51.  
—B.B.

**JOHN OF BICLAR**, bishop of Gerona and historian of the VISIGOTHS; born Santarem (Scallabis) in Lusitania, died Spain ca.621. John is said by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE to have been a Goth, but this is nowhere evident in his work. Having been educated in Greek and Latin at Constantinople, he returned ca.576 to Spain, where he fell foul of the Arian persecution of the Visigothic king Leovigild (568–86), resulting in ten years of exile and harassment. John subsequently founded a monastery at the now unidentifiable site of Bicular in Spain, drawing up the house rules for the brothers it attracted. He wrote a Latin chronicle, covering the years 567–90. Its narrative of Visigothic history is relatively impartial; in addition the chronicle is a valuable source for such matters as the military objectives of Justin II and Tiberios I and the former’s religious policies (Av. Cameron, *SChH* 13 [1976] 53f).

ED. *Juan de Biclario, obispo de Gerona: Su vida y su obra*, ed. J. Campos (Madrid 1960). *Chronica minora*, pt.2, ed. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:206–20.

LIT. A. Kollautz, “Orient und Okzident am Ausgang des 6. Jh. Johannes, Abt von Biclaram, Bischof von Gerona, der Chronist des Westgotischen Spaniens,” *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 463–506. Thompson, *Goths* 57, 80f.  
—B.B.

**JOHN OF BRIENNE**, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–37); born ca.1170, died Constantinople March 1237 (J.M. Buckley, *Speculum* 32 [1957] 315–22). This scion of a great French noble family enjoyed enough experience for several lifetimes: king of Jerusalem (1210–25), a leader of the Fifth Crusade, papal marshal, father-in-law and enemy of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, and finally emperor of Constantinople. Contemporaries admired his prowess and the elegant figure he cut. It was almost a matter of course that the barons of the Latin Empire of Constantinople should turn to him in 1228 when they were seeking a regent for BALDWIN II. John

agreed to take up the defense of Constantinople, on condition that he be made emperor, with Baldwin succeeding him on his death. Terms were duly ratified in April 1229 at Perugia; Venice provided him with transports for his expedition. He reached Constantinople in autumn 1231 and was crowned emperor. His arrival aroused extravagant hopes that he might be able to restore the fortunes of the Latin Empire. A strike into Asia Minor had some success, but it pushed JOHN III VATATZES into an alliance against him with JOHN ASEN II. John organized a successful defense of Constantinople over the years 1235–36, but died soon after.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 169–77. *HC* 2:216–21.  
—M.J.A.

**JOHN OF CAESAREA**, or John the Grammarian, early 6th-C. priest and theologian. His biography is unknown, and it is not clear whether his Caesarea was located in Palestine or Cappadocia. John was the first NEO-CHALCEDONIAN. In 514–18 he wrote an *Apology* for the Council of Chalcedon in which he tried to harmonize Chalcedonian doctrine with the ideas of CYRIL of Alexandria. The book consists of three parts: John’s conciliatory teaching; an analysis of Cyril’s position; criticism of SEVEROS of Antioch. John rejected the Monophysite argument against the idea of two natures of Christ that allegedly implied that the whole Trinity would have to have been incarnated and introduced the concept of the “characteristic hypostasis” of Christ in which these two natures were united. Severos responded in a long *Refutation* that is preserved only in Syriac. Other works include tracts against the Akephaloi and APHTHARTODOCETISM, homilies against the MANICHAEANS, exegesis of the Gospel of John. He is probably to be identified with John the Orthodox, the author of a *Dialogue with a Manichaean*.

ED. *Opera minora*, ed. M. Richard (Turnhout-Louvain 1977).

LIT. C. Moeller, “Trois fragments grecs de l’Apologie de Jean le Grammaire pour le Concile de Chalcédoine,” *RHE* 46 (1951) 683–88. R. Draguet, *Julien d’Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924) 50–73.  
—A.K.

**JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA** (Καππαδόκης), high-ranking official; born Caesarea (Cappadocia) probably before 500, died Constantinople after 548. When Justinian I first met him in 520, John

was the clerk of a *magister militum praesentalis*. Named praetorian prefect before 30 Apr. 531, John held the position (except from 15 Jan. to mid-Oct. 532) until May 541. He was energetic, astute, and clever, yet critics denounced him as drunken, gluttonous, debauched, brutal, and unscrupulous. John was said to be corrupt and excessively powerful, esp. because he economized on the military budget by removing many soldiers from military registers; he largely suppressed Latin, reduced the *sportulae* (see SYNETHAI) of bureaucrats, and allegedly supplied faulty provisions to a naval expedition against the Vandals. NIKA rioters forced John’s temporary removal on 14 Jan. 532. He was consul in 538. In May 541 Empress THEODORA succeeded in deposing him and confiscating his fortune and palace. John was first banished to Kyzikos and ordained as a deacon, but was then accused of murdering Bp. Eusebios of Kyzikos. Ignominiously deported to Antinoopolis in Egypt, John was allowed to return to Constantinople after Theodora died in 548, but only as a priest. Despite his faults, John was a principal force in the smooth functioning of the bureaucracy, most notably the efficient collection of taxes and the imposition of fiscal control.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:435–49, 463–83. Bury, *LRE* 2:36–39, 41, 55–59. P. Lamma, “Giovanni di Cappadocia,” *Aevum* 21 (1947) 80–100. A. Čekalova, “Senatorskaja aristokratija Konstantinopolja v pervoj polovine VI v.,” *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 22.  
—W.E.K.

**JOHN OF DAMASCUS**, theologian and saint; born Damascus ca.675 (according to J. Hoeck, ca.650), died Lavra of St. SABAS 4 Dec. 749 (S. Vailhé, *EO* 9 [1906] 28–30; this precise date is suspect) or more probably ca.753/4; feastday 27 March, with variations. His vita, written by JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES, patriarch of Jerusalem, or by John IX, describes him as a member of an influential Arabo-Christian family, the Mansūr, who controlled the financial administration of the caliphate. John received an excellent education together with his adoptive brother KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. Both became monks of the Lavra of St. Sabas. Patr. John V of Jerusalem (705–35) ordained John priest.

John was the greatest Eastern systematizer of Christian dogma. His major work, *Pege gnoseos* (The Fountain of Knowledge), consists of a terminological introduction (“Philosophical chap-



ters"); a refutation of heretical teachings, including Islam and Iconoclasm; and an exposition of the Orthodox creed (*Expositio fidei*) concerning God, creation, Incarnation and Christology, and related topics (sacraments, Mariology, eschatology, etc.). The exposition is based primarily on THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, albeit reworked and expanded. Possibly the *Fountain* was produced in two versions, with the refutation of heresies and some smaller sections added later.

John wrote many polemical works, esp. against the Iconoclasts: accordingly the Council of HIERIA (754) anathematized him as a supporter of the Saracens and teacher of impiety. John developed the Orthodox theory of images by categorizing six types of ICON: the natural image as originating from the prototype; the idea (*ennoia*), preexisting in God, of things; man as imitation (*mimesis*) of God; visible objects aiming at the representation of the invisible; corporeal objects that symbolize and presage the future; and objects reminiscent of the past.

John also worked as moralist, exegete, hagiographer, author of sermons, and hymnographer. Some works ascribed to him are spurious, however, including a speech against Constantine V (actually by John of Jerusalem), the SACRA PARALLELA, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. John was very popular in the West (J. de Ghellinck, *BZ* 21 [1912] 448–57), in Slavic lands, and in the Near East, where THEODORE ABU-QURRA continued his traditions. The Arabic vita of John was written at the end of the 11th C. by the monk and priest Michael; the oldest Greek Life, by John of Jerusalem, was probably produced in the first half of the 12th C., although B. Hemmerdinger dates it before 969 (*OrChrP* 28 [1962] 422f).

ED. PG 94–96. *Schriften*, ed. B. Kotter, 5 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). *Homélies sur la nativité et la dormition*, ed. P. Voulet (Paris 1961). Eng. tr. F.H. Chase, *Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1958; rp. 1970) and D. Anderson, *On the Divine Images* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980).

LIT. BHG 884–885. J.M. Hoeck, *LThK* 5:1023–26. Beck, *Kirche* 476–86. A. Tsirpanlis, "The Anthropology of Saint John of Damascus," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 533–48; 39 (1968) 68–106. H. Menges, *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Münster i.V. 1938). V. Fazzo, "Rifiuto delle icone e difesa cristologica nei discorsi di Giovanni Damasceno," *VetChr* 20 (1983) 25–45. A. Siclari, "Il pensiero filosofico di Giovanni di Damasco nella critica," *Aevum* 51 (1977) 349–83. T.F.X. Noble, "John Damascene and the History of the Iconoclastic Controversy," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo 1987) 95–116. —A.K.

**JOHN OF EPHEBUS**, Syriac historian, born near Amida ca. 507, died Chalcedon 586 or 588 (P. Allen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 10 [1979] 251–54). John was a Monophysite leader in Constantinople in the time of Justinian I, under whose orders he was sent in 542 as a missionary to the Ephesus region. Around 558 he was ordained bishop in Syria by JACOB BARADAEUS. John preached against Jews and Montanists in Asia Minor and in 545/6 upbraided pagans, aristocrats, and intellectuals in Constantinople. After Justinian's death John was jailed for anti-Chalcedonian activities.

John wrote an ascetical tract titled *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. It recounts the stories of 58 holy men and women who lived in the Syriac-speaking milieu in John's own day, affording a rare glimpse into the world of the religious life of the Monophysite community. Of his *Church History*, written from a Monophysite point of view, only the third part survives in its entirety, covering the years 571–86. Sections of the second part are recoverable from the excerpts quoted by pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ, MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, and ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ. The *History* contains important evidence, for instance, on Slav invasions (A. Djakonov, *VDI* [1946] no. 1, 20–34).

ED. "Lives of the Eastern Saints," ed. E.W. Brooks, PO 17 (1923) 1–307; 18 (1924) 513–698; 19 (1926) 153–285, with Eng. tr. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. (Paris 1936; rp. Louvain 1952), with Lat. tr.

LIT. S.A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the "Lives of the Saints"* (Berkeley 1990). E. Honigmann, "L'histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Éphèse," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 615–25. Idem, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain 1951) 207–15. —S.H.G.

**JOHN OF EPIPHANEIA** (Syria), 6th–7th-C. historian. John was variously a lawyer, *apo eparchon*, and an adviser to Gregory, patriarch of Antioch (570–93). John wrote a history in formal continuation of AGATHIAS, its main theme being the long war (572–92) between Byz. and Persia, culminating in the flight of CHOSROES II and his restoration by MAURICE. Only one fragment of this history survives, containing the introduction and beginning of the first book. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, a kinsman (5.24), states that John's work was not yet available to him in the 590s when he was writing his own history; this may either mean

it was in progress or published but not yet physically accessible.

ED. FHG 4:273–76.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:312f.

—B.B.

**JOHN OF EUBOEIA**, mid-8th-C. writer. His biography is barely known; the only ascertained fact is that he wrote one of his sermons in 744 (PG 96:1504D). In the lemmata of his authentic works he is called "the monk and priest of Euboea (or Euoia)," whereas in some spurious texts he appears as a bishop of EUBOEIA. Because no such bishopric existed, Dölger (*infra* 7–9) located John in Eupoia/Euaria, a bishopric near Damascus (or in Euroia in Epiros), but probably he was not a bishop (Halkin, *infra* 227).

John's oeuvre is not clearly determined. Some works by John of Damascus have been ascribed to him (J.M. Hoeck, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 38, n.2), and vice versa. He wrote some sermons on Gospel themes—Mary's conception, the resurrection of Lazarus, the massacre of the innocents—the last perhaps inspired by contemporary events. He also wrote the earliest extant legend of PARASKEVE. John's authorship of the so-called *Religious Dispute at the Court of the Sasanians* was rejected by E. Bratke (*TU* 19.3a [1899] 97).

ED. PG 96:1460–1508. F. Dölger, "Johannes 'von Euboeia,'" *AB* 68 (1950) 5–26. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226–37.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 502f.

—A.K.

**JOHN OF GAZA**, 6th-C. Christian grammarian. John wrote 703 hexameters (with iambic prologue) in the style of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, describing a mural in the winter baths of GAZA or ANTIOCH, built during Justinian I's reign and containing a Christian cross along with some 60 allegorical figures. An early example of Byz. EKPHRASIS, it is also notable as one of the first such works to describe PERSONIFICATIONS. John also penned six Anacreontic poems, their subjects ranging from roses and mythology to addresses and EPITHALAMIA to local grandees; he was one of the last to essay this ancient meter (T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonten* [Munich 1940] 13–18).

ED. Ekphrasis—Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 135–213. Anacreontics—ed. T. Bergk in *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup>, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1882) 342–48.

LIT. G. Downey, "John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpoi," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton 1938) 205–12. C.A. Trypanis, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis* (Chicago 1981) 401f, 407. —B.B.

**JOHN OF KARPATOS**, theologian. His biography is unknown, his dates questionable. Because Photios's BIBLIOTHECA (cod. 201) mentions John's work, we know John lived before the 9th C. Some MSS (including the 9th-C. Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Sabait. 408) call him bishop of Karpathos (an island between Crete and Rhodes). He may be the "John of Karpathos" who signed the decisions of the Council of 680. John had high repute, was sometimes characterized as a saint, and his works were included in the PHILOKALIA.

Besides spurious texts (some actually by ELIAS EKDIKOS), two collections of admonitions (*centuria*) bear John's name: *Consolations to the Monks of India* and *Theological and Gnostic Chapters*. John understood asceticism as a constant struggle against demons. Vices—such as vainglory, gluttony, avarice—dwell in the inferior parts of the soul, and the monk's task is to purge them and to develop his intellect (*logistikos* or *nous*): while the imperial treasury contains gold, the monk's treasure is his knowledge of the intelligible. Although he refers primarily to the Bible, John is familiar with Stoic terminology; he also quotes Plutarch and uses Pythagoras, "whom the Greeks admired more than any other philosopher," as an example of the virtue of silence.

ED. PG 85:1837–60 (this appendix is not in every copy). *A Supplement to the Philokalia: The Second Century of Saint John of Karpathos*, ed. D. Balfour (Brookline, Mass., 1989).

LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Jean de Carpathos," *EO* 31 (1932) 284–303; 39 (1940–42) 290–311. P.V. Nikitin, "Ioann Karpafijskij i Pateriki," *Izvestija imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*<sup>6</sup> vol. 5 (St. Petersburg 1911) 615–36. —A.K.

**JOHN OF NAPLES**, deacon and author ca 900 of a continuation (762–872) of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Naples*. The *Deeds* mirrors the position of Naples between Byz. and the West as its focus shifts from events in southern Italy—particularly the Arab advance—to Constantinople. The *Deeds'* anonymous first section, composed sometime between about 834 and 849 according to Achelis (but cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3 [Stuttgart 1981] 29, n.124), treats bishops and buildings from the beginnings to 754 using jejune

local sources augmented by the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Paul the Deacon, GREGORY OF TOURS, etc. Although this author favored icons, his mutilated account of the Iconoclast Constantine V as a lion hunter, dragon slayer, and victor over ARTABASDOS is quite positive (S. Gero, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 155–59). Only a fragment survives of a second continuation by subdeacon Peter.

John's *Translatio S. Severini* (BHL 7658) and *Acta S. Januarii, Sosii et aliorum* (BHL 4134–35) describe the Arab depredations. He may also have written the *Acta Maximi Cumani*, and, with the help of an unknown Byz., he certainly adapted into Latin a number of Byz. hagiographical works, including the *Vita of Euthymios* by Cyril of Skythopolis (ed. F. Dolbeau, *MEFRM* 94.1 [1982] 315–36), a *Life of Nicholas* by Patr. METHODIOS I (ed. P. Corsi, *Nicolaus* 7 [1979] 359–80), and a *Passion* of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, offering eloquent testimony on the cultural orientation of Naples in his lifetime.

ED. G. Waitz, *MGH SRL* 402–36. AASS Jan.1:734–39. AASS Sept.6:874–84.

LIT. H. Achelis, *Die Bischofschronik von Neapel* (Leipzig 1930). Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 440–44. —M.McC.

**JOHN OF NIKIU**, Egyptian bishop and chronicler; fl. late 7th C. Little is known of his life save that as bishop of Nikiu he was appointed overseer of all the monasteries, but was suspended from the priesthood because he caused the death of a monk whom he had disciplined. Probably after this incident John wrote a chronicle along conventional Byz. lines, beginning with Adam and ending with the immediate aftermath of the Arab conquest of Egypt. Thought to have been originally written in Greek with some sections in Coptic, it survives in two late Ethiopic MSS. The Ethiopic text, translated from Arabic in 1602, is in deplorable condition. Sections are missing, and some chapter headings are unrelated to the contents of the chapters. How faithful the Arabic and Ethiopic translations are to John's original cannot be determined; the Ethiopic version indicates influence from traditional Arabic historiography. For the period of the Arab conquest, the *Chronicle* remains the earliest and only eyewitness account, antedating the earliest Arab accounts by almost 200 years.

ED. *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg (Paris 1883). *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, tr. R.H. Charles (London-Oxford 1916).

—D.W.J.

**JOHN OF POUTZE** (Ἰκ Πούτζης), tax collector; fl. 1120s–1157. John served John II and Manuel I as general superintendent of revenue collection (*logistes megistos*—Nik.Chon. 54.76, probably *megas LOGARIASTES*) and *protonotarios* of the *dromos* (Kresten, “Styppeiotes” 84f). During John's reign, he was scrupulously upright and an unrelenting collector of revenue; he convinced John II to divest the taxes raised for the navy into the general treasury and pay for ships only when needed. To preserve his position under Manuel, John totally changed his style, greedily enriching himself and his family. The stories of his gluttony and avarice told by Choniates (56–58) reflect oral traditions that survived among the bureaucrats of Constantinople.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 230–33.

—C.M.B.

**JOHN OF RILA**, Bulgarian monk and saint; born near Kjustendil between ca.876 and 880, died 18 Aug. 946; feastdays 1 July, 18 Aug., 17 Oct. After leaving the monastery where he had taken his vows, he lived for many years as a hermit in the Struma (Strymon) valley and on Mt. Vitoša. He founded a monastery at RILA in the mountains east of the upper Struma ca.930–31. In 941 he returned to the eremitic life near his monastery. His reputation for holiness spread far and wide during his lifetime and after his death; as a result his remains were taken first to Sofia, then to Hungary, and finally to Tŭrnovo, before being returned to Rila. Many vitae of John were written, but none is contemporary. The oldest Slavonic vita was composed before 1183. A mid-12th-C. Greek Life by George SKYLITZES survives only in Slavonic translation. The most widely copied Life is that by Patr. EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO, which makes critical use of earlier material. John's only surviving work was a spiritual testament establishing rules for his monastery (ed. Ivanov, 136–42). His cult is widespread in the Orthodox world, and he is represented in many Byz. and post-Byz. wall paintings and icons.

LIT. J. Ivanov, *Sv. Ivan Rilski i negovijat monastir* (Sofia 1917). I. Dujčev, *Rilskijat svetec i negovata obitel* (Sofia 1947). I. Fekeldžiev, *Narodni legendi za Ivan Rilski* (Sofia 1979).

—R.B.

**JOHN OF SARDIS**, name of several metropolitans of the city. The first of them, a correspondent of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, participated in the Council of 815 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 5 [1901–02] 161). C. Foss (*Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass.-London 1976] 66) distinguishes him from John II, a victim of the Iconoclasts. In an unpublished text Demetrios of Kyzikos praises their homonym, who lived before 950, for his knowledge of divine and human sciences (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:263). Two seals of John are dated in the second half of the 11th C. Another John signed the minutes of the Council of 1147 (PG 147:500C).

It is unclear which of them, if any, can be identified with the author of the Commentary on the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS, which in the 14th-C. Vat. gr. 1408 is ascribed to John of Sardis. Beck (*Kirche* 510) sees in him the contemporary of Theodore, Foss identifies him with John II, whereas Rabe (*Commentarium*, xvi) places him in the second half of the 10th C. In any case this commentary was known to John DOXOPATRES (2nd half of the 11th C.), who also mentions John's scholia on HERMOGENES. In his commentary John used commentaries on Aristotle and *progymnasmata* produced in the 5th–6th C. According to Hunger (*Lit.* 1:78), this points to a survival rather than revival of the knowledge of antiquity; if, however, John lived ca.950, this thesis should be reconsidered. A John of Sardis also wrote hagiographical works (*BHG* 215i, 1334).

ED. *Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1928). *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1931) 2:351–60. —A.K.

**JOHN OF SKYTHOPOLIS**. See JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS.

**JOHN PATRIKIOS**, appointed by Emp. Leontios in 697 to lead a naval expedition against the Arabs in North Africa. John recaptured Carthage and several surrounding towns, but in 698 'ABD AL-MALIK sent a superior fleet, forcing him to retreat

for supplies and reinforcements to Crete, where mutinous supporters of TIBERIOS II killed him.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:80–84. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:278f. —P.A.H.

**JOHN PETRIC'I** (of Petritzos), the most notable translator of Greek philosophical texts into Georgian; died Georgia soon after 1125. John was educated in Constantinople, a pupil of PSELLOS and JOHN ITALOS. He spent approximately 20 years after 1083 at the Georgian monastery of PETRITZOS at Bačkovo. He then returned to Georgia, to the monastery and academy at GELAT'I founded by DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER. His translations include works of history (*Antiquities of Josephus Flavius*), theology (John Klimax), and most importantly numerous philosophical texts (Aristotle, *Topika* and *On Interpretation* [which have not survived], Nemesios, *On the Nature of Man*, and Proklos Diadochos, *Elements of Theology* [with an original commentary]). These are slavishly literal. John's desire to establish a Georgian tradition of philosophy, reconciling Aristotelian, Platonic, and Christian thought, ultimately failed because of the obscurity of his own writings and lack of interest among his countrymen, but his efforts had a significant impact on later Georgian philosophy. His translation and commentary on Proklos were rendered into Armenian in 1284.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 211–25. E.R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1963). N.V. Kiladze, *Filosofskaja leksika srednevekovogo Vostoka* (Tbilisi 1980). G. Tevzadze, “Aristoteles in Joane Petrizis Kommentaren,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Georgien, Beiträge zur georgischen Literatur*, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, vol. 1 (Jena 1977) 51–61, no. 1. —R.T.

**JOHN ROGER**. See ROGERIOS, JOHN.

**JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS**, Neo-Chalcedonian theologian, bishop of Skythopolis (ca.536–50). John tried to reconcile the statements of the Council of Chalcedon with the teaching of CYRIL of Alexandria but was attacked by a strictly dyophysite anonymous writer in a treatise with the title *Against Nestorios* that concealed its real purpose. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.95) suggests that the author was Basil of Cilicia; in a later passage (cod.107) Photios says that Basil was a Nestorian who borrowed from



DIODOROS OF TARSOS and THEODORE OF MOP-SUESTIA but avoided a direct attack on Cyril. John answered the anonymous writer with a tract entitled *Against Those Who Have Cut Themselves off from the Church*, criticizing also EUTYCHES, DIOSKOROS, and other Monophysites. Since all of these works are known only in fragments, the real substance of the dispute is hard to establish (E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Louvain 1951] 80f). John was subsequently involved in Orthodox polemics against SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also the first scholiast on the writings of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (PG 4:15-432, 527-76), attempting to exploit him for Orthodox beliefs; his commentaries, translated into Syriac ca.800, were preserved along with those of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR.

ED. Mansi 10:1107, 11:437-40. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum* (Münster 1907; rp. 1981) 85f.

LIT. S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* (Bonn 1962) 176-84. H.U. von Balthasar, "Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis," *Scholastik* 15 (1940) 16-38. -B.B., A.K.

**JOHN SIKELIOTES**, orator; fl. ca.1000. At the order of Basil II, John Sikelites delivered in the Pikridion monastery a speech (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz 6:447.24-26) that is now lost. His identification with John DOXOPATRES was rejected by H. Rabe (*RhM* 62 [1907] 581, n.1). John is known primarily as a commentator of Hermogenes; his scholia to Ailios ARISTEIDES have also been discovered (F.W. Lenz, *Aristeidestudien* [Berlin 1964] 99, 114).

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 6:56-504.

-A.K.

**JOHN SIKELIOTES**, purported chronicler. Krumbacher (*GBL* 386-88) admitted reluctantly the existence of John, identifying him with the "Sikelites didaskalos" mentioned in the preface to Skylitzes (Skyl. 3.18). This second John Sikelites is, however, a result of palaeographical "corrections" by Andrew Darmarios in the 16th C.: Darmarios introduced John's name in the title of the chronicle by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and probably on the MS of the chronicle ascribed to Theodore SKOUTARIOTES as well.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JOB* 25 (1976) 213-17.

-A.K.

**JOHN SMBAT** (Ἰωβαννῆς, Arm. Yovhannēs Smbat), son of GAGIK I; BAGRATID king of Armenia (ca.1017/20-1040/1). His authority was challenged from the start by his brother Ašot IV the Brave, with whom he was forced to divide the lands of the kingdom of ANI. Thanks to these quarrels, Giorgi I, the ruler of the newly united kingdom of ABCHASIA and Iberia, was able to capture John Smbat, whom he released only after the sack of Ani and the surrender of several border fortresses. When Emp. BASIL II advanced in 1022 to complete the Byz. annexation of the lands of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and laid waste to Iberia, John Smbat tried to conciliate the emperor: the childless king sent the *katholikos* Peter Getadarj to Constantinople with his testament in which he willed his realm to Byz., keeping only a life tenure with the title of *magistros*. The death of Basil II delayed the implementation of this agreement, but when John Smbat died, Emp. Michael IV demanded the immediate fulfillment of the testament, which became the legal basis for the Byz. annexation of the kingdom of Ani in 1045.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 556-58, 566-69. J. Shepard, "Skylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catechon Cecaumenos," *REArm* n.s. 11 (1975-76) 283-311. Juzbašjan, "Skilica."

-N.G.G.

**JOHN THE ALMSGIVER**. See JOHN ELEEMON.

**JOHN THE BAPTIST**, precursor (*prodromos*) of Christ, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, a relative of the Virgin Mary. Three episodes of his life were held to have a special significance: the appearance of an angel predicting John's birth, his baptism of Jesus and prophecies concerning the role of Jesus, and his arrest by Herod and his beheading. In Christian tradition John occupies an exceptional place, his life being described in apocryphal gospels and acts, homilies, and hymns. In monastic literature John appears as an ideal type of monk. He was the object of great veneration. In Constantinople alone at least 36 churches and monasteries were dedicated to him, of which the most famous was the STODIOS; others were LIPS, the Prodromos in PETRA, in Sphorakion, etc. The monastery of PHOBEROU on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos was also dedicated to the Prodromos. Various relics were connected with the

cult of John, esp. his head (of which several examples are mentioned in various texts) and hand. Among authors who wrote on John were Sophronios of Jerusalem, Leontios of Constantinople, Theodore of Stoudios, John Mauropous, Maximos Holobolos, Thomas Magistros, Neilos Kabasilas, and Manuel II.

**Feasts of John the Baptist**. The conception (*syllipsis*) of John (Lk 1:5-25), commemorated 23 Sept., was the original Byz. civil New Year and beginning of the church CALENDAR until ca.462 when the INDICION was shifted to 1 Sept. Not found originally in Jerusalem, the conception feast may be of Constantinopolitan origin and is undoubtedly the original feast of John in the capital. It initiated the course-reading of Luke in the EVANGELION. Neither this feast nor the Nativity (*genethlion*) of John on 24 June had any special liturgical solemnity.

More important was the 29 Aug. commemoration of his beheading (*apotome tes timias kephales*) described in Mark 6:14-29. Celebrated in Jerusalem ever since the 5th C. (Severos of Antioch, PO 36:358-66) and at the Stoudios monastery from the 10th C., this feast was to acquire greater solemnity than the other two with the gradual substitution of the Palestinian SABAITIC TYPIKA for the *Typikon of the Great Church* after 1204. The beheading is one of but two Byz. feasts that are also days of FASTING.

**Representation in Art**. Longhaired and progressively more haggard, John is generally represented in art wearing a prophet's pallium and often the fur mantle of Elijah since he was called a new Elijah (Mt 11:14). From the 11th C. onward, he manifests his role as ascetic exemplum by wearing the fur *melote* of the desert ascetic or the monastic MANDYAS. Depicted first in catacombs in scenes of the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY), he appears independently by the 6th C. (Cathedra of MAXIMIAN, where he displays a lamb, recalling Jn 1:36). Stories of his life, death, and relics were being depicted by the 9th C. (e.g., an icon described by Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:768AB). In post-Iconoclastic art, John is represented more frequently than anyone except Christ and Mary. Richly illustrated Gospel books depict his birth, naming, ministry, recognition, baptism of Christ, imprisonment, and death. *Evangelia* illustrate the discoveries (*inventiones*) of his relics; cycles of his ministry and baptisms ac-

company the homily on baptism of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and adorned the baptistery of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (ca.1200); and semicanonical cycles of his life and relics were depicted in churches (Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 121, 138, 140, 162, etc.). John appears as the classic third member of the DEESIS and in scenes of the ANASTASIS. In Palaiologan art, narrative cycles of John are further elaborated, and when John is shown in Paradise, he is given angels' wings (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 7 [1973] 39-51).

LIT. E. Lupieri, "Felices sunt qui imitantur Iohannem (Hier. Hom. in Io.)," *Augustinianum* 24 (1984) 33-71. Idem, "John the Baptist, the First Monk," *Word and Spirit* 6 (1984) 11-23. R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines du Précurseur à Constantinople," *EO* 37 (1938) 312-51. K. Corrigan, "The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev," *DOP* 42 (1988) 1-11. C. Walter, "The Invention of John the Baptist's Head in the Wall-Calendar at Gračаницa," *ZbLkUmet* 16 (1980) 71-83.

-J.I., A.K., R.F.T., A.W.C.

**JOHN THE EVANGELIST, MONASTERY OF**. See PATMOS.

**JOHN THE EXARCH**, Bulgarian writer and translator; died probably between 917 and 927. His fine knowledge of Greek and his familiarity with Byz. theology and philosophy suggest that he was educated in Constantinople, where he may have been sent by Tsar Boris I. From the late 9th C. he was a member of the circle of intellectuals at Preslav under the patronage of Tsar Symeon and held the office of exarch of the Bulgarian church; the functions of this office are unknown.

By 893 he had already translated substantial excerpts from John of Damascus's *On the Orthodox Faith*. This entailed the creation of a new technical vocabulary and a means of expressing abstract concepts in Old Church Slavonic, the difficulty of which he recognized and discussed perceptively. His *Šestodnev*, written somewhat later, was based on the *Hexaemeron* of Basil the Great and his Greek commentators, and the *On the Constitution of Man* of MELETIOS THE MONK. By adding much material of his own, John made the *Šestodnev* a kind of encyclopedia of medieval Orthodox cosmology and culture. It contains interesting information on Bulgaria in the author's time, such as the long description of Symeon's palace in book 6. He also wrote a series of festal sermons.



John helped create medieval Slavonic literature. His wide knowledge, his command of classical rhetoric, and his occasional poetic lyricism gave him great influence both on southern Slavic literature and on the early literature of Rus'.

ED. Slova, ed. D. Ivanova-Mirčeva (Sofia 1971). *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus, Ekthesis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. L. Sadnik, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden 1967–83), with Germ. tr. *Das Hexaemeron (Šestodnev) des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. R. Aitzetmüller, 7 vols. (Graz 1958–75), with Germ. tr.

LIT. I. Dujčev, "Zur Biographie von Johannes dem Exarchen," *Litterae slavicae medii aevi* (Munich 1985) 67–72. Idem, "L'Hexaëmeron de Jean l'Exarque," *BS* 39 (1978) 209–23. A. Lägheid, *Der rhetorische Stil im Šestodnev des Exarchen Johannes* (Wiesbaden 1965). —R.B.

**JOHN THE GRAMMARIAN.** See JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS.

**JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS**, politician; died Lesbos 13 May 1043. He was a eunuch and belonged to a family of money-changers (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 39). Psellos (*Chron.* 1:44 no.18.5–7) says John advised Basil II. He supported ROMANOS III even before the latter's coronation. Romanos made him senator and *praipositos*. He aided the emperor in his conflicts with nobles such as Constantine DIOGENES and Constantine DALASSENOS. John promoted his brother to the throne as MICHAEL IV and thereby gained control of civil and military affairs, even though he was only ORPHANOTROPHOS (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII [1955] 329, n.1). ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I declares that John was entrusted with *pronoia* and legal documents of the palace (K. Juzbašjan, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 24–28); he probably became KOURATOR of Mangana. During a famine, John purchased grain from the Peloponnesos and Hellas for Constantinople. In 1037 he vainly attempted to dismiss ALEXIOS STOUDITES and to become patriarch himself. Skylitzes (Skyl. 397.52–57) preserves a story of his healing by Nicholas of Myra. Because of Michael IV's advancing epilepsy, John arranged the succession of MICHAEL V, but upon his accession Michael replaced John as imperial favorite by his brother Constantine, who then exiled John. The accession of CONSTANTINE IX finally ruined him. He was sent to Lesbos and blinded, and he soon died. The chroniclers emphasize John's greed and harsh taxation while Psellos depicted him vividly (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.IV

[1954] 15); closely following the text, the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 504–31) pays elaborate attention to John's domestic intrigues.

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 254f. R. Janin, "Un ministre byzantin: Jean l'Orphanotrophe (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *EO* 30 (1931) 431–43. —C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

**JOHN UGLJEŠA** (Οὐγκλεσις in the Greek sources), Serbian *despotes* of Serres (from before 1366), called *autokrator* in a Greek act of 1369; died Černomen on the Marica River 26 Sept. 1371. The brother of VUKAŠIN, he began his career at the court of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, whom he probably served as *hippokomos* or groom. After Dušan's death in 1355, Uglješa served his widow Helena in Serres and became *de facto* ruler of the southeastern region of Dušan's empire, including Christoupolis, Philippi, Drama, and Zichna. Drama was probably the inheritance of his wife Helena, the daughter of Caesar Vojhna, who was governor of Drama. It is not clear if John Uglješa is to be identified with the grand *voivode* Ouglesis, who signed an act that is probably to be dated to 1358 (*Koutloulm.*, App. IIC, p.231).

Mt. Athos was also within the territory controlled by Uglješa and he made lavish donations to several monasteries, esp. Hilandar, Koutloulmousiou, and Vatopedi. In 1371 he reached a reconciliation with the patriarchate of Constantinople by agreeing to condemn the policy of Dušan, "the alleged autokrator of Serbia and 'Romania,'" who had unjustly seized cities belonging to the jurisdiction of the Byz. state and patriarchate (MM 1:562.11–25). In Jan. 1371, Sabas, *protos* of Mt. Athos, granted to Uglješa a small monastery (*monydriou*) called Makrou (or Makre) for the retirement of the *despotes*, bestowing upon this *monydriou* the rank of a great monastery (*Xénoph.*, no.31). Uglješa did not have the opportunity, however, to retire to Athos since he and his brother were defeated by the Turks that same year at the battle of MARICA, and both fell on the battlefield.

The Greek epitaph of his sister Helena, the spouse of the powerful Serbian lord Nicholas Radonja, survives in the chapel of St. Nicholas on Mt. Menoikeion (S. Subotić, S. Kisas, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 161–81). Uglješa's wife Helena became the nun Jefimija, the first Serbian poetess.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 12–19. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 79–125. Soulis, *Dušan* 91–100. P. Lemerle, *Le monde*

*de Byzance* (London 1978), pt. XIX, 134–46, with add. in *Koutloulm.*, p.432f. V. Djurić, "Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrnika despota Jovana Uglješe u Vatopedu," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 125–38. —J.S.A.

**JOHN VLADISLAV**, ruler of Bulgaria (1015–18); died near Dyrrachion Feb. 1018. Son of Aaron, one of the KOMETOPOULOI, he survived the massacre of that branch of the family by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA on the intervention of Samuel's son Gabriel Radomir. After Samuel's death, Gabriel Radomir ruled what remained of Bulgaria, until he was killed by John, perhaps at the suggestion of Basil II. A truce between Basil and John was soon broken. John procured the murder of John Vladimir, ruler of Duklja (DIOKLEIA), Samuel's son-in-law. In a vain effort to seize Dyrrachion, John was killed. His wife Maria surrendered Ohrid, herself, her sons (Traianos, Radomir, and Kliment), and six daughters to Basil; three other sons, Prousianos, ALOUSIANOS, and Aaron, yielded later.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:753–90. S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930) 242–58. G. Györffy, "Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Ochrids durch Basileios II," *12 CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:149–54. Jo. Zaimov, *Bitolskijat nadpis na Ivan Vladislav samodržec bulgarški* (Sofia 1970). —C.M.B.

**JONAH** (Ἰωνᾶς), one of the 12 Minor PROPHETS. The Book of Jonah recounts his stay "for three days and three nights" in the belly of a great fish rather than his prophecy of days to come. Exegesis of the Book of Jonah was very popular in the 3rd–5th C., JEROME's commentary forming the peak of it; much later THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid interpreted the book of Jonah (PG 126:905–68). The explanation went two ways: an allegorical-anthropological approach explained the narrative as indicating the material wickedness of mankind (Jonah on his boat is the soul imprisoned in the body), the Christological approach emphasized the similarity of Jonah's fate and the story of Christ, Jonah being a prefiguration of Christ and of his descent to Hades. Different authors ascribed to Jonah different attitudes toward the Ninevites: in the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasios, Jonah is full of sympathy for the sinners of Nineveh, whereas Basil of Seleukeia makes him hate them and expect their chastisement.

**Representation in Art.** Artistic depictions of Jonah appear very early, as in the late 3rd-C.

sculpture group in Cleveland (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 365–68). Representations of Jonah were esp. popular in the CATACOMBS and on SARCOPHAGI because of his role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The theme remained well known through its repetition in PSALTERS, as an illustration to the ODE of Jonah. The soteriological content of the book and the typological parallel drawn by Jesus himself (Mt 12:40) ensured its continuing popularity in MSS of the 10th–14th C., including the *Menologion of Basil II* (W. Nyssen, *Frühchristliches Byzanz* [Trier 1978] 75–79, 160), MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (Kosm. Ind. 1:152, figs. 25–26, 2:222–25), and the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.20). Jonah also appears on the Brescia casket. Frequently Jonah is depicted among the prophets in monumental art, usually portrayed as bald, often with a short gray beard.

LIT. Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1973). J. Allenbach, "La figure de Jonas dans les textes préconstantiniens," in *La Bible et les pères* (Paris 1971) 97–112. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:647–55. J. Paul, *LCI* 2:414–21. B. Narkiss, "The Sign of Jonah," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 63–76. Lowden, *Prophet Books*.

—A.K., J.H.L., C.B.T.

**JORDAN** (Ἰορδάνης), river in Palestine; more specifically, a LOCUS SANCTUS on the river about 8 km north of the Dead Sea, where two biblical events were commemorated: the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY) and the assumption of ELIJAH into heaven. Pilgrim veneration at the site included baptism and immersion: the PIACENZA PILGRIM observed this ritual on Epiphany. A pillar marked the spot, and a church founded by Emp. Anastasios I was nearby. John PHOKAS (ch.22), who calls Jordan "the holiest among rivers" in honor of the mystery of Christ's baptism, lists three monasteries in the area: those of Kalamon, of Chrysostom, and of John the Baptist, the last rebuilt by Manuel I. In contrast to Phokas, Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.288–93) had a negative attitude toward the Jordan, criticizing its muddy and foul-tasting water.

**Representation in Art.** Male PERSONIFICATIONS of the river occur frequently in images of the Baptism of Christ and in the Joshua Roll and some Octateuchs containing scenes of Israelites carrying the ARK OF THE COVENANT across the Jordan; more rarely the personification of the

river appears in the context of Elijah's ascension. Like antique river-gods he often carries an urn; sometimes he is labeled merely *potamos* ("river"). Jordan assumes a variety of forms: on a 6th-C. medallion at Dumbarton Oaks he appears as two figures—his twin sources, Ior and Dan, emerging from shells. He may be represented as a youth, as on the cathedra of Maximian, or, as at Daphni, as a mature man. In the marginal Psalters Jordan is either a squatting, fully clothed individual or a half-naked divinity seen from the rear. In monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., he is more active, sometimes straddling one or more dolphins.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 162f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 1903–07. G. Ristow, "Zur Personifikation des Jordan in Taufdarstellungen der frühen christlichen Kunst," in *Aus der byzantinischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1957) 120–26. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 10–12, 69f. —G.V., A.C.

**JORDANES**, Latin historian; died June/July 552?, according to Wagner (*infra* 29). Of partly Gothic origins, Jordanes was notary to Gunthigis-Baza, chieftain of the Goths. His later resignation from this position was probably connected with his "conversion," an event of debated significance: a switch from Arian to Orthodox views, taking of monastic vows, or simply retirement have all been suggested.

Circa 551 Jordanes produced a three-part history. The *Romana* is composed of two sections: the *De summa temporum* (now lost), a universal chronicle extending to the reign of Augustus; and a Roman history from Romulus to 550/1. It is dedicated to a certain Vigilius, probably not the pope of that name. Of much greater significance is the *Getica*, a history of the GOTHS up to 551, composed at the behest of a certain Castalius. Written in faltering Latin, the *Getica* is abridged from the lost *Gothic Histories* of CASSIODORUS and derived from many first- and second-hand sources, including PRISKOS of Panion and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (B. Baldwin, *RBPH* 59 [1981] 141–46). It is a fascinating source for barbarian history and society, including a notable portrait of ATTILA; it also offers (e.g., ch.143) brief but vivid glimpses of Constantinople. Jordanes writes with a clear pro-Byz. bias: for him Constantinople is the *urbs*, the East is *nostrae partes* ("our regions"), and Jus-

tinian I is eulogized as the conqueror of the Goths. The *Getica* concludes with a much-discussed passage hoping for reconciliation between the Gothic and Byz. royal families (B. Baldwin, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 489–92).

ED. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 5.1. Eng. tr. C.C. Mirows, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*<sup>2</sup> (Princeton 1915; rp. New York 1960). *Iordan. O proischozhenii i dejanijach getov*, ed. E. Skržinskaja (Moscow 1960), with Russ. tr.

LIT. W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800)* (Princeton 1988) 20–111. N. Wagner, *Getica: Untersuchungen zum Leben des Jordanes und zur frühen Geschichte der Goten* (Berlin 1967). —B.B.

**JOSEPH**, son of Jacob; biblical patriarch. In the Hellenistic apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, he became the type of the "good man" who both loves (and fears) God and loves his neighbor. Byz. literature presented Joseph primarily as a paragon of chastity, emphasizing his behavior toward the wife of Potiphar, whose advances he rejected; this topic is developed, among others, in a homily of Basil of Seleukeia (PG 85:112–25) and another ascribed to John Chrysostom (PG 56:587–90). A second theme connected with Joseph is the apocryphal confession of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the daughter of a different Potiphar (P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica* [Paris 1889–90] 39–86).

**Representation in Art.** Depictions of Joseph arose from Byz. interest in the long narrative of his fluctuating fortunes (Gen 37:2–50:26), rather than his status as a patriarch. This is reflected in the uneven distribution of the material—extensive in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and on the cathedra of MAXIMIAN (S. Tsuji in *Synthronon*, 43–51), but sparse after Iconoclasm, with the exception of some cycles (as in the OCTATEUCHS) or scenes (e.g., the Khludov Psalter's illustrations to Ps 104:17, 21, 23) based on early sources. There are also some puzzling anomalies, such as the full-page miniature with a lengthy Joseph cycle in five registers in the PARIS GREGORY and the Joseph cycle in the narthex frescoes at SOPOČANI. Joseph was esp. popular in Byz. Egypt.

LIT. BHG 177–179b, 2197–2201t. H.W. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden 1981). K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:655–65. G. Vikan, "Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 99–108. K. Weitzmann, H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*

(Princeton 1986) 102–24. G. Montanari, "Giuseppe l'Ebreo della Cattedra di Massimiano: Prototipi del buon governo?" *FelRav*<sup>4</sup> 1–2 (1984–85) 305–22. —A.K., J.H.L.

**JOSEPH**, husband of the VIRGIN MARY. In New Testament apocrypha, such as the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, Joseph plays a limited number of marginal roles. The church fathers mention him occasionally in the context of his marriage, which they praised. The story of Joseph the Carpenter is told in a Coptic devotional text of probably the end of the 4th C.; the original Greek version is lost (S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann* [Berlin 1951]). A feast of Joseph was unknown in the Greek church, but he was commemorated on the Sunday after Christmas.

**Representation in Art.** Generally absent from early Christian art, Joseph assumed his peripheral, but thereafter abiding, place as spectator in images of the NATIVITY on 5th-C. ivories (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.119); the cathedra of MAXIMIAN enlarges this role to include his first dream and the Flight into Egypt. Based presumably on the Protoevangelion, scenes such as Joseph's flowering rod and trial by water appear in 10th-C. Cappadocia. Joseph is represented, unusually, with his sons and the tools of his trade in the illustrations of the homilies of JAMES OF KOKINOBAFOS, which dwelt on Joseph's reproaches to the Virgin. Consistent with a passion for narrative detail, events involving Joseph in Mary's life down to the Annunciation were favored in Palaiologan painting. The fullest such cycles are in St. Clement, OHRID, and in the CHORA (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:184–94). —J.I., A.C.

**JOSEPH I**, patriarch of Constantinople (28 Dec. 1266–9 Jan. 1275; 31 Dec. 1282–Mar. 1283); died Constantinople 23 Mar. 1283. Joseph served as *anagnostes* for over 30 years (1222–54) and was married for eight. In 1259/60 he became superior of the Lazaros monastery on Mt. GALESIOS. He succeeded ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS as patriarch of Constantinople, after the latter refused to retract his excommunication of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS for the blinding of JOHN IV LASKARIS. Joseph, who was Michael's spiritual confessor, pardoned Michael in 1267, thus aggravating the

ARSENITE schism. He crowned Andronikos II as co-emperor in 1272 but would not agree to Michael's plans for UNION OF THE CHURCHES at the Council of LYONS. In 1273 he swore an oath never to accept Union under the conditions imposed by Rome (V. Laurent, *EO* 26 [1927] 396–407), and early in 1274 he retired to the Peribleptos monastery in Constantinople. He formally resigned the next year. After Michael's death and the deposition of the Unionist patriarch JOHN XI BEKKOS, Joseph returned briefly to the patriarchate but was soon forced to abdicate because of poor health. R. Macrides (*Byz. Saint* 79–81) rejects Laurent's claim that Joseph was "canonized" by GREGORY II; he was recognized as "confessor" but never received popular veneration.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1383–1423, 1453–59. *PLP*, no.9072. V. Laurent, "L'excommunication du patriarche Joseph I<sup>er</sup> par son prédécesseur Arsène," *BZ* 30 (1929–30) 489–96. —A.M.T.

**JOSEPH II**, patriarch of Constantinople (21 May 1416–10 June 1439); born Bulgaria? ca.1360?, died Florence 10 June 1439. Of Bulgarian background, Joseph was allegedly John Asen, an illegitimate son of John II Šišman (1371–93), last tsar of Bulgaria (V. Laurent, *REB* 13 [1955] 131–34); I. Dujčev (*REB* 19 [1961] 333–39) suggests, however, that his father may have been IVAN ALEXANDER. Because he restored the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople, Laurent also hypothesizes that Joseph's mother was a Greek of the PHILANTHROPENOS family. Nothing certain is known of his biography until he was appointed metropolitan of Ephesus ca.1393. Patriarch under Manuel II Palaiologos and John VIII, he was a supporter of UNION OF THE CHURCHES. J. Nikolov (*BBulg* 4 [1973] 202–12) hypothesizes that Joseph attended the Council of Constance in 1416–17. Despite ill health, the long-bearded octogenarian was a major figure at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 5–60); his realistic portrait, possibly by an Italian artist, is attached to a list of patriarchs in Paris, B.N. gr. 1783 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.177). With regard to the controversial FILIOQUE clause and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Joseph took the position that the prepositions *διὰ* and *ἐκ* were equivalent, and therefore the teachings of both churches were correct. He



died of dropsy before the end of the council and was buried in Florence at the Church of S. Maria Novella.

ED. AASS Aug. 1:185f.

LIT. Gill, *Personalities* 15–34. *PLP*, no.9073.

—A.M.T., A.C.

**JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES** (Ῥακενδύτης, “wearer of rags,” one of the terms for a monk), also known as Joseph the Philosopher, learned monk and physician; born Ithaca ca.1260? (*PLP*) or ca.1280? (Stiernon), died Thessalonike ca.1330. Of modest background, he was a monk in Thessalonike and on Athos before coming to Constantinople ca.1307. In 1320 Joseph was an emissary from Andronikos III to Andronikos II. He was four times nominated as patriarch, but always declined. He belonged to a group of literati that flourished in Constantinople under Andronikos II and included among his friends and correspondents Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Theodore METOCHITES, who wrote a funerary *enkomion* of him. Joseph was a man of wide-ranging concerns, including philosophy, rhetoric, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and theology. Like many 14th-C. intellectuals he was interested in medicine; he was the teacher of JOHN AKTOUARIOS and healed Michael GABRAS of an eye affliction. About 1324 he retired to a mountain near Thessalonike, where he spent his final years.

Joseph is best known for his *Encyclopedia*, a compendium of knowledge that included rhetoric, mathematics, music, and theology; only the section on rhetoric has been published. He also wrote hymns (G. Pentogalos, *Hellenika* 23 [1970] 114–18) and prayers.

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 3:467–569.

LIT. M. Treu, “Der Philosoph Joseph,” *BZ* 8 (1899) 1–64. R. Criscuolo, “Note sull’ ‘Enciclopedia’ del filosofo Giuseppe,” *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 255–81. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1388–92. *PLP*, no.9078.

—A.M.T.

**JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER**, saint; born Sicily (Palermo, according to E. Tomadakes) between 812 and 818, died Constantinople ca.886 at age 70; feastday 3 Apr. The dates ca.810–83 have also been suggested, but Stiernon (*infra* 248–53) questions the traditional chronology of Joseph’s life. Brought by his parents to the Peloponnese, Joseph fled to Thessalonike, became a monk, then moved to Constantinople. Captured

by Cretan Arabs on his way from Constantinople to Rome, he managed to return from Crete to Constantinople. In the capital he founded the monastery of the apostle Bartholomew. As a supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS, he was exiled by PHOTIOS to the Crimea; after his return, he was appointed patriarchal *skeuophylax*.

Joseph belonged to the poetic school of STODIOS. He contributed much to the transformation of the KANON from loosely linked paraphrases of Old Testament canticles into a unity wherein a single thought is skillfully worked out and varied in all the odes. Joseph was among the first to reduce the number of stanzas in the KONTAKION compatible with acrostic poetry. Some of his hymns were dedicated to saints of his own time, such as his spiritual father GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS, Peter of Athos (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 88 [1970] 27–41), and THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE (*Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz [St. Petersburg 1902] 82–86). The authorship of the latter raises problems since Theodora died in 892, that is, after the traditional date of Joseph’s death. Tomadakes (*infra* 273–85) established a list of approximately 400 works by Joseph; their attribution, however, is not always certain. Vitae of Joseph were written by his contemporary, Theophanes (whose identification with THEOPHANES OF SICILY has been disproved), and later by the deacon John; John’s attitude is more pro-Photian than that of Theophanes (G. da Costa-Louillet, *Byzantion* 25–27 [1957] 822). A puzzle with regard to Joseph’s biography is the silence about him in the Life of Gregory of Dekapolis, since Joseph’s hagiographers present him as Gregory’s closest friend.

**Representation in Art.** As a melode, Joseph appears at LAGOUDERA, a standing monk carrying a roll. In the *parekklesion* of the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, he occupies a pendentive and writes at a desk like an Evangelist; his scroll bears the words of his kanon for the Akathistos Hymn.

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patr. pertinentia*, vol. 2 (Petersburg 1901) 1–14. PG 105:939–76.

ED. PG 105:983–1426.

LIT. BHG 944–947b. E. Tomadakes, *Joseph ho Hymnographos* (Athens 1971), with criticisms by D. Stiernon, *REB* 31 (1973) 243–66. C. Van de Vorst, “Note sur s. Joseph l’Hymnologue,” *AB* 38 (1920) 148–54. Beck, *Kirche* 601f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:208f.

—A.K., D.C., N.P.S.

**JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER.** See JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

**JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS** (Ἰώσηπος), Jewish priest, historian, and apologist; fl. ca.38–after 100. His works written in Greek (*Jewish War* and esp. *Jewish Antiquities*) were among the most important sources for the Byz. interested in the ancient history of Palestine. They were designated authoritative by Eusebios of Caesarea and broadly used by chroniclers; for John Chrysostom, Josephus was, after Plato, his favorite pagan author (S. Krawczynski, U. Riedinger, *BZ* 57 [1964] 8); in the section of Constantine VII’s *Excerpta* titled *On Virtues and Vices* Josephus is quoted 119 times, while the *Souda* preserves over 200 citations. Greek MSS are known from the 10th C. onward, but Photios had already read several of Josephus’s works in the 9th C. Probably in the 9th or 10th C. an epitome was compiled, later used by Zonaras. Josephus was considered a stylistic model by Photios, Gregory Pardos, and Theodore Metochites, and was imitated by some Byz. authors (e.g., Niketas Choniates). Several works were falsely ascribed to Josephus by church fathers and Photios, among them the so-called 4th book of the *Maccabees* and *On the Essence of the Whole* (Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.48).

Josephus was early translated into Latin; a translation of the *War* is ascribed to Rufinus, a translation of *Antiquities* was arranged by Cassiodorus; an epitome of the *War*, the so-called *Hegesippus* (4th C.), has been wrongly attributed to Ambrose. Latin versions of Josephus have survived inter alia in a papyrus of the 6th–7th C. and a 9th-C. parchment MS. A recension of Josephus, the so-called *Sepher Yosippon*, was produced in Hebrew. Syriac, Slavic, Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic translations are also known.

LIT. H. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden 1972). R. Fishman-Duker, “The Works of Josephus as a Source for Byzantine Chronicles” (in Hebrew), in *Flavius Josephus: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. U. Rappaport (Jerusalem 1982) 139–48. J. Schamp, “Flavius Josephus et Photios,” *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 185–96. S. Bowman, “Josephus in Byzantium,” in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, ed. L.H. Feldman, G. Hata (Detroit 1987) 362–85.

—S.B.B.

**JOSHUA**, successor to Moses and archetypal military leader. The Old Testament book ascribed to his authorship was commented on by Origen (ed.

W.E. Bährens, 7 [Leipzig 1921] 286–463), Theodoret of Cyrillus (PG 80:457–86), and Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87.1:991–1042). The Book of Joshua did not attract the attention of later Byz. exegetes.

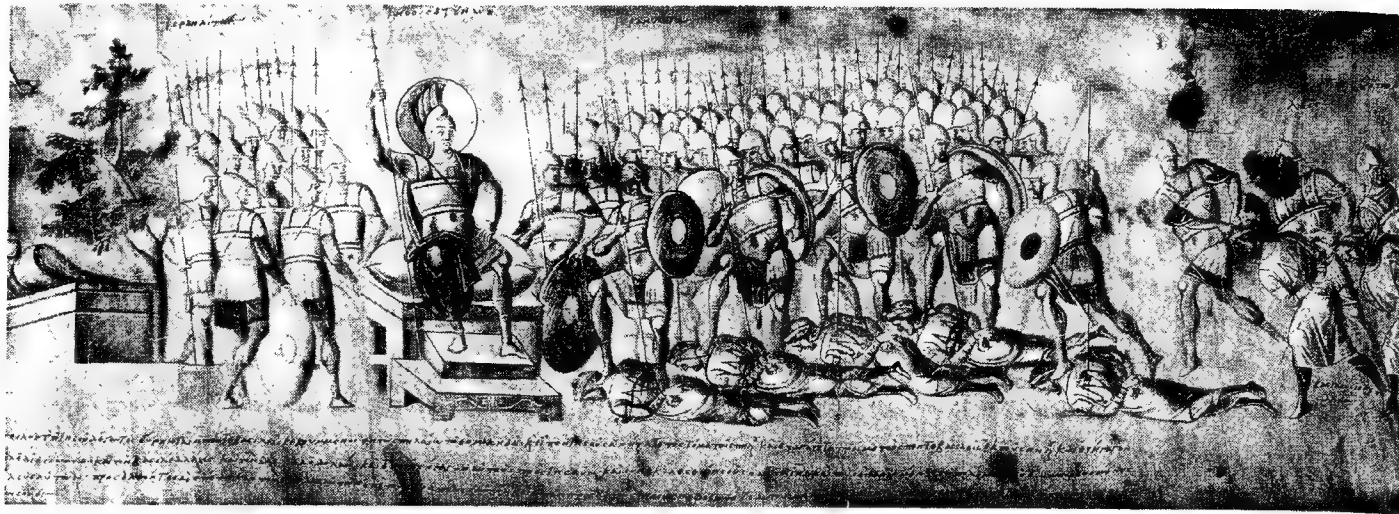
**Representation in Art.** Joshua’s encounter with an archangel (interpreted as the *archistrategos* MICHAEL), his battles with the men of Ai, and his arrest of the sun’s course at Jericho were all depicted in the OCTATEUCHS, while the first of these events is represented on a fresco surviving from the Theotokos church at HOSIOS LOUKAS. While the angel here is preserved only in fragments, the fully armed figure of Joshua parallels the emphasis on his generalship in the JOSHUA ROLL and on ivories of the 10th C. An equestrian statue in the Forum Tauri in Constantinople was held by some to represent Joshua’s miracle at Jericho (Nik.Chon. 649:58–64).

LIT. L. Rost, W. Werbeck in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*<sup>3</sup>, vol. 3 (Tübingen 1959) 873f.

—J.I., A.C.

**JOSHUA ROLL** (Vat. Palat. gr. 431), a unique 10th-C. example of a parchment ROLL (10.64 m long) with continuous horizontal illustration of episodes in the first 10 chapters of the Book of Joshua. The text, written along the bottom and often omitting words or phrases, is subservient to the miniatures. These are painted in a wash technique, unusual in Byz., that reserves much unpainted parchment. Against this neutral ground, LANDSCAPE, PERSONIFICATIONS, and above all the exploits of JOSHUA, the archetypal Old Testament general, are depicted in pastel-like color against trees and rocks painted in a soft-edged, almost Pompeian manner. This style, like the Palestinian setting of the iconography, could fit the manner of painting in the reign of either Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or Nikephoros II Phokas: the exploits of Joshua could allude to the exploits of Nikephoros II or John I Tzimiskes. Scenes of the Hebrew general’s triumphs, including acts of *proskynesis* and *calcatio* required of the enemies of Israel, depict ceremonies imposed on Arab leaders in mid-10th-C. Constantinople (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 160–62). C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 126) and others suggest that the Joshua Roll is a copy of an original celebrating the victories of Herakleios. Previously believed to be a conscious imitation of a monument like the Column of Trajan, it has been interpreted by Mazal





JOSHUA ROLL. Portion of the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet XIV) depicting Joshua's triumph over the five kings of the Amorites. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

(*infra*) as an innovation intended to express in a classical manner the military ethos of the Macedonian era. On the verso of the MS are 13th-C. excerpts from church fathers and a later set of building accounts. The roll was in Padua by the early 15th C. and is today arbitrarily cut into 15 sheets.

ED. and LIT. O. Mazal, *Josua-Rolle: Faksimile, Kommentar*, 2 vols. (Graz 1984). K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton 1948; rp. 1970). M. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *GBA* 35 (1949) 161-76.

-A.C.

**JOSHUA THE STYLITE**, an Edessan of unknown date who was a priest and a monk at the monastery of Zuqnin near Amida. He is known only through a scribal note of uncertain date in the 9th-C. MS Vat. Syr. 162, which contains the unique copy of the *Chronicle* of pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ. It has been suggested that Joshua is the author of a Syriac chronicle included *en bloc* in the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē that covers the years 495-506, with some earlier events being mentioned, such as the revolt of ILLOS and LEONTIOS in 484. The chronicler wrote as an eyewitness, probably before 518. The independent *Chronicle of the Persian War*, as some scholars call it, carries its own title, *The History of the Time of Troubles in Edessa, Amida, and all Mesopotamia*. The subject matter is largely an account of battles between the Roman and Persian empires under Anastasios I and Kavād, and the work is an indispensable source for the history of Persia

at this period. It is still unresolved whether Joshua was the author of the independent 6th-C. chronicle, or the author of the 8th-C. *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios, or the scribe who copied the 9th-C. MS. It has been customary to adopt the first option and to speak of the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*.

ED. *The Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright with Eng. tr. (Cambridge 1882). Russ. tr. N. Pigulevskaja, *Mesopotamija na rubeže V-VI vv. n.e.* (Moscow-Leningrad 1940).

LIT. S.P. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979) 10-13. H. Gelzer, "Josua Stylites und die damaligen kirchlichen Parteien des Ostens," *BZ* 1 (1892) 34-49. E. Černousov, "Sirijskij istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 25 (1927) 24-32.

-S.H.G.

**JOVIAN** (Ἰουβιανός), more fully Flavius Jovianus, augustus (from 27 June 363); born near Singidunum 331, died Dadastana, Bithynia, 17 Feb. 364. Possibly of barbarian origin, he was commander of the *protectores et domestici* under Emp. Julian; he was well known among the soldiers as son of the *comes domesticorum* and son-in-law of the *magister militum*. After JULIAN died on his Persian campaign in 363 and the praetorian prefect Salutius refused the purple, Jovian was chosen emperor—according to Ammianus Marcellinus at the initiative of a small group of common soldiers. Although Jovian was able to repel Persian attacks, the situation of the army, suffering from hunger in the Tigris region, and the threat of political rivalry in Constantinople caused Jovian to sign a treaty with the Persians whereby

he surrendered Mesopotamia and the strategic cities of Nisibis and Singara. He died unexpectedly on his way back to Constantinople.

Jovian differed from the pagan Julian in both appearance and behavior: tall with blue eyes, he was a gourmand and enjoyed wine and women. His education was modest, although he tried to play the role of patron. He was a Christian but tolerant of pagan beliefs. The assertion of Christian writers that he abolished the anti-Christian legislation of Julian seems to be false. His peace treaty with the Persians was regarded as ignominious by pagan authors (e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus) and criticized by Christians in Antioch; more distant writers, however, from Gregory of Nazianzos to Augustine, considered it necessary or even a gift of Providence.

LIT. G. Wirth, "Jovian. Kaiser und Karikatur," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster 1984) 353-84. A. Solari, "La elezione di Gioviano," *Klio* 26 (1933) 330-35. R. Turcan, "L'abandon de Nisibe et l'opinion publique," in *Mélanges André Piganiol*, vol. 2 (Paris 1966) 875-90.

-T.E.G.

**JUDAISM**, the religion of the Jews, strictly monotheistic and primarily concerned with social justice, ethics, and family purity. Its liturgy at home and in the synagogue, based upon the Hebrew Bible and JEWISH LITERATURE, taught a political redemption by a messiah. Dietary laws required a painless slaughtering of domesticated animals, health inspection, and complete removal of blood; use of unleavened bread at Passover; separation of meat and milk; no pork; and close supervision of wine, cheese, and clothing. Males were circumcised eight days after birth. Biblical tradition required ritual ablutions and postmenstrual bath. The Jewish calendar (soli-lunar) celebrates every Sabbath and New Moon with liturgical and Pentateuchal readings. Annual holidays include New Year, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, Passover, Pentecost, 9th of Ab (to mourn the destruction of the Temple), and Feasts of Maccabees and Esther. Byz. deprecated the observance and practices of Judaism, yet it was necessary to have practicing Jews to demonstrate that God rejected and abandoned them, and because their voluntary conversion was both a proof of the truth of Christianity and a prerequisite for Christ's return. The Bible was read in Hebrew and Aramaic until Justinian I responded to Jewish reformers (nov. 146) by

mandating use of the Septuagint and vernacular translations. He also forbade *deuterosis* (oral commentary) and denial of Christian doctrines. Palestinian Jews responded by developing *piyyut* that poeticized oral laws and by muting potentially political expressions in the liturgy. Orthodox and heterodox Christians occasionally relied on the Jewish calendar to date EASTER: Justinian legislated that Passover follow Easter (Prokopios, *SH* 28.16-18). Biblical and postbiblical Judaism influenced the symbolism (Temple as prefiguration of the Church), theology, ecclesiastical calendar, liturgy, and practice of Byz. Christianity through borrowings and converts. The tradition of magic, apocalyptic, and mysticism in Judaism paralleled that of contemporary Christian society.

LIT. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241-310. Starr, *Jews* 173-80. E. Werner, "Tribus Agathas (The Good Way)," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 143-54.

-S.B.B.

**JUDAS ISCARIOT** (Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης), the apostle who betrayed Christ. Byz. tradition dealt with him primarily in commentaries on ACTS. He came to represent the epitome of treachery and of monetary greed; his suicide by hanging, accompanied by bloating limbs and the gushing out of his bowels, became the typical death of the sinner. Orthodox authors compared the end of Arius (although he did not commit suicide) with Judas's foul death. Sermons devoted to Judas are rare (e.g., a short homily by pseudo-John Chrysostom, PG 61:687-90); ROMANOS THE MELODE, however, wrote an emotional poem permeated with horror at the false disciple's impious action. Some clauses in charters appoint "the fate of Judas" as the punishment for breach of contract.

**Representation in Art.** Judas figures throughout Byz. art in the Lord's Supper, the Betrayal of Christ, and scenes of his attempts to return the silver and of his suicide (Mt 27:3-5). The Betrayal appears already in the very earliest Passion cycles on 4th-C. Roman sarcophagi. Scenes of his remorse, first depicted in the 5th C., become frequent in the 6th; also in the 6th C., the standard composition of the Lord's Supper first appears. In none of these is Judas vilified and the same temperance extends into later periods, when Judas is portrayed as slender and young. In the Last Supper, he is distinguished—if at all—only by his

gesture toward the food; the emotive intensity that mounts in depictions of the Betrayal from the 11th C. onward expresses the anguish of the moment and not outrage toward Judas. If temperately portrayed, however, Judas was nonetheless deplored. The savage Psalm 109:6, 8 is illustrated with Judas's suicide in the marginal PSALTERS, and a 12th-C. version of the Communion of the Apostles at ASINOÜ (see LORD'S SUPPER) shows Judas in profile, gobbling the sop as he hurries away.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:665–68. H. Jursch, "Das Bild des Judas Iscariot im Wandel der Zeiten," 7 *IntCongChrArch* (1965) 565–70. —J.L., A.W.C.

**JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF**, term for the rocky and sparsely inhabited region south of Jerusalem and Jericho and west of the Dead Sea as far as Arad and Elusa, which became the principal area of monastic settlement in late antique Palestine. The first monastic founder in the area was St. Chariton in the 4th C.; other lavras were founded in the 5th C. by monks such as St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, from whose settlement Christianity spread among the Arab tribes of the Parembolē (the region of Palaestina I, northwest of the Dead Sea); St. SABAS, whose monastery housed a famous library and scriptorium; Sts. Gerasimos, Choziba, Kalamon, and others. These monastic houses were the centers of the Greek and later Arabic literary and spiritual life of the Chalcedonian patriarchate of Jerusalem, and several benefited from imperial patronage. In the 5th–7th C. these monasteries and their monks were visited by writers, such as CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, John Moschos, and others. They maintained their integrity in the face of Arab raids while under Roman rule, but after the Arab conquest of Palestine some were destroyed, while others changed the language of their culture from Greek to Arabic.

LIT. O. Meinardus, "Notes on the Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea," *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 15 (1964–65) 220–50; 16 (1965–66) 328–56. A. van der Heyden, "Monasteries of the Judean Desert," *Ariel* 65 (1986) 77–90. J. Patrich, R. Rubin, "Les grottes de al-'Aleiliyât et la Laure de Saint-Firmin," *RevBibl* 91 (1984) 381–87. Y. Hirschfeld, "The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period" (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem 1987). —L.S.B.MacC.

**JUDGE**. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the generic term *kritai* designated several high-ranking officials who enjoyed judicial as well as administrative and financial rights: the EPARCH OF THE CITY, QUAESTOR, and EPI TON DEESEON, and their staffs. Some other functionaries had their own law COURTS and presided over litigation; since the ARCHONTES, as BALSAMON puts it, were often incompetent in legislation, special assessors (SYM-PONOI), also called *kritai*, were attached to them. In 539 Justinian I tried to create a body of professional judges, *diaitetai* of the agora (nov. 82.1). This institution seems to have fallen into desuetude; in the *ECLOGA* the term *krites* appears only once, in a biblical quotation (164.74). The thematic judges of the 10th–11th C. were administrators of provinces, whereas *politikoi* and *litoi kritai* functioned as assessors. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial, however, the college of professional judges, the *kritai tou Hippodromou* and *kritai* of the VELUM, reappeared, and soon thereafter Constantine IX Monomachos reintroduced legal education. These judges probably had their tribunal at the Hippodrome. The judge of the velum remained active through the later period, when new categories of professional judges, such as KRITAI KATHOLIKOI and KRITAI TOU PHOSSATOU, also appeared.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:499–507. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319–23. Bury, *Adm. System* 69–78. —A.K.

**JUDICIUM QUINQUEVIRALE**, a tribunal in the late Roman Empire consisting of the urban prefect and five senators chosen by lot; it was convened under special circumstances to determine whether senators were guilty of capital offenses. The *judicium quinquevirale* was still a living institution in Italy in 506, but did not exist in Constantinople, thus reflecting the greater social status of SENATORS in the West.

LIT. C.H. Coster, "The iudicium quinquevirale in Constantinople," *BZ* 38 (1938) 119–32. —A.K.

**JUGUM** (ζυγόν, lit. "yoke"), initially a unit for measuring land, supposedly according to the plowing capacity of a yoke of oxen (about 12,616 sq. m of first quality arable, about 15,104 sq. m of second quality). In the context of Diocletian's reform of the FISCAL SYSTEM, the *jugum* was a unit

of account used for taxing land in the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. As a measure of tax liability for equitably distributing the *annona* obligations among taxpayers, *jugum* could correspond to surfaces varying according to the land's quality or to the kind of cultivation: for example, one fiscal *jugum* could correspond to 6,300 sq. m of vines, about 25,000 sq. m of first quality arable, or 50,000 sq. m of second quality arable, etc. (See also ZEUGARION.)

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 75, 78f. Goffart, *Caput* 32–35. —N.O.

**JULIAN** (Ἰουλιανός), sometimes called "the Apostate," emperor (from 361); born Constantinople May/June 332, died on campaign on the Persian frontier, 26 June 363. He was the son of Julius Constantius (half-brother of Constantine I) and the half-brother of GALLUS. In 337 his father and many relatives were murdered, probably at the order of Constantius II. Julian was sent to Nikomedeia and then to Cappadocia, where he grew up, entered minor Christian orders, and perhaps finally embraced paganism. As a young man he studied at Nikomedeia and Athens. In 355 Julian was summoned to court and made caesar; he was put in charge of the western provinces that were threatened by revolt and pressure from the Alemanni and Franks, against whom he was remarkably successful.

When Constantius ordered Julian to dispatch his troops to the eastern frontier in 361, they revolted and proclaimed Julian as emperor. Negotiations failed but Julian became sole emperor when Constantius died on 3 Nov. 361. Julian then set about to restore traditional Roman society and undo the innovations he associated with the house of Constantine. The most famous aspect of this policy was his attempted revival of PAGANISM. Julian's paganism was practical (it was to imitate the organization and social policies of contemporary Christianity), but also influenced by magic and charlatans like MAXIMOS OF EPHEBUS. Julian's law excluding Christians from the teaching profession was condemned even by pagans. Julian's Persian expedition was initially successful, but he was unexpectedly struck and killed by a spear from an unknown assailant and his policies died with him.

To contemporary and later Christian authors

Julian was the personification of evil. Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria, and Ephrem the Syrian all wrote against him. Sozomenos records a thoroughly legendary account of his life, and Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and the *Life of St. Basil* (falsely attributed to Amphilochios of Ikonion) build upon the story. Attention to the apostate remained keen in the 9th C., when an extended sequence of miniatures in the PARIS GREGORY (fols. 374v, 409v) culminates in the legend (based on the *Chronicon Paschale*) that Julian was slain by St. MERKOURIOS.

Two statues in Paris and a head on Thasos, as well as ivory and bone statuettes and an engraved gem in Leningrad (H. von Heintze in *Studien Deichmann* 2:31–41), have been identified as likenesses of Julian. Contemporary sources describe Julian as short and heavy, with a thick neck, animated eyes, and a philosopher's beard, features that are confirmed by sculpture and numismatic portraits (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 48f, 52). He is usually shown wearing a priestly diadem and a philosopher's mantle. Julian was the author of voluminous correspondence, and tracts such as the *Misopogon*, *Against the Galileans*, and the satirical dialogue *The Caesars*.

ED. Works, ed. W.C. Wright, 3 vols. (London–New York 1913; rp. 1930), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976). G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981). E. Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen eines Kaiserbildes* (Brussels 1986). N.H. Baynes, "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend," *JRS* 27 (1937) 22–29. M. Wegner, "Die Bildnisse des Julian," in H.P. L'Orange, M. Wegner, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen* (Berlin 1984) 159–64. —T.E.G., A.C.

**JULIAN OF ASKALON**, 6th-C. architect known only as the author of the treatise *On the Laws or Customs in Palestine*. It remains debatable whether Julian's treatise was an unofficial work or a collection of police prescriptions to regulate building activity. Julian defines the location of, and distances between, industrial buildings (bakeries, ceramic kilns, glass shops, etc.), bath houses, private buildings, stables, inns, etc.; regulates gutters and sewers and the planting of trees and vineyards. The main purpose of the tract was to preserve beauty and light in the city. The text is transmitted



in a Geneva MS, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire 23, in the appendix to the *BOOK OF THE EPARCH*. A similar MS evidently served HARMENOPOULOS, because the chapters from Julian's work incorporated into his *Hexabiblos* are inscribed—wrongly—with the word *eparchikon*. Harmenopoulos incorporated all of Julian's texts contained in Geneva 23, except for the *prooimion* (Harm. 2.4.13–23, 25–44, 47–51, 75–80, 82, 83, 85–88; all other chapters of title 2.4 are, contrary to prevailing opinion, excerpted from other sources). Individual chapters of Julian's treatise show similarities with the pre-Justinianic SYRO-ROMAN LAW-BOOK, which did not, however, serve as a direct model.

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Armenopuli Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969) 238–90.

LIT. C. Ferrini, *Opere I* (Milan 1929) 443–52. M.Ja. Sjuzumov, "O traktate Juliana Askalonita," *ADSV* 1 (1960) 3–34. D. Gkines, "To Eparchikon Biblion kai hoi Nomoi Ioulianou tou Askalonitou," *EEBS* 13 (1937) 183–91. H.J. Scheltema, "The Nomoi of Iulianus of Ascalon," in *Symbolae ad jus et historiam antiquitatis pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven dedicatae* (Leiden 1946) 349–60. —M.Th.F.

**JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS**, primary exponent of APHTHARTODOCETISM; died Egypt soon after 527. A Monophysite, he collaborated with SEVEROS of Antioch against Makedonios II, patriarch of Constantinople (495–511), provoking an uprising in July 511 that gave Emp. Anastasios I an excuse to depose the patriarch. In 518, when the Orthodox faction gained the upper hand, Julian lost his see and together with Severos had to flee to Alexandria. In exile the alliance dissolved: Julian developed Aphthartodocetic ideas and entered into conflict with Severos, who asserted that Christ's body before his resurrection was corruptible. Moreover, while Severos taught that Adam was created corruptible and mortal, Julian viewed him as originally incorruptible and immortal, but as undergoing a transformation after his sin. Julian's treatises written against Severos are lost and known only from the latter's quotations. A commentary on the book of Job was falsely attributed to Julian (see *Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*, ed. D. Hagedorn [Berlin–New York 1973]).

LIT. R. Dragnet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924). P. Carrara, "I frammenti greci del *Contra additiones Iuliani* di Severo di Antiochia," *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 89–92. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f. —T.E.G.

**JULIAN THE EGYPTIAN**, 6th-C. poet. Described in the lemmata of his epigrams as *apo hypaton* and *apo hyparchon* (APO EPARCHON), he has been identified by Av. and Al. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 12–14) with the praetorian prefect of 530–31. Julian may be the consul to whom PRISCIAN dedicated his *Institutiones grammaticae*. The GREEK ANTHOLOGY preserves about 80 of his epigrams, thanks to their inclusion in the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS; he may also have published a collection himself. Most of his poems are anathematic, sepulchral, and ekphrastic, only rarely erotic. They are conventional in subject and style but sometimes give tantalizing glimpses into contemporary events, notably the NIKA REVOLT of 532 and the attempted coup of HYPATIOS with whom Julian was somehow involved.

ED. *AnthGr*, see index. Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*, see index.

LIT. K. Hartigan, "Julian the Egyptian," *Eranos* 73 (1975) 43–54. Al. Cameron, "Some Prefects called Julian," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 42–64. —B.B.

**JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS,"** banker in RAVENNA and founder of the Church of S. Vitale; fl. second quarter of 6th C. He may have come from the East: from the form of a monogram in the gallery of this church, Deichmann (*infra*) deduced that Julianus was Greek or Greek-speaking. The banker's sponsorship is noted in several Latin inscriptions and Greek monograms in the church; Ecclesius, bishop of Ravenna (522–32), is named in these inscriptions as having ordered Julianus to construct and decorate S. Vitale. According to AGNELLUS of Ravenna (chs. 57–59), Julianus began this work after Ecclesius returned from an embassy to Constantinople (together with Pope John I) in 526. The same source reports that Julianus spent 26,000 solidi on the project, but also, improbably, relates that he founded the churches of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Stefano in Ravenna. Julianus was the patron of S. Apollinare in Classe, where an inscription records his sponsorship, and the now-destroyed S. Africisco in Ravenna that he cosponsored with a certain Ba-cauda, sometimes said to be his brother-in-law. The absence of any dignities attached to the banker's name in the inscription suggests that he acted as a private individual, not as an official of the church or state. For this reason he cannot be identified with the figure in court costume in the

bema mosaic of S. Vitale, standing between Justinian I and Archbp. MAXIMIAN, who dedicated the church in 546.

LIT. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2:3–33. Idem, "Giuliano Argentario: Il munifico fondatore di chiese ravennati," *FelRav* 56 (1951) 5–26. G. Bovini, "Giuliano Argentario," *FelRav* 101 (1970) 125–50. S.J.B. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5–38.

—A.C., A.K.

**JULIUS NEPOS**, the last Western emperor recognized by Constantinople (19 or 24 June 474–28 Aug. 475); died near Salona 9 May 480. Julius was the nephew of Marcellinus, the nearly independent ruler of Dalmatia. He was on good terms with Leo I and married a relative of the empress VERINA. Julius apparently inherited his uncle's power in 468 and was given the title of *magister militum* of Dalmatia. In 473/4 Leo I (or those acting for the minor Leo II) sent him to Ravenna to depose the usurper Glycerius, who had succeeded ANTHEMIOS. Glycerius was arrested near Rome or Ravenna. Overthrown by the *magister militum* Orestes, Julius fled to Dalmatia. Orestes then placed his young son ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS on the throne in Ravenna. Romulus was never recognized by the Eastern court, and Julius was therefore still the legitimate Western emperor. In 477 he tried to persuade Zeno to help him regain the throne, but the emperor was content with the rule of ODOACER in Italy and did not go beyond a symbolic gesture, being afraid of Julius's connections with Verina and BASILISKOS. There is a vague statement by Kandidos suggesting that after 476 Julius was accepted in Gaul as a legitimate ruler; at any rate he retained control of Dalmatia until his murder, which was probably arranged by Glycerius.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 16 (1935) 2505–11. Bury, *LRE* 1:404f. Kaegi, *Decline* 47–50. J.P.C. Kent, "Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire," in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata* (Graz-Cologne 1966) 146–50.

—T.E.G.

**JURA IN RE ALIENA**, concept of Roman law denoting limited rights of OWNERSHIP. Roman law developed a system of these *jura in re* that encompassed servitudes (SERVITUS), USUFRUCT, SUPERFICIES, EMPHYTEUSIS, and several forms of limited

*dominium* such as a husband's right to dotal land, conditional rights of owners (as in the case of heirs appointed under certain conditions), a right to an object of litigation, a right of the pledgee (if the debt was not paid), etc. The *jura in re* were based on CONTRACT or (infrequently) on an administrative act.

In post-classical law, since the notion of ownership became confused, the concept of *jura in re* was lost (Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.238 II), but the reality of a lesser degree of ownership evolved. Gorecki (*infra*) considers as *jura in re* five types of land (mostly abandoned) on which neighbors, the village community, or the state established temporary rights. Byz. documents mention the rights of neighbors to enter adjoining property to eat—but not remove—grapes and other fruit, to graze their livestock, to collect firewood, to fish, etc. Unlike Roman *jura in re*, these unsystematized Byz. rights were based not on contract but on custom—*ethos* or *synetheia* (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 15–17).

LIT. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia 1951) 39–43. D. Gorecki, "Land Tenure in Byzantine Property Law, *jura in re aliena*," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 191–210. —A.K.

**JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ**, prince of Suzdal'; son of VLADIMIR MONOMACH; born ca.1090, died Kiev 15 May 1157. Dolgorukij, or Long-Arm, is a sobriquet used only since the 16th C. Jurij (George) laid the foundations of the new principality between the Oka and Volga rivers. Byz., the princes of GALITZA, and the CUMANS supported his claim to the throne of Kiev. In a long struggle against his nephew, Izjaslav of Kiev, who was aided by Hungary, Jurij managed to reign in Kiev three times: 28 Aug. 1149–early summer 1150, Sept. 1150–March 1151, and from 20 March 1155. His second wife, whom he married in the 1150s, was possibly a Byz. Jurij rejected Metr. KLIM SMO-LJATIČ, who backed his rival Izjaslav. When Klim was elected, the rights of the patriarch of Constantinople and *endemousa synodos* were ignored, and thus Jurij sought a new metropolitan in the Byz. capital. Constantine, an erudite theologian, was consecrated in fall 1155, arrived in Kiev in summer 1156, and, with Jurij's support, started to purge the clergy. The church of Rus' was effectively split until 1159 since some bishops did not recognize Constantine's jurisdiction.



LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istoriia* 2:152–82. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven-London 1948–49) 97f, 217–19, 262, 351. —An.P.

**JURISTIC PERSONS**, a conventional legal term, not found in Roman law, that applied the term *persona* (or *caput*) only to human beings. Nevertheless, both Roman and Byz. law had to deal with corporate bodies (microstructures) endowed with rights and liabilities: VILLAGE COMMUNITIES, *municipia*, and GUILDS. There are documents showing that the village community owned land and acted collectively in court; similar evidence concerning *municipia* and guilds is vague and questionable. Churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions also acted as juristic persons: they owned properties, could inherit movable and immovable property, sue, and be summoned to trial. More complex is the question of whether the emperor's *patrimonium* was considered a juristic person distinct from the state: the Byz. recognized a distinction between state (*demosios*) property and the emperor's (*basilikos*) property, treasury, etc., but it is unclear whether this difference in terms had any significance in everyday practice.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:103–07. Buckland, *Roman Law* 173–79. B. Biondi, *Il diritto romano cristiano* 2 (Milan 1952) 341f. —A.K.

**JUSTIN I** (Ἰουστίνος), emperor (from 9 July 518); born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.450 or 452, died Constantinople 1 Aug. 527. The son of a poor peasant, Justin migrated to Constantinople ca.470, joined the army, and made a military career; he participated in wars against the Isaurians and Persians and helped to suppress the revolt of VITALIAN. After Anastasios I died, Justin was proclaimed emperor by the army and factions; Prokopios suggests that Justin's election was a result of his crafty use of money given to him to bribe soldiers to support another candidate, Theokritos. After his accession Justin executed a group of influential aristocrats, including Vitalian and Theokritos, deposed others, and brought back from exile those banished by Anastasios. Justin stopped Anastasios's imbalanced religious policy, accepted the Chalcedonian course, and put an end to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. Justin made an alliance with the papacy—Pope JOHN I visited Constantinople—and gained authority in the West.

Relations with the Ostrogoths became strained in the last years of THEODORIC, however, and persecution of the Arians reached its peak in Byz. Justin enjoyed peaceful relations with the Persia of Kavād I but endeavored to surround Persia with Byz. allies such as Lazica, the Huns, the Arabs, and Ethiopia. In 526 he waged an unsuccessful war against Persia.

Prokopios presents Justin as dull, boorish, and illiterate (he allegedly used a stencil to sign documents); it is generally thought that Justin's nephew JUSTINIAN (I) was the actual master of the empire. Justin's wife was Lupicina Euphemia. The painter Marinos of Apameia depicted the story of Justin's arrival in Constantinople on the walls of a public bath.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). *PLRE* 2:648–51. G. Wirth, "Zur Datierung einiger Ereignisse in der Regierungszeit Justins I.," *Historia* 13 (1964) 376–83. A. Solari, "La successione di Giustino in Bisanzio" and "La politica estera orientale durante l'impero di Giustino," in *AttiLinc, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8.3 (1948) 339–49 and 350–59. —W.E.K., A.C.

**JUSTIN II**, emperor (from 15 Nov. 565); nephew of Justinian I; died Constantinople 4/5 Oct. 578. As a young man, Justin became *kouropalates*; his marriage to SOPHIA, Theodora's niece, strengthened his position. Justin's elevation (described in detail by CORIPPUS) was achieved by a narrow group of functionaries within the palace. After the election he probably authorized the execution of his rival Justin, son of GERMANOS. Justin's international policy was unsuccessful: he attempted to surround Persia with his allies (Turks, Ethiopians), refused to pay the stipulated tribute (H. Turtledove, *BZ* 76 [1983] 292–301), and waged a war against CHOSROES II in 572 that led to territorial losses. In the West the victory of the Avars and Lombards over the GEPIDS opened the Lombard way to Italy in 568; the Avars under BAIAN invaded the territory south of the Danube; in Spain the Visigoths seized some cities. Domestically, Justin tried to emulate Justinian, but his legislation was on a small scale; his most important law was the reinstitution of DIVORCE by consent. His artistic patronage suggests the coalescence of Christian ideology and the traditional imperial cult, a synthesis expressed in the much-restored silver cross that he sent to Rome, bearing portraits of the augusti flanking the Lamb (Rice, *Art of Byz.*,

pl.71). Because Justin suffered attacks of insanity (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 39–44), Sophia advised him to appoint TIBERIOS (I) caesar and his successor, advice that he followed. Justin's speech to Tiberios, preserved in several versions (V. Val'denberg, *IzvAN SSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk* [1928] no.2:111–40; Av. Cameron, *BS* 37 [1976] 161–67), served many generations as a mirror of the imperial ideal.

LIT. K. Groh, *Geschichte des oströmischen Kaisers Justin II* (Leipzig 1889; rp. Aalen 1985). Stein, *Studien* 1–55. Av. Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II," *SChH* 13 (1976) 51–67. —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

**JUSTINIAN** (Ἰουστινιανός), general; son of GERMANOS and Passara; born Constantinople after 525, died Constantinople 582. Justinian fought the Slavs in Illyricum in 552. In 572, he supported an Armenian rebellion against Persia. Three years later, as supreme commander of the army against the Persians, he won a great victory over CHOSROES I at Melitene; he seized enormous booty but was unable to retain Armenia. Apparently Justinian hoped to succeed Justin II, but was frustrated by TIBERIOS (I). Justinian participated in the intrigues of SOPHIA against Tiberios late in the reign of Justin II (578), but failed and, after contritely giving Tiberios 1,500 pounds of gold, made peace with him. Between 579 and 581 another conspiracy of Justinian was discovered, in which Sophia hoped to raise him to the throne. Germanos, who married Tiberios's daughter Charito, was raised to caesar by Tiberios, and may have been Justinian's son. Justinian was less successful at court intrigue than warfare in the field. He was a competent military commander, but his ambitions were a destabilizing element in the reigns of Tiberios and Maurice.

LIT. E. Stein, *RE* 10 (1919) 1310–13. —W.E.K.

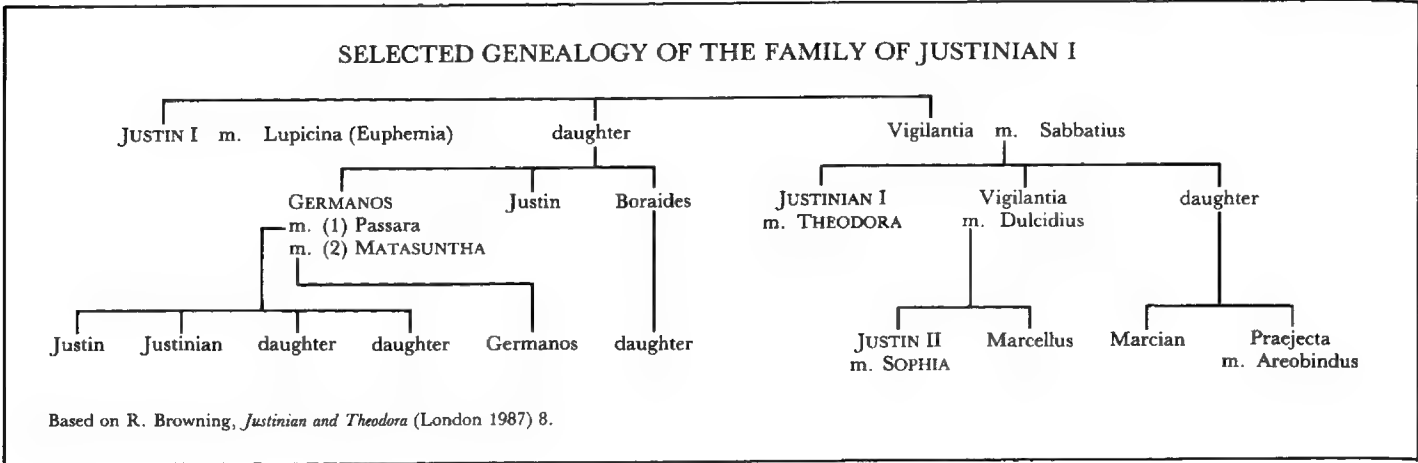
**JUSTINIAN I**, emperor (from 1 Aug. 527); given name Flavius Peter Sabbatios; born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.482, died 14 Nov. 565 (*PLRE* 2:648). The nephew of JUSTIN I, Justinian made a brilliant career under his uncle, who appointed him co-emperor on 1 Apr. 527. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA describes Justinian as an individual of medium height, with a round face ruddy even after two days of fasting (*SH* 8.12), an approachable and gentle man who never showed his

anger and who, in a quiet voice, would order the death of thousands of innocent men (*SH* 13.1–3). Justinian was simple in his tastes, indifferent to splendor, able to work day and night, and crafty in displaying sympathy and even tears.

A man of low origin, Justinian came into conflict with the aristocracy. He was surrounded by energetic, unscrupulous, but loyal people who did not belong to the upper crust of society—his wife THEODORA, his nephew GERMANOS, the generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, and the administrators JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and TRIBONIAN. The aim of his policy was to create a strong empire, based on a unified administrative system and a single creed, encompassing the whole Mediterranean and ostensibly brilliant. To this end he promulgated the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. To increase the state's income, he often guided reform of the tax system: he developed the EMPHYTEUSIS, tried to eliminate the difference between *adscripticii* and slaves, and developed land ownership of the fisc. He also subsidized the development of trade and attempted to find new trade routes circumventing Persia. Among secrets acquired by the Byz. under Justinian was that of SILK production.

Justinian was personally involved in theological disputes; he sponsored the fifth ecumenical council and pressured Pope VIGILIUS. Proclaiming the principle that the emperor's will is law, Justinian suppressed political and ideological resistance, quashing the movement of the SAMARITANS and the NIKA REVOLT.

He built or reconstructed more than 30 churches in Constantinople alone (G. Downey, *ArtB* 32 [1950] 262–66) including that of the Virgin of PEGE, at the site of a spring whose waters he believed had cured him of a kidney ailment, and above all HAGIA SOPHIA, the altar cloth of which, according to PAUL SILENTIARIOS, bore images of hospitals and other foundations of Justinian. Legends concerning his role in the construction of the Great Church, including the revelation of its plan to him by an angel, are collected in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Justinian's equestrian statue stood in the AUGUSTAION; extant contemporary portraits of the beardless emperor are preserved in S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe in RAVENNA. A 9th- or 10th-C. mosaic in Hagia Sophia shows him bearded, presenting his foundation to the Virgin.



Justinian's international policy was intended to restore authority over the western part of the Roman Empire: North Africa was occupied in 533-34, Italy only after a long and costly war in 535-55; in Spain his army was able to occupy only some coastal areas. The situation in the East was more dangerous, and CHOSROES I managed to seize several regions; tactics on the Danube were defensive and the empire ensured peace by paying tribute and stationing troops on the frontiers to repel invading bands.

Justinian's evaluation has been contradictory since Prokopios, who sometimes debases Justinian and at other times praises him highly. The problem is whether Justinian attempted to retain obsolete institutions that wasted the resources of his country or established enduring values that laid the foundation for the long existence of a mighty empire. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:275-845. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987). B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1960). -W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

**JUSTINIAN II**, emperor (685-95 and 705-11); born Constantinople ca.668, died Damatrys 7 Nov. 711 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 51). He was son of Constantine V and Anastasia; an improbable tradition places his birth in Cyprus (*De adm. imp.* 47). He had a daughter by his first wife Eudokia. Justinian became emperor on Constantine's death, but may have been crowned co-emperor as early 681/2. He soon sent LEONTIOS against the Arabs in Armenia and encouraged the MARDAITES to raid Lebanon, forcing 'ABD AL-

MALIK to make peace in 688; in 693, however, the Byz. had to evacuate Armenia after being defeated in Asia Minor as a result of the desertion of the Slavic chief, NEBOULOS, and his troops. After campaigning in SKLAVINIA in 688 he formed the *kleisoura* of the Strymon and probably the HELLAS theme and resettled captives in the Opsikion. A fresco in the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike may commemorate his arrival (acc. to A.A. Vasiliev, *OrChrP* 13 [1947] 355-68, but denied by J. Breckenridge, *BZ* 48 [1955] 116-22). His resettlement of KYZIKOS with Cypriots in 690/1 was part of grander colonization schemes (Charanis, *Demography*, pt. III [1961], 143f).

Ardently Orthodox, Justinian convoked a synod in 686/7 that confirmed the rejection of MONOTHELETISM. He also persecuted the PAULICIANS, tried to subordinate Armenia to Constantinople's jurisdiction in 689/90, collaborated with Patr. Paul III (688-94) to introduce reforms at the Council in TRULLO, and tried to arrest Pope SERGIUS I for rejecting the Trullan acts. Justinian introduced the first images of Christ on the coinage and moved the emperor's image to the reverse (J.D. Breckenridge, *Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* [New York 1959]). His building projects included additions, such as the TRIKLINOS, to the Great Palace. Heavy taxation and excesses by the eunuch STEPHEN THE PERSIAN prompted Leontios to dethrone and mutilate Justinian in 695; thereafter he was nicknamed *rhinotmetos* ("cut-nose") and reportedly wore a gold nose. Exiled to CHERSON, he sought help from the Khazar khagan, whose sister married him in 703 and took the name Theodora.

Justinian regained the throne with help from TERVEL in 705, and crowned Theodora (the first foreign-born Byz. empress) and their infant son Tiberios. Through diplomacy he stayed friendly with the Lombards and Bulgars but, under MASLAMA, the Arabs invaded Asia Minor several times. Justinian cultivated good relations with the papacy, including JOHN VII (J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 [1972] 364-74). In 711 Justinian met Pope Constantine I (708-15) at Nikomedeia and supported him against a revolt in RAVENNA by the local archbishop and nobility. In 711 he launched an expedition against Cherson, perhaps to punish the city for ill-treating him in exile but more likely to halt Khazar advances in the CRIMEA. The fleet revolted and proclaimed as emperor PHILIPPIKOS, who forced Justinian to flee Constantinople for Asia Minor, where he was killed by ELIAS. His body was thrown into the sea, but his head was exhibited in Rome and Ravenna.

LIT. C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Wis., 1972). F. Görres, "Justinian II und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432-54. I. Dujčev, "Le triomphe de l'empereur Justinien II en 705" in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:83-91. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:1-74, 103-82. -P.A.H.

**JUSTINIANA PRIMA** (Ἰουστινιανὴ Πρῶμα), city in the province of Dardania in Illyricum, founded by JUSTINIAN I near his birthplace of Tauresium. Although its location has been much discussed, it is now usually identified as the site of Caričin Grad, 45 km south of Niš. The city was deliberately chosen to become a great urban center; although it was off the major roads, its proximity to quarries facilitated large-scale construction. According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.1.17-27), Justiniana had an aqueduct, churches, great stoas, beautiful fountains, streets, baths, marketplaces, and shops. Justinian planned to transfer the seat of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum to his new city and promoted it to the ecclesiastical capital of western Illyricum. In 535 he made the archbishop of the city autocephalous, but in 545 he yielded to the protests of Pope AGAPETUS and accepted papal jurisdiction over his new foundation (B. Granić, *Byzantion* 2 [1925-26] 123-40). Justiniana was captured by the Avars and Slavs, who invaded the area in the early 7th C. The archbishopric of Justiniana is unknown after 602; in the 12th C. the bishops of VELBUŽD and then the archbishops of OHRID assumed the title of archbishop of Jus-

tiniana Prima (G. Prinzing, *BBulg* 5 [1978] 269-87).

The ruins at Caričin Grad extend over several acres of land, including an acropolis and a lower town. The polygonal acropolis contained the cathedral, an adjoining baptistery, and perhaps the bishop's palace. On the slope below, the unfortified town had a colonnaded main street, a circular piazza, bathhouses, and more churches. Most of the construction dates from the reign of Justinian, the acropolis being built ca.530, the lower town somewhat later. Despite the city's grandiose plan, column capitals from the site are crudely carved and in a style that was out of date by the time the city was founded (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 267). The latest coin hoard discovered at the site dates to 613, and the latest single coin to 615.

LIT. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977). *Caričin Grad I*, ed. N. Duval, V. Popović (Belgrade-Rome 1984). Dj. Mano-Zisi, *Caričin Grad-Justiniana Prima* (Leskovac 1979). B. Bavant, "La ville dans le nord de l'Illyricum," *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 272-85. -A.K., I. Dj., A.C.

**JUST PRICE** (δικαία τιμή, Lat. *justum pretium*). The concept of just price, like that of MONOPOLY, was derived from the general idea of state control of the economy: Diocletian introduced the term in a law of 285 (*Cod.Just.* IV 44.2) and established maximum prices of various goods in his PRICE EDICT. Control over PRICES and MEASURES formed a dominant characteristic of Byz. commerce, and the *Book of the Eparch* limited rates of PROFIT and prohibited merchants and artisans from raising prices above "the necessary level" (e.g., *Bk. of Eparch* 10:2). Especially substantial was the control over the price of GRAIN.

The Byz. did not develop the theory of just price to a point equivalent to that of Western teaching; nevertheless the concept permeated agrarian legislation of the Macedonian dynasty: the legislators indicate that many DYNATOI, partly by coercion, partly owing to the unsettled conditions in the wake of the famine of 927-28, had acquired lands of the poor either by ignoring legal restrictions (e.g., PROTIMESIS) or by paying a price below the one that was standard or "just." In such cases, the poor might recover their property within 40 years from the date of sale, and Basil II even abolished this 40-year prescription; in some cases a refund was required as reimbursement for im-

provements made upon the restored lands. The just price could be set on the basis of an official estimate, as in the case of *KLASMA* (N. Oikonomides, *FM* 7 [1986] 162f), or reflect market conditions.

LIT. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 44f.

—A.J.C.

**JUVENAL** (Ἰουβενάλιος), patriarch of Jerusalem (ca.422–58); saint; feastday 2 July. His lifelong ambition was to raise his suffragan diocese into a patriarchal see, independent of ANTIOCH and the metropolitan of CAESAREA MARITIMA, to which Palestine was canonically subject. Juvenal's appointment of the Arab chief Aspebetos (Peter)—at the request of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT—as the first bishop of an Arab camp (Parembolae), has sometimes been seen as a violation of the rights of Caesarea. Juvenal's claims for Jerusalem were rejected at the Council of EPHEBUS (431)

despite his alliance with CYRIL of Alexandria against the Antiochene NESTORIOS, patriarch of Constantinople. Although Cyril failed to support Juvenal strongly, Juvenal still sided with Egypt at the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS (449) by voting with the Alexandrian DIOSKOROS to restore EUTYCHES. At the Council of CHALCEDON (451), however, Juvenal sided with Constantinople by endorsing Dioskoros's deposition. As a result, the three PALESTINES were detached from Antioch to create the patriarchate of JERUSALEM. When Monophysite monks faithful to Dioskoros and Eutyches rebelled on Juvenal's return to the holy city, he was forced to call in imperial troops before he could enjoy his new status as Jerusalem's first patriarch.

LIT. E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950) 209–79. S. Vailhé, "Formation du patriarcat de Jérusalem," *EO* 13 (1910) 325–36. F.M. Abel, "St. Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports avec la Palestine," *Kyrialliana* 444–1944 (Cairo 1947) 214–20. —A.P.

## K

**KABALLARIOS** (Καβαλλάριος), a family of high-ranking officials and courtiers active ca.1250–1350. The name, meaning "cavalryman, knight," must be of Latin origin. The connection of the Kaballarioi with Constantine Kaballourios, *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 1043 (Skyl. 432.13–14), and Maria (?), sister of Constantine Kabaloures (E. Branousse, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 61.14), founder of the Strobilos monastery, mentioned in a charter of 1079, is unclear. Circa 1258/9 Basil Kaballarios belonged to the higher echelon of society: his marriage to Theodora Tarchaneiotissa was approved by Theodore II but annulled by Michael VIII. Alexios Kaballarios (or Kaballares), *domestikos* of the imperial table and governor of Thessalonike (died 1273/4 in battle), was Michael VIII's cousin; Michael Kaballarios was *megas konostaulos* ca.1277 when JOHN I DOUKAS defeated him at Pharsala. Several Kaballarioi supported Andronikos II and were listed among his *oikeioi*: esp. Bardas Kaballarios, who participated in the proceedings against Andronikos III the Younger, and Bardas's son Mark, who insulted Andronikos III at the walls of Constantinople in 1327. Later, in 1343, Theodore Kaballarios, a partisan of John VI, was captured by MOMČILO. The Kaballarioi were related to the TZAMBLAKONES. The Kaballarioi are distinct from the Kaballaropouloi, who throughout the 14th C. served as civil functionaries (Constantine, a judge; George, an interpreter) and clergymen.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.127. *PLP*, nos. 10024–56.

—A.K.

**KABALLAROPOULOS.** See KABALLARIOS.

**KABASILAS** (Καβάσιλας; etym. unclear), a noble lineage known from the reign of Basil II onward. The founder, Constantine, was a foreigner and Basil's servant. In 1042 Empress Theodora appointed him *strategos*. In the 11th C. several members of the family were governors: Nikephoros in Thessalonike ca.1022; Constantine

(Theodora's protégé?), *doux* of the West in 1042; another Kabasilas, *doux* of Vaspurakan under Michael IV; and Alexander, *doux* of Skopje ca.1080 (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.125). Alexander supported Nikephoros III and in Alexios I's reign was demoted to a low position. From ca.1200 some Kabasilai were prominent church leaders, including a metropolitan of Dyrrachion, a bishop of Grebena, and an archbishop of Ohrid ca.1259, all of whom were named Constantine. In the 14th C. the Kabasilai occupied important court positions: Demetrios, *megas papias* in 1347–69; Theodore, *logothetes tou stratotikou* ca.1317; Alexios, *megas konostaulos* ca.1339. The family produced several writers: Neilos KABASILAS, his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos KABASILAS, a scribe Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas. Intellectuals of this family often occupied ecclesiastical posts. The Kabasilai also served in provincial administration and possessed lands in Chalkidike, Thessalonike, and elsewhere.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas kai alla prosopographika ek anekdotou chrysoboullou tou Kantakouzenou," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 1–23. *PLP*, nos. 10061–102. A. Angelopoulos, "To genealogikon dendron tes oikeogeneias ton Kabasilon," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 367–96. —A.K.

**KABASILAS, NEILOS**, theological writer; born Thessalonike? ca.1300, died 1363. Because Kabasilas evidently bore the baptismal name of Nicholas, he has sometimes been confused with his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos KABASILAS. Kabasilas taught in Thessalonike, where Demetrios KYDONES was among his pupils; later he served in the government of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS in Constantinople, and then became a hieromonk (after 1353). From 1361 to 1363 he was metropolitan of Thessalonike, but apparently never took up residence in his see.

Kabasilas wrote Palamite and anti-Latin theological treatises, including an *Antigramma* against Nikephoros GREGORAS (ed. G. Papamichael, *Ekklephar* 11 [1913] 66–75) and an essay titled *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. In the latter treatise



Kabasilas attacked AQUINAS, whose work he knew through Kydones' translations, for applying to theology the methods of SCHOLASTICISM, esp. the excessive use of syllogisms (H.-G. Beck, *Divus Thomas*<sup>3</sup> 13 [1935] 3–22). Kabasilas's arguments were in turn refuted by Kydones in his (unedited) *Defense of Thomas Aquinas against Neilos Kabasilas* (M. Rackl, *Divus Thomas*<sup>2</sup> 7 [1920] 303–17).

ED. E. Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus Sancti* (Vatican 1945). A. Failler, "Une réfutation de Balsamon par Nil Kabasilas," *REB* 32 (1974) 211–23, with Fr. tr. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 427.

LIT. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–95. *PLP*, no. 10102.

—A.M.T.

**KABASILAS, NICHOLAS CHAMAETOS**, writer and theologian; born Thessalonike ca. 1322/3 (Loenertz, *infra* 226), died Constantinople? after 1391. Born to a noble family, he adopted his mother's name of Kabasilas in preference to his patronymic Chamaetos. After beginning his studies in Thessalonike with his uncle Neilos KABASILAS, he moved to Constantinople for further education. He was a Palamite and Kantakouzenist, who joined the entourage of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS after the latter's victory in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. He may have been a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353. He never married; it is likely that he eventually became a monk (Angelopoulos, *infra* 69–74). His final years were devoted to theology and philosophy.

Kabasilas was a scholar of widely ranging interests, including rhetoric, astronomy, law, and theology. He had a fierce social conscience, as evidenced by his treatise titled *On Usury* addressed to ANNA OF SAVOY (ed. R. Guiland in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 269–77), in which he used moral arguments to criticize the practice of usury (M. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 13 [1976] 83–96). His ideal monarch is based on Plato's ruler: he should be strong, educated, and just. Kabasilas is esp. vocal in the defense of the right to property and in his condemnation of injustice (M. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 12 [1975] 104–16). His *Discourse Concerning Illegal Acts of Officials against Things Sacred* attacks unspecified laymen who confiscated monastic property for defense needs, such as restoration of fortifications, construction of naval vessels, and recruitment of soldiers. Most scholars now accept I. Ševčenko's thesis that the latter

discourse was not directed against the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike, as was earlier believed; the identity of Kabasilas's adversaries is, however, still under discussion. Kabasilas also wrote spiritual treatises, such as *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* and *The Life of Christ*. He was a mystic who emphasized prayer (cf. G. Podskalsky, *OstSt* 20 [1971] 17–42).

ED. P. Enepekides, "Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas," *BZ* 46 (1953) 18–46, corr. by R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 205–31, and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 47 (1954) 49–59. Spiritual writings—PG 150:368–725. Eng. tr. J.M. Hussey, P. McNulty, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (London 1960). Discourse—ed. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.* pts. IV (1957), 81–171; V (1960), 181–201; VI (1962), 403–08.

LIT. A.A. Angelopoulos, *Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaetos. He zoe kai to ergon autou* (Thessalonike 1970). M. Lot-Borodine, *Un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Nicolas Cabasilas* (Paris 1958). Beck, *Kirche* 780–83. —A.M.T.

**KABBADION** (καββάδιον), a caftan, probably of oriental origin, called the "costume of the *ethnikoi*" by Philotheos in 899 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 177.32–179.1), but a standard article of imperial and court costume by the 14th C. Among the officeholders who wore the *kabbadion* were the *despotes*, the *meas doux*, the *meas logothetes*, and the *meas myrtaites* (pseudo-Kod. 146.2, 153.18, 154.16–17, 166.13–14). To judge by the portrait at CHORA of the *meas logothetes* Theodore METOCHITES, who is wearing a bluish-green caftan, the garment had long full sleeves, was belted, and had a gold-embroidered collar and borders along the sleeves and hem; unlike a tunic, the *kabbadion* apparently fastened down the front, and the twin front edges of the garment were also embroidered with gold. The *kabbadion* of Alexios Apokaukos in Paris, B.N. gr. 2144, fol. 11r (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig. 96), has tight sleeves and is decorated with roundels containing heraldic lions. According to pseudo-Kodinos (pseudo-Kod. 146.2–3, 153.18, 274.13–14), a *kabbadion* could also be violet or red and adorned with pearls. The texts suggest that it was worn over the SKARANIKON.

LIT. P.A. Phourikes, "Peri tou etymou ton lexeon skaramangion, kabbadion, skaranikon," *Lexikographikon archeion tes meses kai neas hellenikes* 6 (1923) 463–66. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:42. —N.P.S.

**KAFFA** (Καφᾶς in *De adm. imp.* 53.170), ancient Theodosia, a strategic post on the southeastern

coast of CRIMEA along the passage from the Black Sea to the Azov Sea. Taken by the Huns in 380, it was ruled by the Alans in the 5th–6th C., by the Khazars in the 7th to 10th C., and then came under Cuman and (after 1223) Tatar rule. As a result of Genoa's alliance with Byz. (treaty of NYMPHAION, 1261) and with the approval of the TATARS (the allies of Byz.), ca. 1266 the Genoese established a colony in Kaffa, which soon became the greatest trading center in eastern Europe, handling the traffic of Eastern and Western goods. By 1380 Kaffa had secured control over other Italian colonies in the region: Cembalo (Bala-klava), Vosporo (BOSPOROS), Matruga (TMUTOROKAN), Lo Capa (on the estuary of the Kuban), and SEBASTOPOLIS.

The Genoese repelled the attempts of the empire of TREBIZOND to penetrate Kaffa: an attack of several Greek ships from Sinope and Trebizond in 1313 caused some damage to the merchants of Kaffa, and friction continued throughout the first half of the 15th C. The war with Venice (1350–56) was won by the Genoese who thus established their hegemony in the Black Sea. After the treaty of 1347 Kaffa enjoyed cooperation with the Tatar rulers of Crimea. Its prosperity decreased when TIMUR captured TANA, thus curtailing Kaffa's trade with the Caucasus, Central Asia, India, and China. By 1475, when it was taken by the Ottomans, Kaffa was still a large city numbering 8,000 households, that is, about 40,000 inhabitants.

Kaffa was a customs point and a center trading in commodities such as slaves, grain, hides, furs, silk, and fish. Besides Italians its mixed population included Greeks (there were Greek churches and two Greek monasteries in Kaffa), Armenians, Rus', Muslims, and Jews. Before 1437 an ecclesiastical metropolis subordinate to Constantinople was organized in Kaffa, but this soon passed into the hands of supporters of Union of the Churches (E. Zachariadou, *ArchPont* 29 [1968] 280–93).

LIT. M. Małowist, *Kaffa—kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475* (Warsaw 1947). Jakobson, *SredKrym* 108–18. V. Badjan, A. Čiperis, "Torgovlja Kaffy v XIII–XV vv.," in *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 174–89. G. Petti Balbi, "Caffa e Pera a metà del Trecento," *RESEE* 16 (1978) 217–28. —O.P.

**KAINOTOMIA** (καινοτομία, lit. "innovation"). In the context of law the word usually means new

buildings that might interfere with another's rights or public interest. Already in classical Roman law various legal remedies were available to the neighbors of a person erecting a building to counter disturbances from building construction (cf. esp. *Basil.* 58.10). To these private legal remedies, which were intended for individuals, a constitution of the emperor Zeno (*Cod. Just.* VIII.10.12, *Basil.* 58.11.11) added a kind of general building regulation in the interest of public safety; it prescribed the distances between, and heights of, new buildings. Zeno's constitution was confirmed by Justinian I and extended to all cities of the empire (*Cod. Just.* VIII.10.13, *Nov. Just.* 63 = *Basil.* 58.11.12, 14). The regulations involving distances between buildings, esp. with reference to a sea view, remained in force, as the *Peira* 50.5 shows. The treatise of JULIAN OF ASKALON contains numerous other safety regulations to be observed with regard to *kainotomia*, affecting industrial premises as well. The most extensive compilation of all Byz. building regulations is given in the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS (2.4). The word was also used to designate theological, fiscal, or political INNOVATIONS, usually with negative overtones. —M.Th.F.

**KAINOURGION**. See GREAT PALACE.

**KAILOUMOS** (Καϊουμός), theologian; first half of the 7th C. He is known only from an anonymous brief edifying story preserved in several MSS from the 11th C. onward. Reportedly Kaioumos was an anchorite who lived at the "bay of St. Antony," on the shore of the Red Sea near Klyasma; he moved from there to Ammochostos, Cyprus, where he stayed in seclusion. He was summoned as an arbiter in the case of a certain Philentolos, son of Olympios: a rich and generous man, he helped the poor and even founded a hospital, but had "the passion of fornication." After his death, a local council was convened, presided by Archbp. Arkadios (before 625–641/2), to debate Philentolos's posthumous condition. According to Kaioumos, Philentolos was saved from Hell by his charitable deeds but was not admitted to Paradise because of his sin; his soul had to remain with those of unbaptized children. The status of the pious sinner was not considered provisional, and

Kaioumos did not introduce the idea of PURGATORY. Kyrris connects Kaioumos's explanation with some passages in the Qur'an.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou," *AB* 63 (1945) 62-64.

LIT. C.P. Kyrris, "The Admission of the Souls of Immortal But Humane People into the 'Limbus Puerorum,'" According to the Cypriot Abbot Kaioumos," *RESEE* 9 (1971) 461-77. —A.K.

**KAISARIANE** (Καίσαριανή), monastery on Mt. Hymettos near ATHENS. In antiquity probably a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the site was converted to Christian use in the 5th or 6th C. The monastery must date to ca. 1100, when the surviving church was built; it is mentioned in the correspondence of Pope Innocent III (T. Neroutsos, *DIEE* 3 [1889] 103-05) but apparently remained in Greek hands after the Fourth Crusade since in 1210 Michael Choniates addressed a letter to its Orthodox hegoumenos (Mich. Akom. 2:311). The *katholikon* is a cross-in-square with half-hexagonal apses; south of the church is a bath, apparently contemporary with the *katholikon* but later turned into an oil press. The narthex and frescoes in the *katholikon*, along with the other buildings of the monastery, are post-Byz. To the west are the remains of a large early Christian basilica with semicircular apses, over which a smaller domed church was built, apparently in the 10th-11th C. To the south of this are the ruins of a single-aisled church, probably built during the Frankish period.

LIT. Th. Chatzidakis, *The Monastery of Kaisariani* (Athens 1977). A.K. Orlandos, "Mesaionika mnemeia tes pediados ton Athenon," in *Eureterion ton mesaionikon mnemeion tes Hellados* 1.3 (Athens 1933) 158-64. L. Forrest, "The Monastery of Kaisariani: History and Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1990). Janin, *Églises centres* 313. —T.E.G.

**KAISARIOS, PSEUDO-**, name given to the author of four dialogues (*Erotapokriseis*) masquerading as the work of Kaisarios (died 369), who was the younger brother of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, holder of various official positions and a court doctor. They are dated by both Dujčev and Duprey (*infra*) to the first half of the 6th C. Many of the questions are of a religious nature, seeking greater understanding of the Holy Trinity and Scriptures in order to combat heresy. Pseudo-Kaisarios, a Monophysite, polemicizes against Jews, Arians, and Origenists and may be connected with

SEVEROS of Antioch. Perhaps a quarter of the questions are on scientific matters, such as queries about thunder and lightning, rainbows, the nature of fire, and the changing length of days and nights. Several passages on the Slavs and other inhabitants of the Danube region are of particular interest, as perhaps the earliest written testimony about the Slavs (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:23-43).

The dialogues owe palpable debts to such authors as Epiphanius of Salamis, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nyssa. They also exist in a 10th-C. Slavonic translation, which contains more questions than the extant Greek text but also lacks some passages that survive in Greek.

ED. PG 38:851-1190.

LIT. R. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage* (Munich 1969). P. Duprey, "Quand furent composés les 'Dialogues' attribués à Césaire de Nazianze?," *PrOC* 5 (1955) 14-30, 297-315. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:195-205, 604f. —B.B., A.M.T.

**KAISERAUGST TREASURE**, a group of silver objects and coins of the first half of the 4th C., unearthed in 1961-62 inside the fort of Castrum Rauracense at Augst (Augusta Rauricorum) near Basel. Now in the Römermuseum, Augst, it contains 64 domestic objects, one fragment (*Hacksilber*), three INGOTS with stamps of the usurper MAGNENTIUS applied at Trier after Jan. 350, and 186 coins and medallions dating between 294 and 350. Among the objects are 14 serving plates and bowls, four goblets, and 41 spoons and small implements (one with a Christogram). Other items include a gilt- and niello-inlaid extending lampstand, a statuette of Aphrodite, two plates with elaborately decorated central medallions and rims—one with an Achilles cycle in relief and the other with seaside and hunting scenes in gilt and niello inlay; a rectangular plate with inlaid panels depicting Ariadne, Bacchus, and Eros. According to inscriptions on their bases, the Achilles plate was made in Thessalonike and a fluted plate in Naissos. An association of this opulent and pagan imagery with the emperor Julian was once supposed. Yet, some objects bear graffiti mentioning a P. Romulus and a Marcellianus, both identified as officers serving Magnentius, who perished at the battle of Mursa on 28 Sept. 351; the treasure is therefore thought to have been buried between Jan. 350 and Sept. 351.

LIT. *Der spätromische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, ed. H.A. Cahn, A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, 2 vols. (Augst 1984). —M.M.M.

**KALAMANOS** (Καλαμάνος, Καλαμάνος), a noble family of Russo-Hungarian origin. The founder, Boris, was a son of the Hungarian king Coloman or Kálmán (1095-1116) of the house of ARPAD and Evfimija, the daughter of VLADIMIR MONOMACH. He arrived in Byz. from Rus' during the reign of John II and married a relative of the emperor (Arete Doukaina, according to V. Laurent). He died in battle in 1155. The *sebastos* Constantine Kalamanos, governor of Cilicia, was defeated and captured in 1164 by NUR AL-DIN. Laurent (*Bulles métr.*, no. 439) dated a seal of a Kalamanos, *sebastos* and *doux*, to the end of the 12th C. The family possessed a mansion in Constantinople, and ca. 1200 one of them was a lord of the Sampson district. Thereafter no Kalamanos occupied any prominent position.

LIT. S.P. Rozanov, "Evfimija Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovič," *IzvAN SSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk* (1930), no. 8, 585-99; no. 9, 649-71. V. Laurent, "Arète Doukaina, la kralaina," *BZ* 65 (1972) 35-39. *PLP*, nos. 10221-23. —A.K.

**KALAMATA** (Καλαμάτα, name derived from ancient Kalamai), city in Messenia with a fertile hinterland, near the Gulf of Messenia. It was located a little to the north of Kalamai and was built on the site of ancient Pharai. Unimportant in antiquity, Kalamata is generally ignored by the Byz. sources: only the vita of St. NIKON HO "METANOIEITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch. 31.7) mentions it. The 12th-C. geographer al-IDRISI describes it as a large and populous city. At least five surviving churches dating to the 11th-12th C. suggest considerable activity in this period: among these the Church of the Holy Apostles and another known under the name of St. Charalambos have a cross-in-square plan. Kalamata was conquered by William I of Champlitte in 1205 and given to Geoffrey I Villehardouin; William II Villehardouin was born and died there. The city was taken by the neighboring Slavs in 1293 or 1295; in the 14th C. its territory included the castles of Nesi and Maina. It remained a possession of the principality of ACHAIA until the end of the principality in 1428, when it came briefly under Byz. control. In the

second half of the 15th C. and later it was contested between the Ottomans and Venetians. Kalamata is mentioned as a bishopric only in post-Byz. times.

The castle of Kalamata was the acropolis of ancient Pharai and was refortified sometime during the Byz. era; according to the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA (Greek version, ed. Schmitt, p. 116.1711-14), it was not in a condition to withstand a siege in 1205. The Latins rebuilt the castle substantially, giving it a double circuit of walls.

LIT. A. Bon, "Églises byzantines de Kalamata," 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Paris 1950) 35-50. Idem, *Morée franque* 408-10, 666-68. Andrews, *Castles* 28-35. —T.E.G.

**KALAMBAKA**. See STAGOI.

**KALAMOS** (κάλαμος, "reed"), a measure of length equal to the late Roman *akaina* (ἄκαινα) of 10 *podes* (see Pous). Later, the *kalamos* was used for measuring vineyards; originally one *kalamos* meant the simple distance between two vines, subsequently also the double or triple distance. According to the metrological treatises, vineyards were evaluated in two or three categories of quality: the worse the quality the greater the distances between two vines. From the time of Michael IV, 1/4 *basilike* SPITHAME was added to the *kalamos* used in measuring vineyards of the best quality.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 37-41, 81-91. —E. Sch.

**KALAPHATES** (καλαφάτης), caulker, a craftsman who made ships watertight by filling in their joints and seams with pitch. The term is unknown in classical antiquity but appears in papyri of the 6th-8th C. (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:727). Liutprand of Cremona uses this Greek word and defines it as a *navium compositor* (lit. "arranger" of ships—Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 44). Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De cer.* 675.4-6) distinguishes *naupegetis*, shipbuilding proper, from *kalaphatesis* of the same boats. Emp. Michael V, surnamed Kalaphates, was the son of a caulker, according to Psellos, who provides a precise description of this craftsman's work (*Chron.* bk. 4, ch. 26.12-15, vol. 1:69).

LIT. H. & R. Kahane, *RB* 1.4:410f. —A.K.



**KALAVRYTA** (Καλάβρυτα, "beautiful spring"; Colovrate, etc., in Western texts), city in the borderland between Achaia and Arkadia, located in a high and nearly inaccessible plain near ancient Kynaitha, unknown after the 3rd C. (E. Pieske, *RE* 11 [1922] 2479–82). The name *Kalobrita* appears first in the *PARTITIO ROMANIAE* (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 219.47). In the mid-13th C. it formed a barony consisting of 12 fiefs; the baron of Kalavryta was in the list of 12 peers of the seigneur of Morea (Jacoby, *Féodalité* 24f); the barony of Kalavryta was in the hands of the family of Durnay. In 1270–74 Greeks again held Kalavryta, and by the end of the 13th C. the Greek nobles Jacob Zassy (Tzausios?) and his cousin Photios dominated the city. Around 1400 the Hospitallers attempted to seize Corinth, Kalavryta, and Mistra, but the expedition failed because of the resistance of the local population. In the 15th C. Kalavryta served as one of the residences of the *despotai* of the Morea, and in 1429 the marriage between Thomas Palaiologos and Caterina, daughter of Centurione Zaccaria, took place at the village of Krastikoi near Kalavryta.

The Frankish castle of Tremola, mentioned by numerous sources, stands in a ruinous condition above the modern town; there is a single gate, no trace of flanking towers, a keep, and a subterranean chapel of St. John. A false tradition attributes foundation of the monastery of Hagia Lavra at Kalavryta to the 10th C., but it is probably post-Byz.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 466–70, 633f. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:158f; 2:91, 216. —T.E.G.

**KALE** (Καλή), feminine personal name (etym. probably "good"). The name is extremely rarely attested in early texts. A judicial decision of 952 mentions a woman "called Kale" (*Lavra* 1, no.4.11). A noble lady Kale, who as a nun took the name Maria, issued a will at the end of the 11th C. (*FGHBulg* 7 [1967] 70–78). In later centuries the name became very popular, esp. in the peasant milieu: vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* list 57 Kales, second only to Maria (69); the acts of Xeropotamou mention 75 Kales (compared with 95 Marias); in the acts of Esphigmenou there are 50 Kales, compared with 66 Marias. Noblewomen with this name are also known (e.g., *PLP*, nos. 10311–12).

—A.K.

**KALEKAS** (Καλέκας), a family that in the 14th C. produced several intellectuals, such as JOHN XIV KALEKAS, patriarch of Constantinople, and the writer Manuel Kalekas (see KALEKAS, MANUEL). The dates of the ecclesiastical rhetorician Theophilos Kalekas have not been ascertained; his homilies are preserved in a 16th-C. MS. *Protopapas* of Kerkyra from 12 Aug. 1431, Michael Kalekas (died 1441) tried to secure the protection of the Venetian doge Francesco Foscari for the Orthodox church of Kerkyra (L. Zoes, *EEBS* 13 [1937] 180). The relationship of these intellectuals to the peasant families of Kalekas in the 14th and 15th C. is unclear.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 10286–90.

—A.K.

**KALEKAS, MANUEL**, grammarian, rhetor, and theologian; born Constantinople, died Lesbos 1410. Born into an Orthodox family, Kalekas had an unsuccessful career as teacher in Constantinople, partly because of his opposition to PALAMISM. From 1391 to 1396 he was a disciple of Demetrios KYDONES and was introduced to the works of Thomas AQUINAS. In 1396 religious persecution forced Kalekas into voluntary exile in Pera; shortly thereafter he converted to Catholicism. After his sojourn in Pera (1396–99), he moved on to Crete (1400), Italy (1401–03?), and finally settled in Lesbos (1404–10), where he became a Dominican monk.

Kalekas was an active scholar and writer. In addition to his correspondence, addressed primarily to Latinophile friends such as Kydones, Maximus CHRYSOBERGES, and Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, he copied MSS; made Greek translations of Latin liturgical texts, Anselm of Canterbury, and BOETHIUS; and wrote treatises on theology. His earlier works were primarily anti-Palamite; his interests later shifted to Trinitarian theology and the Procession of the Holy Spirit. In his *Apologies* he defended his rupture with the Orthodox church and argued that the Turkish advance was caused by divine wrath at the deviation of the Greeks from the true faith.

ED. *Correspondance de Manuel Calékas*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz (Vatican 1950). PG 152:11–661; 154:864–958. For complete list, see Beck, *Kirche* 741.

LIT. Mercati, *Notizie* 62–117, 450–73. *PLP*, no.10289.

—A.M.T.

**KALENDERHANE CAMII**, large church in Constantinople, situated near the east end of the so-called aqueduct of Valens. Built in part over a bath of the 4th/5th C., as revealed by archaeological investigation, it exhibits a complex structural history. Most of the standing structure (a cross-in-square covered by a dome) is of the late 12th C., but the east end is partly of the 6th and has yielded a wall mosaic of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (6th/7th C.). An added chapel at the southeast corner is decorated in fresco and includes a fragmentary cycle of the life of St. Francis painted during the Latin Empire. Previous attempts to identify Kalenderhane with the Church of St. Mary Diakonissa or that of Christ Akataleptos have been abandoned. A fresco of the Virgin Kyriotissa over the central door between the two narthexes suggests a dedication to her.

LIT. C.L. Striker, Y.D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul," *DOP* 21 (1967) 267–71; 22 (1968) 185–93; 25 (1971) 251–58; 29 (1975) 306–18. —C.M.

**KALLATIS** (Καλλάτις), also Callatis, Greek city on the Black Sea, south of TOMIS; mod. Mangalia, in the Rumanian district of Constanța. Excavations have revealed the city wall of the late 3rd C. that served probably to the early 7th C. (F. Preda, *Universitatea București, Analele, seria Istorie* 17 [1968] 27–36). The city seems to have flourished in the 4th–5th C. Near Kallatis, a necropolis was investigated: most of the tombs were of the 4th C. and more than 60 coins from the period of Constantine I through Theodosios I were found, whereas later finds were rare (one coin of Theodosios II and one of Justinian I). Ceramics, glass, belt buckles, and other objects were also primarily of the 4th C. There is no reason to date those burials without objects exclusively to the 6th C., as did C. Preda (A. Dierkens, *Latomus* 40 [1981] 466).

LIT. C. Scorpan, "Note sur les fouilles de sauvegarde de Callatis," *Pontica* 7 (1974) 191–97. C. Preda, *Callatis: necropola romano-bizantină* (Bucharest 1980). —A.K.

**KALLIERGES, GEORGE**, artist, called "the best painter in all Thessaly" in the dedicatory inscription (1315) of the Church of the Anastasis at BERROIA in Macedonia. These frescoes suggest that Kallierges (Καλλιέργης) was familiar with the mosaics of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES at

Thessalonike, where his presence is attested by a bill of sale (*Chil.*, no.84.63) dated 9 Oct. 1322. The attribution to Kallierges of frescoes at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, and of others on Mt. Athos, is less secure. Kallierges' name also occurs in the title of an epigram by Manuel PHILES (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 2:25, epigram 11).

LIT. S. Pelekanides, *Kallierges, holes Thettalias aristos zo-graphos* (Athens 1973). *PLP*, no.10367. —A.C.

**KALLIKANTZAROI**. See CALENDs.

**KALLIKLES, NICHOLAS**, physician and poet; first half of the 12th C. Although Kallikles (Καλλικλῆς) is mentioned by several of his contemporaries (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, PRODROMOS, Gregory PARDOS), all we know of his biography is the report of Anna KOMNENE that Kallikles attended Alexios I's deathbed in 1118. Kallikles' epitaph of John II was reportedly written before the emperor's demise, but probably close to 1142. Besides panegyrics of rulers (Alexios I, his wife Irene, John II), Kallikles produced epigrams praising various aristocrats: he stressed their wealth and noble origin, but eulogized martial prowess only in the epitaph of the *sebastos* Rogerios (no.19), who is explicitly said to have come "from the land of the Franks," i.e., Normans (M. Mathieu, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 137–40). Kallikles' contemporary Prodromos fully developed the genre of aristocratic poetic eulogy. Some of Kallikles' epigrams are dedicated to various artifacts, such as no.2 on an icon of Christ deposited in the PANTOKRATOR monastery; accordingly some inscriptions preserved on reliquaries have been ascribed to Kallikles (E. Voordeckers, L. Milis, *Byzantion* 39 [1969] 456–88). E. Lipšic and R. Romano consider Kallikles as the probable author of the TIMARION.

ED. *Carmi*, ed. R. Romano (Naples 1980).

LIT. R. Romano, "Sulla poesia di Nicola Callicle," *Annali di Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* 22 (1979–80) 61–75. A. Garzya, "Varia philologica XIII," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 117–22. —A.K.

**KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHÖE** (Καλλιμαχος και Χρυσορρόη), romance in 2,807 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written possibly in the early 14th C. by a nephew of Michael VIII,



Andronikos Palaiologos, who also wrote a *Dialogue against the Jews* (an epigram of Manuel PHILES ascribes to Andronikos a romance very similar to *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*). Though his language admits a number of loan words and VERNACULAR features, the author is well grounded in learned rhetorical practice (e.g., the use of anaphora). Describing the tribulations besetting a pair of lovers, *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* combines features from the romances of antiquity (particularly from the *Aithiopika* of HELIODOROS) and those of the 12th-C. revival (elaborate EKPHRASEIS of buildings and gardens) with elements of folk-tale: testing of three brothers, a *drakon* ("ogre"), a witch with a magic apple, etc. The author of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* has grafted a world of Byz. court ceremonial (PROSKYNESIS, court attendants, etc.) and official procedures onto a traditional fairy tale.

ED. *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, ed. M. Pichard (Paris 1956), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 117–20. H. Hunger, "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe," *TM* 3 (1968) 405–22. P. Apostolopoulos, *La langue du roman byzantin "Callimaque et Chrysorrhoe"* (Athens 1984). A. Aleksidze, "Kallimach i Chyrorroja: problema žanra," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 93–99. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

**KALLINIKOS** (Καλλίνικος, also Leontopolis, Ar. al-Raqqah in modern Syria), Byz. city in OS-RHOENE on the left bank of the Euphrates near the more ancient foundation of Nikephorion, which had declined by the 4th C. (Jones, *Cities* 221f). A well-fortified commercial city (Amm. Marc. 23.3.7), Kallinikos, together with NISIBIS and Artaxata, became a legally designated trading post with the Persians (*Cod. Just.* IV 63.4). Kallinikos was rebuilt by Leo I and received his name in 466. The city played an important part in the Persian wars. In 542 Chosroes I took Kallinikos and led its citizens to Persia, having razed the city walls (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.21.30–33), which Justinian I later rebuilt (idem, *Buildings* 2.7.17). A local tradition maintains that Empress Theodora erected a monumental column there and rebuilt a Monophysite monastery (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle* 2:419–20). On retreat from their march to Ctesiphon in 580, Maurice and his army checked a Persian attack at Kallinikos (Theoph. Simok. 3.17.8–11). The Arabs took Kallinikos in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 150f); in 772 the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr built nearby the new city of al-

Rāfiqah, on a horseshoe-shaped plan; remains of its walls still stand.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 3:1108–10. F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise in Euphrat-und-Tigris Gebiet*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1920) 349–64; vol. 3 (Berlin 1911) pls. LXIII–LXX. M. al-Khalaph, K. Kohlmayer, "Untersuchungen zu ar-Raqqā-Nikephorion-Callinicum," *Damascenische Mitteilungen* 2 (1985) 133–62. —M.M.M.

**KALLINIKOS** (Καλλίνικος), traditionally but probably wrongly (H. Wada, *Orient* 11 [1975] 25–34) considered the inventor of GREEK FIRE. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 354.13–17), Kallinikos fled in 673/4 from Heliopolis in Syria (or perhaps Egypt) to Constantinople, where his use of "sea fire" was crucial in defending the city against the Arab siege of 674–78.

LIT. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 12–14. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:34–36. —P.A.H.

**KALLIPOLIS** (Καλλιπολις, mod. Gelibolu, Gallipoli), city on the European shore of the Sea of Marmara at the north end of the HELLESPONT. In late antiquity it was a suffragan bishopric of Thracian Herakleia. In 324 the caesar CRISPUS defeated the fleet of Licinius off Kallipolis. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 102.24–26) relates that in the 5th C. ATTILA reached Kallipolis and Sestos and conquered all of the cities and fortresses in the area.

Justinian I restored the walls of Kallipolis, but little is known about the city thereafter until the Crusaders began to use it as the starting point for their expeditions to the East (An. Komn. 3:159.12–16). The town was not large—a 12th-C. historian (Kinn. 201.21) describes it as a coastal *polisma*. From the 13th C. onward, the crossing from Kallipolis to LAMPSAKOS became more common, replacing that of Abydos-Sestos. In 1205 the Venetians occupied Kallipolis, but in 1234/5 John III Vatatzes reconquered the Thracian coast.

In 1304 Kallipolis served as the headquarters of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; later Kantakouzenos found the town a convenient base from which to repel "barbaric" invasions. In 1331/2 UMUR BEG led an unsuccessful attack on Kallipolis. In 1352 the Ottomans took the fortress of Tzimpe, north of Kallipolis, and, after a violent earthquake on 2 March 1354, captured the city.

It was recovered in 1366 by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY who restored it to the Byz. on 17 June 1367; Andronikos IV returned it to the sultan, however, on 3 Sept. 1376. Kallipolis was the major Ottoman naval base crucial for their European operations; Venice endeavored on several occasions to capture it or to obtain free passage through the strait, but in vain.

LIT. Lemerle, *Aydin* 68–74. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 318–25. H. Inalcik, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 2:983–87. E. Oberhammer, *RE* 10 (1919) 1659f. —A.K.

**KALLISTHENES, PSEUDO-**. See ALEXANDER ROMANCE.

**KALLISTOS I**, patriarch of Constantinople (June 1350–14 Aug. 1353; 1355–63); died Serres Aug. 1363. Kallistos spent his early career as a monk on Athos; he was a disciple of GREGORY SINAITES and accompanied him on journeys to Constantinople and PARORIA. In the 1330s he was a hieromonk at the Athonite skete of Magoula; in the 1340s he moved to Iveron, where he eventually became *hegoumenos*. Elected patriarch in 1350 under John VI Kantakouzenos, he presided over the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which reaffirmed Palamite doctrine. In this capacity his portrait has been recognized in two MSS (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 90, 92). He remained loyal to John V Palaiologos; in spring 1353 he refused to perform the coronation of MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS and withdrew from the patriarchate. After his replacement by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, he joined John V on Tenedos. When John V regained the throne, Kallistos also resumed his patriarchate. He died during a mission to the Serbs to seek military assistance against the Turks.

Kallistos was a staunch defender of the privileges of the patriarchate of Constantinople; he excommunicated the Serbian patriarch ca. 1352/3 for being too independent (V. Mošin, *Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve* 9 [27] [1946] 192–206) and also forced the Bulgarian patriarch to recognize the supremacy of Constantinople in 1361/2 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no. 2442). He wrote a number of works, including *Lives of Gregory Sinaites* and St. THEODOSIOS OF TŪRNOVO; the latter survives only in a Bulgarian translation. He was also the author of homilies (64 according to Gones), among which

is an *enkomion* for Patr. John IV Nesteutes. The homiliary attributed to Kallistos in Slavic translation is the work of Patr. John IX Agapetos (1111–34; D. Gones, *Palaeobulgarica* 6 [1982] no. 2, 41–55; Č. Milovanović, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 149–63).

ED. MM 1:295–448. For list of other works, see Gones, *infra*.

SOURCE. A. Failler, "La déposition du patriarche Calliste I<sup>er</sup>," *REB* 31 (1973) 5–163, with Fr. tr.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2311–46, 2373–2460. *PLP*, no. 10478. D.B. Gones, *To syngraphikon ergon tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Kallistou A'* (Athens 1980). —A.M.T., A.C.

**KALOJAN** (Lat. Calojoannes) or Ioannitza, younger brother of ASEN I and PETER; ruler of Bulgaria (1197–1207); died near Thessalonike Oct. 1207. In 1188 Kalojan was sent as a hostage to Constantinople but escaped to Tŭrnovo ca. 1190; after Peter's assassination he inherited power. Beginning in 1199, he launched attacks against Byz.; he found support among independent "princes" such as IVANKO and DOBROMIR CHRYSOS as well as some rebellious Byz. magnates. Kalojan conquered Konstantia, Varna, and a major part of Macedonia. The treaty of 1202 with ALEXIOS III confirmed his acquisitions. For support against Byz., Kalojan turned to INNOCENT III and, in 1204, the pope's envoy Leo crowned Kalojan as king; Kalojan, however, assumed the title of emperor of Bulgaria and Vlachia. The Bulgarian church accepted Rome's jurisdiction and the archbishop obtained the title of primate. The Fourth Crusade changed the balance of power in the Balkans and compelled Kalojan to seek an alliance with the Greek aristocracy against the Crusaders. On 14 Apr. 1205 the allies, with Cuman help, destroyed the Latin army and captured Emp. BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. To exploit his success, Kalojan invaded Thrace; after the death of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, he besieged Thessalonike. The Cuman chieftain Manastras murdered Kalojan outside the city. The Byz. hated Kalojan, who called himself *Rhomaïktonos* or "killer of the Rhomaioi," for his cruelty in imperial territory (Akrop. 1:23.18–19). They gave him the name of *Skyloioannes* (John the dog) and claimed that Kalojan was slain by St. Demetrios himself. I. Dujčev (*infra* 180f), however, hypothesizes that Kalojan died of disease (pleurisy). His skeleton may be the one found in the Church of the Forty Martyrs, Tŭrnovo, with a signet ring inscribed in Cyrillic

"Kalojan's ring." There is also a seal of "Kaloen" the tsar of the Bulgarians (N. Mušmov, *BS* 4 [1932] 135-38).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:108-269. I. Dujčev, "La bague-sceau du roi bulgare Kalojan," *BS* 36 (1975) 173-83. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt.III (1949), 188-203. —A.K., C.M.B.

**KALOMODIOS** (Καλομόδιος), a money-changer or banker of Constantinople, also engaged in long-distance trade (Nik.Chon. 523f); fl. ca.1200. Officials of ALEXIOS III arrested Kalomodios to strip him of his wealth. Next morning a riotous crowd, presumably organized by his fellow bankers, forced Patr. JOHN X KAMATEROS to intercede for Kalomodios; he was released unharmed. —C.M.B.

**KALOPHEROS, JOHN LASKARIS**, rich merchant, landowner, and diplomat; a friend of DEMETRIOS KYDONES; born between 1325 and 1330, died in Cyprus 1392. The connection of Kalopheros (Καλόφερρος) with the house of LASKARIS is unclear. In contrast to Kydones, he sided with John V Palaiologos during the Civil War of 1341-47, but he later came into contact with the Kantakouzenos family and married Maria, daughter of Matthew I. The marriage so angered John V that Kalopheros was forced to flee from Constantinople in 1362/3. He had well-established links with Western courts and converted to Catholicism; his second marriage (1367?) to Maria de Mimars (died 1369/70), the widow of a noble Cypriot, John de Soissons, confirmed these ties. In concluding the nuptial agreement Kalopheros handed over to his wife the colossal sum of 243,567 besants of Cyprus (Jacoby, *infra* 191) and received in exchange the usufruct of her estates. Kalopheros served as political adviser and envoy in Rome and Venice and participated in military expeditions launched by the Cypriot king Peter I Lusignan, but he was arrested in Cyprus ca.1370 after Peter's death. In 1371 Kalopheros left Cyprus and settled down in Avignon to serve the pope. Nevertheless he retained connections with Greece, having married in 1372/3 Lucie le Maure, daughter of Erard, seigneur of Arkadia; he traveled several times to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Peloponnesos and continued his correspondence with Kydones. He acquired first Genoese and later (in 1388) Venetian citizenship; soon thereafter he left Venice for Cyprus, where he died. His brother

Maximos was *protosynkellos* in Constantinople in 1365 and *hegoumenos* of the Diomedes monastery in 1374.

LIT. A. Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros* (Wiesbaden 1969), with add. and corr. by R. Loenertz, *REB* 28 (1970) 129-39 and B. Krekić, *Zb-FilozFak* (Belgrade 1974) 405-14. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.IX (1968), 189-228. *PLP*, nos. 10732-33. —A.K.

**KALOPHONIC CHANT.** See TERETISMATA.

**KALOPODIOS** (Καλοπόδιος, lit. "beautiful foot" [Irmischer, *infra*] or "boot-tree" [Aerts, *infra*]), an enigmatic functionary in the reign of Justinian I. Theophanes the Confessor and the *Chronicon Paschale* relate the so-called *Acta of Kalopodios* ("Acclamations against Kalopodios")—a dialogue in the Hippodrome between the imperial *mandator* and the Greens; the latter describe as their oppressor the *koubikoularios* and *spatharios* Kalopodios "who is at the boot-maker's shop (*tzangareia*)." Both chroniclers consider this dialogue a prelude to the NIKA REVOLT. P. Maas (*BZ* 21 [1912] 28-51), followed by Baldwin (*infra*), hypothesized, however, that the passage appeared in the wrong context in a source common to both chronicles and should be related to a later episode; A. Čekalova (*ADSV* 10 [1973] 225-28) linked it with the Nika revolt. Even though the name of Kalopodios appears in some contemporary texts (e.g., *praipositos* Kalopodios in 558/9), the relationship of the Kalopodios of the *Acta* to his namesakes cannot be ascertained. Kalopodios could be a pseudonym concealing a better-known individual: Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 87f, 107) saw NARSES in Kalopodios, Aerts recognized JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, but neither hypothesis can be proved.

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "La forme primitive des *Akta dia Kalopodion*," *Texte und Textkritik* (Berlin 1987) 287-94 [= *TU* 133]. W.J. Aerts, "Who Was Kalopodios?" *Scripta archaeologica Groningana* 6 (1976) 1-13. J. Irmischer, "Akta dia Kalopodion," in *Orbis Mediaevalis: Festgabe für A. Blaschka* (Weimar 1970) 78-88. B. Baldwin, "The Date of a Circus Dialogue," *REB* 39 (1981) 301-06. —W.E.K., A.K.

**KALOTHEOTOS, JOSEPH**, Palamite apologist and hagiographer; died after 1355/6. Sometime before 1336 Kalothetos (Καλόθετος) became a monk at the Athonite monastery of ESPHIGMENOU, where he met Gregory PALAMAS and came under the

influence of his teachings. He lived later in Thessalonike and Constantinople, and became superior of an unspecified monastery. An ardent supporter of Palamas, he participated in the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) against BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and wrote numerous treatises defending Palamite doctrine. His nine *Antirrhethics* were directed against Gregory AKINDYNOS, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and a member of the Gabras family. He also wrote vitae of Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople and Gregory of Nikomedeia as well as an *enkomion* of ANDREW OF CRETE. Kalothetos emphasized the love of *hesychia* in these saints and portrayed them as forerunners of Palamas and the hesychastic movement. His writings abound with classical allusions; he even gave to Barlaam and Akindynos the names of characters from Plato's *Republic*.

ED. Ioseph Kalothetou *Syngrammata*, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1980).

LIT. *PLP*, no.10615.

—A.M.T.

**KALYMMMA** (κάλυμμα, lit. "cover"), a small cloth used in the liturgy as a veil for covering the eucharistic elements: the *diskokalymma* covers the PATEN, the *poterokalymma*, the CHALICE; *kalymmata* are also known as little AERES. The liturgical function of the *kalymma* and its association in liturgical commentaries with the swaddling clothes and winding sheets of Christ determined its physical appearance. Extant Byz. *kalymmata*, all gold and silk EMBROIDERIES, depict the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) and related themes: the *diskokalymma* in Halberstadt (of the *sebastos* Alexios Palaiologos, ca.1185-95[?]) and Castell' Arquato (early 14th C.) show Christ administering the bread, while their corresponding *poterokalymmata* show him administering the wine. The Divine Liturgy is shown on the *kalymma* in the Benaki Museum, Athens (14th C.), and the *Melismos* (see FRACTION) on the Hilandar *kalymma* (14th C.). *Kalymmata* are often recorded in wills (e.g., that of Eustathios BOILAS) and INVENTORIES (e.g., Patmos); gold-embroidered *kalymmata* (*kalymmata chrysokladarika*) are mentioned in the Acts of Lavra (Lavra 3, no.147.10).

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 609f, 612. Millet, *Broderies* 72-76, pls. 154-58. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25, 114-17. —A.G.

**KAMACHA** (Κάμαχα, sometimes Kamachon or Kamachos, mod. Kemah), a fortress of the upper Euphrates about 40 km west of KELTZENE, was important during the border wars between Byz. and the Arabs. First taken by the Arabs in 679, it frequently changed hands until the mid-9th C., after which it remained Byz. until 1071. According to Constantine VII, Kamacha was a *tourma* of KOLONEIA that Leo VI united with Keltzene to create the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Although Kamacha thereafter disappears from secular texts, it remained metropolis of a diocese called Armenia until the 11th C. The site contains a sizable castle with walls of several undated periods.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 56f. N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara 1959) 212-15. —C.F.

**KAMĀL AL-DĪN.** See IBN AL-ʿADĪM.

**KAMARIOTES, MATTHEW**, writer, scribe, and teacher; born Thessalonike, died Constantinople 1490. Kamariotes (Καμαριώτης) came to Constantinople during the final years of the Palaiologan dynasty and studied with GENNADIOS (II) SCHOLARIOS, who dedicated to him a treatise on Aquinas. His father, who was a priest, and his brother were killed during the Turkish conquest of the capital. Kamariotes became *megas rhetor* at the patriarchal school, where he taught philosophy and rhetoric. He wrote a variety of works, including a monody on the fall of Constantinople and the death of his father. His interests included astronomy (treatise on a solar eclipse, a commentary on the treatise of GREGORAS on the astrolabe), hagiography (*enkomion* of Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom), and rhetoric (a summary of the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS and summary of HERMOGENES). He also attacked PLETHON. The commentary of Kamariotes on the letters of SYNESIOS of Cyrene is unpublished. He copied MSS of Aristotle, Proklos, Hermes Trismegistos, and the *Batrachomyomachia* (C. Astruc, *Scriptorium* 10 [1956] 100-02 and H. Saffrey, *Scriptorium* 14 [1960] 340-44).

ED. Monody—PG 160:1060-69. *Enkomion*—ed. K.I. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 10 (1933) 57-71. Rhetorical works—*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:121-26; 6:601-44. *Matthaei Camariotae Orationes II in Plethonem*, ed. H.S. Reimar (Leiden 1721), with add. by C. Astruc, *Scriptorium* 9 (1955) 246-62. K. Mamone, "Anekdotos logos Matthaiou Kamariotou peri Poimantikes," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985/6) 261-72.



LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:88; 2:249, n.31. Beck, *Kirche* 772f. *PLP*, no.10776. A. Biedl, "Matthaeus Camariotes," *BZ* 35 (1935) 337-39. —A.M.T.

**KAMATEROS** (Καματηρός, fem. Καματηρά; etym. "hard-working," perhaps "a laboring ox"), a family of Constantinopolitan functionaries known from the 9th C., when the *spatharokandidatos* Petronas Kamateros supervised construction of the stronghold of SARKEL (ca.833). His identification with PETRONAS, the empress Theodora's brother, cannot be assumed. The 10th- and 11th-C. Kamateroi were predominantly judges and fiscal officials. The rise of the Kamateroi begins with Gregory, who, according to Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 9.16-22), was not of a noble or rich family but accumulated his wealth as a provincial tax collector. In 1094 he served Alexios I Komnenos as secretary; later he was *logothetes ton sekretou*. He married Irene Doukaina, a relative of the KOMNENOI. The 12th-C. Kamateroi occupied topmost positions: John the *sebastos* and *logothetes tou dromou* was Manuel I's favorite ca.1158; Andronikos the *sebastos* was eparch and *droungarios tes viglas* at least until 1176; his son Basil—*logothetes tou dromou* during Isaac II's reign—was still influential at the court of Theodore I Laskaris; Basil's sister EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA married Alexios III. Some Kamateroi were high ecclesiastical officials: Basil, patriarch of Constantinople (1183-86); JOHN X KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (1198-1206); John, archbishop of Bulgaria after 1183. Several were literati: the above-mentioned *sebastos* Andronikos was a theologian who wrote *Hiera Hoplotheke* (Sacred Panoply), a refutation of heresies; John Kamateros (same as the patriarch of Bulgaria?) wrote astronomical treatises (see KAMATEROS, JOHN); another John was a rhetorician at Isaac II's court. Many Kamateroi were literary patrons. An inscription mentions a certain Nikos (12th C. or later) as the founder of the monastery Tao-Pentele near Athens. Although loyal to the Komnenian dynasty, the Kamateroi became staunch supporters of Andronikos I. From the 13th C. onward, the Kamateroi played no political role.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Kamateros," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 253-72. G. Stadtmüller, "Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros," *BZ* 34 (1934) 352-58. Polemis, *Doukai* 125-33. *PLP*, nos. 10787-99. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 187f. —A.K.

**KAMATEROS, JOHN**, mid-12th-C. author of two astrological works in verse, dedicated to MANUEL I: *On the Zodiac* and *Introduction to Astronomy*. Although using primarily ancient sources (HEPHAISTION, JOHN LYDOS, and others), Kamateros includes some contemporary allusions, such as "a child of Branas" (S.G. Mercati, *BZ* 26 [1926] 286f), the sultan, and Saracens. His predictions often refer to catastrophic events such as civil wars, enemy invasions, wine shortages, low water levels in rivers, the fall of the powerful, famine, locusts. When prophesying good fortune, he emphasizes grants of *ktemata* (possessions), and esp. the career of a foreigner (*ek tes apodemias*) who will become famous and rich, receive imperial donations, marry a well-to-do woman, and find hoards (Weigl, *infra* 32.941-45). Kamateros's first book was produced for a classically oriented audience, the second is written in POLITICAL VERSE and contains vernacular expressions.

Identifying Kamateros is difficult, since the name is quite common. Usually he is understood to be the *kanikleios* John Kamateros who became archbishop of Bulgaria ca.1183. V. Laurent (*Byzantion* 6 [1931] 266f) identified him also with the rhetorician John Kamateros who addressed an emperor in a speech, probably in 1186. The latter includes a very important description of imperial imagery and its ideological significance (Regel, *Fontes* 244.21-245.10).

ED. *Peri zodiakou kyklou*, ed. E. Miller, *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 23.2 (1872) 40-112; corr. M. Šangin, *IzvAN SSSR*<sup>6</sup> (1927), no.5-6, 425-32. *Eisagoge astronomias*, ed. L. Weigl (Leipzig-Berlin 1908).

LIT. L. Weigl, *Studien zu dem unedierten astrologischen Lehrgedicht des Johannes Kamateros* (Würzburg 1902). Browning, "Patriarchal School" 197f. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 46f. —A.K.

**KAMELAUKION**. See CROWN.

**KAMINIATES, JOHN**, author of the *Capture of Thessalonike*, a description of the Arab siege of the city in 904. Kaminiates (Καμινιάρης) claims to have been a cleric and *kouboukleisios* in Thessalonike and an eyewitness of the Arab attack. The book, preserved only in late MSS (15th-16th C.), consists of two sections: one on the city and its trade (R. Nasledova, *VizVrem* 8 [1956] 61-84) as well as the Slavic tribes in its vicinity (R. Nasledova, *VizVrem* 11 [1956] 82-97) and one on the

Arab attack. Vivid details and ironic presentation of his own behavior make Kaminiates' work unique among the literary compositions of the 10th C. (V. Christides, *BZ* 74 [1981] 7-10). Moreover, various inconsistencies in realia and chronology make Kaminiates' authenticity suspect: perhaps the *Capture of Thessalonike* was composed in the 15th C., on the eve of the Turkish capture of the city, or immediately after the Turks sacked it in 1430 when interest in the events of 904 must have been revived.

ED. *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig (Berlin 1973). Germ. tr. G. Böhlig, *Die Einnahme Thessalonikes durch die Araber im Jahre 904* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1975). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova and I. Felenkovskaja in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* (Moscow 1959) 159-210, with articles by R. Nasledova and S. Poljakova.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:357-59. A. Kazhdan, "Some Questions Addressed to the Scholars Who Believe in the Authenticity of Kaminiates' 'Capture of Thessalonica,'" *BZ* 71 (1978) 301-14. G. Tsaras, *Ioannou Kaminiatou sten alose tes Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1987) 11-30. —A.K.

**KAMISION**. See TUNIC.

**KAMOULIANAI** (Καμουλιαναι), bishopric in Cappadocia (*Notitiae CP* 1.77); according to Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:685.2) a village in Cappadocia. A legend known from ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE and a sermon of pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa (probably ca.600-750) describes the appearance of an ACHEIROPOIETOS image of Christ in Kamouliai. Zacharias says that it was found (at an unspecified date) floating in a fountain by a pagan woman named Hypatia; pseudo-Gregory reports that Christ himself, accompanied by all the heavenly powers, appeared to Bassa-Aquilina, wife of the *toparches* of Kamouliai (in the reign of Diocletian), washed and dried his face, and disappeared, leaving behind his image on a towel. Zacharias refers to two *acheiropoietai* copies of the image—one in Caesarea of Cappadocia, another in the village of Dioboulion, near Amaseia; in contrast, pseudo-Gregory relates that the image was transferred from Kamouliai to Caesarea under Theodosios I.

Kedrenos states that in 574 the image was brought from Kamouliai to Constantinople. Probably during the reign of Herakleios there appeared in Constantinople another *acheiropoietai* that had been brought from Melitene: according

to a later legend, it was given to a widow, the *patrikia* Maria. One of these *acheiropoietai* served as the imperial palladium and was carried into battle against the Persians by the generals Philippikos and Priskos.

SOURCE and LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 40-60, 123\*-34\*, 3\*\*-28\*\*. Belting, *Bild und Kult* 66-69. —A.K.

**KAMPAGIA**. See FOOTWEAR.

**KAMYTZES** (Καμύτζης), a family name of unclear etymology: N. Bees (*EkkliPhar* 3 [1909] 234f) derived the name from Gr. *kammyo*, "close the eyes," but it could also be of Turkish origin. P. Gautier considered Kamyres, an envoy of the Seljuk sultan SULEYMAN to Alexios I in 1083, as a founder of the family (*REB* 27 [1969] 256, and with a slight change in his "Blachernes" 259). The first incontestable Kamytzes (according to Gautier, either Kamyres himself or his son or nephew) was Eustathios, *chartoularios* of the stables in 1094 and later *doux* of Nicaea. Theodore PRODROMOS dedicated an epitaph to Constantine Kamytzes, whose wife was Maria Komnene, daughter of Constantine Angelos and granddaughter of Alexios I. Manuel the *protostrator*, Maria's son, was a cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III; Andronikos I's general, Manuel eventually supported Isaac II with lavish donations and fought against Alexios BRANAS. In 1199 he was captured by IVANKO; rather than ransom Manuel, Alexios III used this opportunity to confiscate his wealth. Ransomed by DOBROMIR CHRYSOS, Manuel joined his revolt against the emperor. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentioned the estates of the Kamytzai, who were among the four greatest landowners. Pachymeres (*Pachym.*, ed. Failler, 1:93.12) included the Kamytzai in his list of the noblest families of the 13th C., but no Kamytzes is known to have held a high post at this time except for George Kamytzboukes, *doux* of the Thrakesian theme in 1241. A Hilandar inventory (A. Soloviev, *SemKond* 10 [1938] 32) mentions an enigmatic Kamytzes Komnenos (dates unknown).

The name was still in use in the 14th-15th C., but not in an aristocratic milieu: a certain Kamytzes illegally received a considerable sum of money after the death of a *megas oikonomos* of Docheiariou; supposedly he was a citizen of Thes-



salonike ca.1361 (*Docheiar.*, no.34). Manuel Kamytzes was a priest in 1394.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 10817, 10846, 10849–51. A.G.C. Savvides, "To kinema tou Manouel Kam[m]ytze-Kamytse ste BD Makedonia kai ste Thessalia stis arches tou 13ou ai.," *Thessaliko Hemerologio* 12 (Larissa 1987) 145–57. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 313f. —A.K.

**KANABOUTZES, JOHN**, 15th-C. writer. Kanaboutzes (*Καναβούτζης*) was a teacher and corresponded with John EUGENIKOS. In 1446 he guided CYRIACUS OF ANCONA around Palaia Phokaia. He is best known for a commentary on Dionysios of Halicarnassus dedicated to Palamede GATTILUSIO, lord of Ainos and Samothrace (1431–55), and his brother Dorino, lord of Mytilene. Kanaboutzes emphasized the role played by Samothrace in the foundation of ancient Rome. He also compiled a table of the length of days throughout the year, calculated for the latitude of Palaia Phokaia (A. Diller, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 257f).

ED. *Joannis Canabutzae magistri ad principem Aeni et Samothracas in Dionysium Halicarnasensem commentarius*, ed. M. Lehnerdt (Leipzig 1890).

LIT. A. Diller, "Joannes Canabutzes," *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 271–75. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:537. *PLP*, no.10871. —A.M.T.

**KANANOS, JOHN**, known only as the author of a vivid eyewitness account of the siege of Constantinople in 1422 by the sultan MURAD II. Kananos (*Κανανός*) begins with conventional apologies for his inadequate education and the deficiencies of his style; he notes that his narrative is not for scholars, but for ordinary people like himself. Indeed for the most part his account is couched in simple and colloquial language, including a number of Western military terms. Kananos provides a precise chronology of the assault as well as detailed descriptions of Ottoman techniques of siegecraft and Byz. methods of defense. He attributes to the intervention of the Virgin the failure of the major assault launched on 24 Aug., and claims that even the Turks saw her defending the ramparts.

ED. *Johannis Canani De Constantinopolis obsidione*, ed. E. Pinto (Naples 1968), with Ital. tr. (2nd ed. Messina 1977).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:482–84. *PLP*, no.10891. —A.M.T.

**KANANOS, LASKARIS**, 15th-C. Byz. traveler who left a very brief vernacular account of his

journey to northern Europe. The three pages preserved in a 16th-C. MS (Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 113, fols. 174r–175r) may be a fragment of a larger work. Kananos's trip probably took place in 1438/9, and may have had some connection with the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. His particular interest in the silver coinage of Stockholm and the alleged barter economy of Bergen suggests that he may also have been a merchant.

Kananos traveled to major Baltic seaports, such as Danzig, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Bergen, where he noted the continual daylight in summer. He also visited Livonia and Latvia. From England he sailed to Iceland, which he described as the "island of fish-eaters," and suggested that it should be identified with Ptolemy's land of Thule.

ED. *Smärre byzantiniska skrifter utgifna och kommenterade*, ed. V. Lundström, no.1 (Uppsala-Leipzig 1902) 14–17. Germ. tr. F. Grabler, *Europa in XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1954) 101–05.

LIT. *PLP*, no.10892. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:519. —A.M.T.

**KANDIDATOS** (*κανδιδάτος*, from Lat. *candidus*, "white"), a DIGNITY. In the late Roman Empire the term denoted a member of a unit of imperial bodyguards who wore white uniforms—*candida turba*, a white band, as CORIPPUS describes it (*In Praise of Justin* 3.161). The CHRONICON PASCHALE attributes the origin of the term to Gordian III (238–44), but the first reliable mention comes from 350 (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 1468). Justinian I began his career as a *kandidatos*. Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 8.3) spoke of *kandidatos* as a dignity (*axia*), and in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *kandidatos* occupies the place below the STRATOR. On seals the title of *kandidatos* is usually connected with subaltern offices both in the army and in the civil service. The title disappeared, according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 298), after the mid-11th C.; the title SPATHAROKANDIDATOS continued in use up to the 12th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.II (1966), 210–25. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 240–42. M. Whitby, "On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople," *Historia* 36 (1987) 463–68. —A.K.

**KANDIDOS** (*Κάνδιδος*), secretary (*hypographeus*) to some leading Isaurians, historian; born Isauria "Tracheia," fl. 5th–6th C. He composed a *History* in three books of the period 457–91, of which only a summary by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.79) is pre-

served. It stressed Eastern events but no doubt contained an account of the expedition of 468 against the Vandals mentioned by the SOUDA. As is to be expected, Kandidos provides useful information on the Isaurian emperor ZENO (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 8 [1893] 209–38). He emphasized intrigues and conspiracies at court. Some scholars assign to Kandidos a number of fragments in the *Souda* that are anonymous or credited to MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA. Photios lambasts Kandidos's style for its linguistic and syntactical innovations, its complex sentences, wild etymologies, and overall harshness and dissonance but approves of his orthodox defense of the Council of Chalcedon.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:71–74, 2:464–73, with Eng. tr. Dindorf, *HistGr* 1:441–45.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:285. B. Baldwin, "Malchus of Philadelphia," *DOP* 31 (1977) 89–107. —B.B.

**KANIKLEIOS** (*κανίκλειος*), also *epi tou kanikleiou* or *chartoularios tou kanikleiou*, one of the emperor's private secretaries; the post is known from the 9th C. onward. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (see Dölger, *infra* 50) defines *praepositus caniculi* as warden of the imperial inkstand with purple ink. This seemingly menial duty gave the *kanikleios* the opportunity to intervene in the formulation of imperial CHRYSOBULLS and in actual decisions. Therefore the position was often held by important officials. Under Michael III, THEOKTISTOS was *kanikleios* and *logothetes tou dromou*; Nikephoros OURANOS held the post of *kanikleios* in the 10th C., as did Theodore STYPEIOTES under Manuel I; Stypeiotes was a very influential official (O. Kresten, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 49–103). The *kanikleios* Nikephoros CHOUMNOS was characterized by Gregoras (Greg. 1:241.1–5) as MESAZON. The last known *kanikleios* was Alexios Tzamlakon ca.1438. It is generally assumed (Bury, *Adm. System* 117) that the *kanikleios* had no staff; Kresten (69f), however, notes that in the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS served as *grammatikos* of the *kanikleios*.

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 50–65. M. Nystazopoulou, "Ho epi tou kanikleiou kai he ephoreia tes en Patmo mones," *Symmeikta* 1 (1966) 76–94. —A.K.

**KANISKION** (*κανίσκιον*, "small basket"), a "voluntary" donation by PAROIKOI to their lord, esp. to a monastic institution. Some 11th-C. docu-

ments identify a *kaniskion* as a round loaf of bread, a half-measure of wine, and a *modios* of barley (*Pantel.*, no.3.31, cf. *Esphig.*, no.5.32). By the late 13th C., Christmas, the day before Lent, and Easter were the recognized times of giving *kaniskia* (*Esphig.*, no.7.9). Ostrogorsky suggests that by this time *kaniskion* could be transformed into a payment in cash.

In ecclesiastical usage *kaniskia* were the various donations of money, grain, wax, and other items offered by the faithful on specific occasions such as requiems and festival days (Balsamon, PG 137:41C). These optional gifts had also become obligatory. The gift mentioned in a lost *typikon* of Constantine IX (*Reg* 1, no.923) should probably be identified with *kaniskion*: on the occasion of their wedding, the groom had to pay the bishop one nomisma, and the bride had to give 12 *pecheis* or cubits (see PECHYS) of cloth. *Kaniskion* differed markedly from the general binding tax known as KANONIKON.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 359–60. E. Herman, "Das bischöfliche Abgabenwesen im Patriarchat von Konstantinopel vom XI. bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *OrChrP* 5 (1939) 460–63. —A.P.

**KANKELLARIOS** (*καγκελλάριος*, from Lat. *cancellarius*), a late Roman official, the assistant of a PRAETORIAN PREFECT. In existence probably from ca.400 onward, by the 6th C. *kankellarioi* became the most influential officials in the prefect's bureau (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 1456–59). In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *kankellarioi* as well as the *protokankellarioi* fulfill modest secretarial functions in various central departments—those of the eparch of the city and quaestor, in the *genikon* and *sakellion*. According to the *De ceremoniis*, *kankellarioi* used to recite Latin chants during the emperor's procession to Hagia Sophia; Bury (*Adm. System* 77) suggests that this was because of their familiarity with Latin. The seals of *kankellarioi* are dated to the 6th–8th C., while in the 9th–11th C. *protokankellarioi* and *basilikoi kankellarioi* are known. A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 200.88–201.89) considered *kankellarios* a Western term and equated it with the Greek LOGOTHETES.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:648–51.

—A.K.

**KANNABOS, NICHOLAS**, emperor for a few days in 1204. Chosen emperor by the populace

of Constantinople ca.27 Jan. 1204, while ALEXIOS IV ruled at Blachernai, Kannabos (Κανναβός)—an intelligent and warlike youth, says Niketas Choniates—held Hagia Sophia. After the fall of Alexios IV, popular favor swung to Alexios V. Around 2/3 Feb., the latter's troops seized and imprisoned Kannabos. —C.M.B.

**KANON** (κανών), a term with several meanings in Byz. Greek.

**Hymnographic Term.** The *kanon* was a set of verse paraphrases that during the 8th C. gradually replaced the nine biblical canticles previously chanted during the ORTHROS; at the same time the *kanon* ousted the KONTAKION from its dominant position in that service. A *kanon* is theoretically made up of nine odes (or more usually eight, since the second ode is used only during Lent), each providing a poetic variation and meditation on the theme of the equivalent canticle (e.g., ode 1 reflects on Moses' song of thanksgiving, Ex 15:1–19; ode 9, the THEOTOKION, reflects on the Theotokos's hymn of praise [the Magnificat] in Lk 1:46–55, 68–79). Each ode is made up of an *heirmos* (see HEIRMOLOGION) and several additional stanzas (TROPARIA) that follow the melody and rhythmic pattern of the *heirmos*; a different *heirmos* is used for each ode. The odes are often linked together by an ACROSTIC relevant to the day on which the *kanon* was to be sung. The *kanon* was sung in three sections (odes 1–3, 4–6, 7–9) with additional hymns, including the abbreviated *kontakion*, between the sections. Why the *kanon* with its elaborate and varied musical settings should have replaced the more straightforward *kontakion* is still not clear. Although ANDREW OF CRETE (died 740) is often considered the originator of this form, several *kanones* can be attributed to Patr. GERMANOS I, an older contemporary. Other notable writers of *kanones* include JOHN OF DAMASCUS, author of the Easter Kanon; KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER; and JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER. *Kanones* continued to be written until the last years of Constantinople.

ED. W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871; rp. 1963). G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols. (Rome 1966–83).  
LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 198–239. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 2:1–230. —E.M.J.

**Fiscal Term.** This type of *kanon* (δημόσιος κανών, δημόσιον) was the basic tax on land and on those who cultivated it (see DEMOSIOS). In order to calculate the *kanon*, officials first established the theoretical "value" of the land or person to be taxed and then determined the *kanon*, which was 1/24 (4.166 percent) of the value. Thus one gold nomisma was the *demosion* of 24 *modioi* of land of first quality, or of 48 of second quality, or of one farmer owning a pair of oxen, a ZEUGARATOS (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 59.22–60.7). To the *kanon* were added the appropriate PARAKOLOURTHEMATA and thus was calculated the final amount of the tax (*arithmion*) to be paid in CHARAGMA. One-twelfth of the normal tax (*libellikon demosion*) was claimed for lands that, having been abandoned for 30 years, had become the property of the state (KLASMA) and were sold for development. Exemption from this basic tax was granted very rarely and only through a special procedure (involving the inscription of a special entry in the fiscal records, sometimes done with the red ink reserved to the emperor). In the 14th C. the basic tax on land (TELOS) was calculated at a flat rate of 1 hyperpyron for 50 *modioi* of land (regardless of its quality, except for extreme cases) or for 6 *modioi* of vines (Lemnos, 15th C.). Between 1404 and 1415 the *telos* was replaced in Chalkidike by the burdensome *harac*, a tax that survived in the region from the earlier Ottoman occupation (Oikonomides, "Ottoman Influence" 1–24).

(For *kanon* as a type of law, see CANON LAW and CANONS.)

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 54–57. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–91. J. Lefort, "Fiscalité" 315–52. K. Chvostova, *Količestvennyj podchod v srednevekovoj social'noekonomičeskoj istorii* (Moscow 1980) 93–164. —N.O.

**KANONIKON** (κανονικόν), an ecclesiastical tax first mentioned in the 11th C., levied annually on all LAITY in the diocese for the bishop's maintenance. Under Alexios I the amount of produce and money due from each village was determined by the number of hearths in it (*Reg* 1, no.1127). Although the tax due was precisely defined by imperial legislation, it was not always possible to collect it, as Balsamon indicates (PG 138:1005D). Resistance to the tax (in addition to hard times or famine) may have been the reason; for until then such tributes from the faithful—essentially the

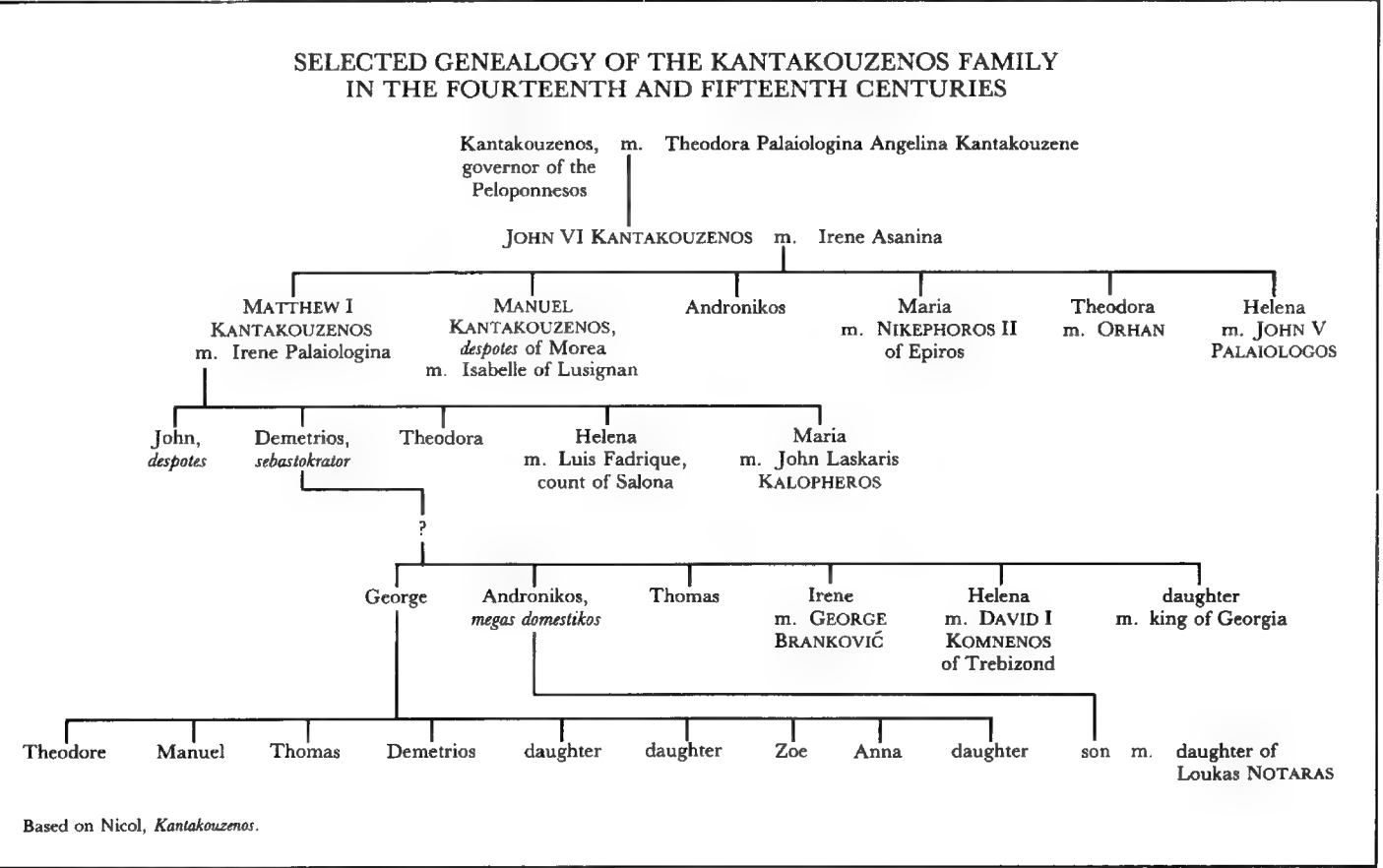
offering of the first fruits—were largely voluntary. Previous imperial and canonical legislation had emphasized the spontaneous, noncompulsory nature of such contributions. The *kanonikon* was also imposed on priests (the levy was one NOMISMA annually) and eventually on all monasteries except stauropegiac foundations (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1179, 1180, 1185). A consecration tax was a further source of episcopal revenue; in the 11th C. a precise scale of tariffs for each ordination was established (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.851).

LIT. E. Herman, "Das bischöfliche Abgabenwesen im Patriarchat von Konstantinopel vom XI. bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *OrChrP* 5 (1939) 434–513. —A.P.

**KANSTRESIOS.** See KASTRESIOS.

**KANTAKOUZENOS** (Καντακουζηνός, fem. Καντακουζηνή), a noble lineage whose name derived from the toponym Kouzenas near Smyrna. The first known Kantakouzenos was Alexios I's general who campaigned against the Cumans in 1094. The 12th-C. Kantakouzenoi were predominantly

military commanders endowed with high titles such as *sebastos* (John, killed at Myriocephalon, 1176; Andronikos, *doux* of Mylassa and Melanoudion ca.1175) and caesar (John, married to Isaac II's sister Irene). None is known as a civil servant or church official. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE names the Kantakouzenoi among the greatest landowners. They flourished again after 1250: Michael, *megas konostaulos* (died 1264), was Michael VIII's general; the *sebastokratorissa* Irene Kantakouzene married Constantine, the emperor Michael's younger brother; another Kantakouzenos served as governor of the Peloponnesos ca.1286–94. His son became Emp. JOHN VI. John's son MATTHEW (I) was also proclaimed emperor; MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, the second son, was granted the title of *despotes* and administered Constantinople in 1348–49 and the Peloponnesos from 1349 to 1380. Helena (1333–96), John VI's youngest(?) daughter, married John V Palaiologos and became empress. The *despotes* John and *sebastokrator* Demetrios, Matthew's sons, apparently succeeded Manuel as rulers of the Peloponnesos and disputed control over this region with the





Palaiologoi. John was childless, but the progeny of one of his brothers played an important role in the 15th C.: George (who also assumed the Turkish name Sachatai) served the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos (the future Constantine XI) but eventually settled in Serbia; George's brother Andronikos, the last *megas domestikos*, was killed soon after the capture of Constantinople in 1453; their sister Irene (died 1457) married GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, and the third brother, Thomas (died 1463), also served the ruler of Serbia; another sister, Helena (died 1463), was the second wife of David I Komnenos of Trebizond (1458–61); the third sister (name unknown) may have become queen of Georgia.

The Kantakouzenoi were related to many aristocratic families such as PALAIOLOGOS, ASAN, PHILANTHROPENOS, RAOUL, TARCHANEIOTES, and PHAKRASES. In the 14th–15th C. the Kantakouzenoi were active primarily as military commanders and landowners. Some are known as patrons of arts and letters, for example, the *despotes* Manuel Kantakouzenos (PLP, no.10981) who founded the Church of Christ Zoōdotes at Mistra. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, with add. and corr. in DOP 27 (1973) 309–15. I.A. Papadrianos, "He protostratorissa Kantakouzene," *Byzantina* 1 (1969) 159–65. P. Wirth, "Manuel Kantakouzenos Strategopulos," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 345–48. K. Chrysochoides, "Anekdotē monodia ston 'oikeion' tou autokratora Georgio Kantakouzeno," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 361–72. PLP, nos. 10928–87. —A.K.

**KAPER BARADA** (Brad in mod. Syria), large village (*kome*) in the province of SYRIA I under jurisdiction of ANTIOCH. Situated northeast of Telanissos (QAL'AT SE'MĀN) in the Jabal Seman, part of the northern Syrian limestone massif that lies north of the Antioch-Chalkis-Berroia road, Kaper Barada stands on a principal north-south route crossing the Jabal. Olive presses and warehouses indicate the source of prosperity of this village (2 sq. km), which contained, in addition to craft workshops, urbanlike amenities of the 2nd–3rd C. (bath, inn, meeting house [*andron*], shops) and imposing buildings of the 4th–6th C. (three churches [one replacing a temple], two monasteries, a large residence). Although evidence cited by Tchalenko to suggest that Kaper Barada was a civil administrative center in the 5th–6th C. is ambiguous, the village undoubtedly dominated its

region as a commercial center, comparable with KAPER PERA to the south.

LIT. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:90, 296f, 387f, 398, 430; 2, pl. CXXXIII. —M.M.M.

**KAPER KORAON TREASURE**, a group of 56 silver LITURGICAL VESSELS of the 6th–7th C. that has been reconstructed from four separate treasures known by the names of Hamāh (29 objects), Stuma (five objects), Riha (five objects), and Antioch (17 objects including the ANTIOCH "CHALICE"), all found ca.1908 southwest of Aleppo in northern Syria. Several pieces are inscribed with dedications naming the Church of St. Sergios of the village of Kaper Koraon, which has been identified with the modern village of Kurin, 5 km from the well-attested find-spot at Stuma. Four objects now in the Istanbul Museum were confiscated by the Ottoman authorities; antiquities dealers at Aleppo acquired the rest of the hoard, which they divided. The Hama and Antioch Treasures were thus created for sale ca.1910 and the remaining items found separate buyers. Today the objects from Kaper Koraon are dispersed in museums in Baltimore, Washington, New York,

KAPER KORAON TREASURE. Silver paten ("Riha" paten) from the Kaper Koraon Treasure; between 565 and 578. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The paten is decorated with the scene of the Communion of the Apostles.



Istanbul, Bern, Jerusalem, London, Paris, and a private collection in Washington; three pieces have disappeared.

The dedicatory inscriptions name up to 50 donors, including a KOURATOR of an imperial domain, an ARGYROPRATES, and a *magistrianos* (see AGENTES IN REBUS). Fifteen objects have SILVER STAMPS that date the majority of the donations to 540–640. Although some objects from Kaper Koraon are well decorated, nearly all are very lightweight (hence relatively cheap) and therefore similar to contemporaneous silver TREASURES from other villages.

LIT. M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore 1986).

—M.M.M.

**KAPER PERA** (Ar. al-Bāra in modern Syria), large village (*kome*) in SYRIA II under APAMEIA on the Orontes. Situated in the Jabal Zāwiya, part of the northern Syrian limestone massif north of Apameia, Kaper Pera stood on an east-west route joining Seleukeia ad Belum, on the Mediterranean, and Arra, at the edge of the eastern Syrian plain. The expansion of Kaper Pera in two centuries to a populous site 1,000 by 500 m in size was explained by Tchalenko in terms not just of its varied agricultural yield (wheat, vines, olives) but of its success as a regional processor and international exporter of olive oil. Its 5th- and 6th-C. buildings include at least five churches and four monasteries, a large market, multistoried oil factories, oil reservoirs, well-decorated houses, and impressive tombs. Kaper Pera retained its importance until the end of the Crusades.

LIT. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:388–90, 430f; 2, pl. CXXXVII. —M.M.M.

**KAPNIKARIOS** (καπνικάριος, from KAPNIKON). This rare term, synonymous with AKTEMON, appears only in the 1073 *praktikon* for Andronikos Doukas (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.311–15) that distinguishes two groups of *kapnikarioi*: those with donkeys who, as EXKOUSSATOI, paid 1/2 nomisma for the SYNONE and *kapnikon* and those without donkeys who paid 1/4 nomisma (i.e., apparently they paid only the *kapnikon*). In an abbreviated form, *nicarius*, the term survived in 14th-C. Frankish Morea (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 32 [1971] 258),

where *nicarii* had a more precarious position than *paroikoi*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 52, n.5. Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 263. —M.B.

**KAPNIKON** (καπνικόν, from *kapnos*, "smoke"; in Malal. 246.18, "smoke-hole, hearth"); a tax that was identified by some scholars (e.g., Dölger, *Beiträge* 51) as late Roman CAPITATIO; this identification, however, does not prove valid. It is first mentioned by Theophanes (Theoph. 487.1) as a levy collected from the *paroikoi* of charitable institutions and monasteries. In the 9th C. the so-called *kapnikon* was paid in the insignificant amount of 2 miliaresia, possibly from a household (*TheophCont* 54.3–7). In some sources of the 10th–11th C. it appears together with SYNONE, which itself is an obscure tax. The cadaster of 1073 establishes that well-off *paroikoi* had to pay 1 nomisma for their *synone* and *kapnikon* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.312–13), but the poorer peasants seem to have paid 1/2 nomisma for *kapnikon* only (e.g., no.50.142–47). In the lists of exemptions, however, *kapnikon* appears with or without *synone*, but in the context of supplementary charges such as OIKOMODION, AERIKON, KASTROKTISIA, etc. (*Lavra* 1, nos. 38.37, 44.30). Manuel I's chrysobull of 1153 exempted Hagia Sophia from *kapnikon*, *metretikon* (charge for measuring), and "other charges levied for the sake of tax collectors" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:379.44–46). *Kapnikon* is defined in the edict of 1158 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:384.29–31, 453.36–38) as a charge for ANAGRAPHES and PRAKTORES. It is impossible to prove that the rare tax called *kapnologia* in later documents is the same tax as *kapnikon*. (See also HEARTH TAX.)

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 451f. Litavrin, *Viz-Obščestvo* 53–65. —M.B.

**KARABISIANOI** (Καραβισιάνοι; from *karabos*, "ship"), name of the first regular and permanent fleet of Byz., probably established by Constantine IV after the Arab siege of Constantinople (672–78). It is first mentioned in the *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS, ca.680, in a context that shows that it could be deployed rapidly in the Aegean. It was commanded by a *strategos* (also called *strategos ton ploimaton*) whose headquarters may have been on the island of Keos; his sphere of activity extended to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and his



subordinates included the *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI. The Karabisianoï are last mentioned in 711; they apparently proved inadequate during the Arab siege of Constantinople in 716–17 and were replaced by a new naval organization, the Kibyrhaiotai theme. Karabisianoï never constituted a theme.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 19–31. Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:154–62. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance* (Paris 1966) 63–98. —C.F.

**KARAHISAR GOSPELS.** See GOSPEL BOOK.

**KARAHISAR SCRIPT.** See DECORATIVE STYLE.

**KARAITES** (“Scripturalists”), Jewish sect that emerged in Babylonia from the followers of Anan ben David, an alleged 8th-C. descendant of King David. In principle they rejected the Talmud of normative Jewry, resurrected prerabbinic customs and absorbed Islamic influence. Therefore Byz. Jews denigrated them as foreigners and condemned their differing rules for calculating holidays, for marriage and divorce, and for the ritual slaughter of animals. Karaites rejected until after 1453 the use of candles to light the Sabbath eve. Individual Karaites who immigrated to Byz. after the 10th-C. reconquest of Syria were generally treated as Jews by the Byz., who however recognized Karaite autonomy by allowing them to have separate neighborhoods. Tobias ben Moses (mid-11th C.) was the first intellectual leader of Byz. Karaites. Their literature, for example, Judah Hadassi’s *Eshkol Ha-Kopher*, polemicizes against rabbinic Jews and the Byz. government, which they identified with their ancestral enemy Edom (which Jewish tradition long equated with Rome). Karaite literature of the 12th C. shows a familiarity with Greek scholarship and contemporary philosophy and contains important glosses on Byz. society and language. Later leaders included Aaron ben Joseph (ca. 1250–1320), a Crimean physician, biblical commentator, and editor of Karaite liturgy; Aaron ben Elijah of Nikomedeia (ca. 1328–56), philosopher, codifier, and biblical commentator; and Elijah ben Moses Bashyachi (ca. 1420–90), whose law code *Addereth Eliahu* manifested a rapprochement with rabbinite Jews. Karaites main-

tained strong intellectual and economic ties with coreligionists in the Crimea.

LIT. Ankori, *Karaites*. S. Poznanski in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York 1951) 7:662–72. —S.B.B.

**KARAMAN**, the oldest Turkish emirate in Asia Minor, named after its founder Karaman (Καραμάνος), who emerged ca. 1260 in Ermenek, when confusion prevailed in Anatolia after the Mongol invasion and the resulting internal strife in the SELJUK sultanate. During the war between the MONGOLS and the MAMLŪKS of Syria and Egypt, in which the former were defeated near Elbistan in 1277, the emir of Karaman, who had allied with the Mamlūks, conquered IKONION, established a Seljuk prince there and became his vizier. For the first time Turkish was used as the official language in this short-lived state abolished by the Mongols. Despite persecution by the Mongols, the Karamanids were able to push back the Cypriot king Henry II “of Lusignan” (1285–1324), who tried to capture Alanya at the end of the 13th C. After the collapse of the Mongol regime in Anatolia, the Karamanids made Ikonion their capital and considered themselves heirs of the Seljuks. Most probably ca. 1375 they put an end to the Armenian kingdom of CILICIA. At approximately the same time a struggle began between them and the OTTOMANS for supremacy over Anatolia, which brought the Karamanids into contact with the Ottomans’ enemies, the Byz. and other Christians. In 1448 the Karamanids captured Korykos, a possession of the king of Cyprus. After repeated campaigns the Ottomans finally annexed Karaman in 1475.

LIT. F. Sümer, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:619–25. C. Cahen, “Quelques mots sur Şikârî,” *WZKM* 70 (1978) 53–64. B. Flemming, *Landwirtschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden 1964). Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:151f. —E.A.Z.

**KARANTENOS, MANUEL**, deacon and *magistros* of philosophers; fl. ca. 1200. In his treatise *On Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Karantenos (Καραντηνός) restricted the role of rhetoric to the technical means for presentation of arguments and expressed doubts as to its moral value; he himself used his speech in memory of St. John the Evan-

gelist to praise the saint’s homonym, Patr. JOHN X KAMATEROS. The works of Karantenos, studded with banalities, show but superficial knowledge of ancient authors. He wrote letters (to Constantine Kaloethes), fables, poems (one ascribed in a different MS to PRODROMOS). It still remains questionable whether Karantenos can be identified with the *grammatikos* Manuel Sarantenos, the author of an oration delivered at the festival of LAZARUS SATURDAY, and subsequently with Patr. Manuel I Sarantenos (1217–22), an identification accepted by Laurent and Criscuolo.

ED. U. Criscuolo, “Un’inedita didascalia di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno,” *BollBadGr* 30 (1976) 142–46. Idem, “Un opuscolo inedito di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno,” *EEBS* 42 (1975–76) 218–21. Idem, “Altri inediti di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno,” *EEBS* 44 (1979/80) 151–63. LIT. R. Browning, “Patriarchal School” 198–200. *Reg. Patr.*, fasc. 4, nos. 1220–32. —A.K.

**KARASI** (Καρασῆς), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It is named after its founder, about whom very little is known: according to a funerary inscription found in Tokat, Karasi claimed descent from the DANIŞMENDIDS. The emirate emerges in historical evidence in 1303–04: during the troublesome evacuation of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY from Asia Minor, an emir of the Karasi region, Halil Ece, followed the Catalans to Thrace and in alliance with them fought the Byz. A few years later the emirate of Karasi extended from the gulf of Atramyttion to the Dardanelles. Its main urban centers were Pergamon, Palaiokastron/Balıkesir, and Pegai/Biga. According to the 14th-C. Egyptian encyclopedist, al-‘Umarī (*Notices et extraits* 13 [1838] 366), the emirs of Karasi used their fleet to attack Byz. territories; they sold the inhabitants as slaves. In 1328 Andronikos III Palaiologos concluded a treaty with Timurkhan Karasi-oğlu. In 1334 another emir of Karasi, Yahşi, was defeated by the crusading fleet in the gulf of Atramyttion. Just before the mid-14th C. the OTTOMANS annexed the emirate; it became one of their oldest provinces (*sancak*). Karasi produced silk and laudanum.

LIT. I. Artuk, “Karesi-oğulları adına basılmış olan iki sikke,” *Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1980–81) 283–90. C. Cahen, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:627f. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydın* 16, 32f, 64, 126, 161. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:152. —E.A.Z.

**KARBEAS** (Καρβέας), PAULICIAN leader of the mid-9th C; died probably in 863 at the Byz. victory of Po(r)son. Karbeas began his career as a *protomandator* of Theodotos MELISSENOs, the *strategos* of Anatolikon, but fled to Asia Minor ca. 843 with some 5,000 followers from the persecution of the empress Theodora. He established himself on the upper Euphrates, probably collaborated with the Muslim emir of Melitene, and founded a separate principality that comprised the centers of Amara, Argaios, and TEPHRIKE as capital. The end of Karbeas’s career is not recorded, and scholars have expressed doubts on the participation of Karbeas in the disastrous war of 863 with Byz., which destroyed the emirate. The epic of DIGENES AKRITAS may have preserved his memory in the figure of the Muslim Karoes, the uncle of Digenes’ father the emir, but this is impossible to prove.

LIT. Lemerle, “Pauliciens” 85–96. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy* 125–28. —N.G.G.

**KARĪM AL-DĪN**, more fully Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn of Aksaray, Anatolia, high fiscal official in the late Seljuk divan and author of the history *Musamarat al-ahbar* (Entertainment of the Chronicles); fl. 1300. This historical work, in Persian, of which only part four is original and important, continues the court chronicle of IBN BĪBĪ. As an eyewitness and high fiscal official he chronicled the series of events that led to the political and economic collapse of the SELJUks of RŪm in the early 14th C. The decline was accompanied by the rise of nomadism, the weakening of Īlkhānid suzerainty, and the proliferation of “armies” of tax farmers. The upheaval was frequently accompanied by physical destruction and the flight of urban and rural populations. Though all segments of sedentary society in Anatolia suffered, the damage to the Christian communities was irreparable; their consequent decline as reflected in the patriarchal synodal acts is explained in this very perceptive Muslim source. He notes that the rapacious tax farmers who destroyed the Seljuk fiscal system did not even know what the *jizya* (poll tax on non-Muslims) was, even though it had been the single largest source of revenue in the land. He also speaks extensively of the Greek element in the court of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kai-kā’us II in the mid-13th C.

ED. Al-Aksaraï, *Karīm al-Dīn Mahmud ibn Muhammad, Mūsameret ül-ahbar*, ed. O. Turan (Ankara 1944). Turkish tr. M.N. Gençosman in *Selçuki devletleri tarihi*, vol. 2 (Ankara 1943). M.F. Köprülü, "Anadolu Selçukluları tarih'inin yerli kaynakları," *Türk tarih Kurumu Belleten* 7 (1943) 389–91.

LIT. Vryonis, *Decline* 183, 224f, 243–48, 464f. —S.V.

**KARIN.** See THEODOSIUPOLIS.

**KARIYE CAMII.** See CHORA MONASTERY.

**KARS** (*Káps*), Armenian fortress and town in the district of Vanand in northeast Anatolia. It was founded in antiquity, but first became important as one of the successive BAGRATID capitals (928–61). Conflict over its control first arose in 937 when the prince of ABCHASIA attempted unsuccessfully to have its new cathedral consecrated according to the Orthodox rather than the Armenian rite (ASOLIK, 3:7). In 962 AŞOT III granted Vanand to his brother Muşel, who established a secondary Bagratid dynasty with Kars as its capital. The city grew rich on trade between ANI and Karin (THEODOSIUPOLIS) and became an important cultural center under its last king, Gagik-Abas (1029–65), whose portrait has been preserved in the Gospel illustrated for him (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2556; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* [London 1982] pl.75) The Seljuk threat, however, caused Gagik-Abas to cede the city to Byz. in 1064/5 in exchange for estates in Cappadocia, and the kingdom of Vanand was added to the theme of IBERIA. The Turks retook Kars, however, before the empire could establish control over it.

LIT. R. Hewsen, *DMA* 7:221. W. Barthold, C.J. Heywood, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:669–71. J.-M. Thierry, *La cathédrale des Saints-Apôtres de Kars* (Louvain 1978). —N.G.G.

**K'ART'LIS CXOVREBA.** See GEORGIAN CHRONICLES.

**KARYES** (*Kapúes*, *Kapéai*, lit. "nut trees"), now a small village in the center of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS; it was the site of the PROTATON and served from the 10th C. as center of the monastic federation. In the vicinity of Karyes were a large number of KELLIA, some belonging to the Prota-

ton, others to Athonite monasteries. This ensemble of *kellia* was called the *laura ton Kareon*, with its central church being a 10th-C. basilica dedicated to the Virgin.

Among the *kellia* was a group founded by St. SAVA OF SERBIA to house monks coming from HILANDAR to Karyes on official business. One *kellion*, dedicated to the Palestinian St. SABAS, was designated for two or three monks. In a *typikon* of 1197 or 1199 (ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 184–87) Sava of Serbia specifically exempted the *kellion* from the jurisdiction of the PROTOS of Athos or *hegoumenos* of Hilandar to assure the security of its sacred furnishings. The *typikon* also provided that the *hegoumenos* and monks at Hilandar were to elect the *epistates* or supervisor of the *kellion*. Although brief, the *typikon* includes dietary and liturgical regulations, with emphasis on recitation of the Psalter.

LIT. *Prot.* 116f, 120f.

—A.M.T.

**KARYTAINA** (*Kapútauva*, name either of Slavic origin or derived from Arkadian Gortyna), city and powerful fortification above the Alphaios River commanding the major routes through the interior of the Peloponnesos. There is little evidence of Karytaina before the 13th C.: reused architectural material has led Moutsopoulos (*infra*) to suggest a 12th-C. church inside the castle. Under Frankish domination, however, Karytaina was the major center of Skorta, one of the great baronies of the principality of Achaia. The first baron was probably Renaud de Briel, followed by his brother Hugues, whose son Geoffrey was the lord of Karytaina featured prominently in the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, and whose possession of Karytaina allowed him to defy the prince of Achaia. The castle fell to the Byz. of MISTRA by 1320 and lost its military importance thereafter, although the city on the hillside flourished in later centuries.

The castle crowning the impressive hilltop is completely Frankish in date. Above an extensive circuit wall the fortress itself forms a large triangle; it has a single entrance with barbican, flanked by a tower. On the interior is the palace, a rather simple structure of three rooms built over an enormous cistern. A fortified tower-habitation south of the fortress has been dated to the mid-15th C. The surviving bridge across the Alphaios below Karytaina was probably built by the Franks

but renewed by a certain Raoul Manouel Melikes (PLP, no.17788) in 1439/40.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 105, 366–69, 629–33, 679f. N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Apo ten Byzantine Karytaina," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985–86) 129–202.

—T.E.G.

**KASANDRENOS**, or Kassandrenos (*Κασ(σ)ανδρηνός*), a family name that probably originated from the toponym KASSANDREIA; the name is frequent among peasants of the region (*Lavra* 4:284). The landowner Kasandrenos in Chalkidike is attested in a charter of Iveron ca.1094; a charter of 1112 (*Docheiar.*, no.3.13–14) mentions two Kasandrenoi, evidently members of the local administration in Thessalonike: the *proedros* Leo and *magistros* Theodore. The family was still connected with Thessalonike in the 14th C.: a rich Thessalonian, Alexios Kasandrenos, corresponded with Demetrios KYDONES ca.1355; another Kasandrenos, *logariastes* of the court in 1317–20, possessed lands in the vicinity; Demetrios Kasandrenos, a native of the region (died 1362 or a little later), supported John VI and Matthew I Kantakouzenos; in 1359 he moved to Mistra. He and his daughter, Maria Kanabina Kasandrene, were active patrons of literature and art; Demetrios ordered a Plutarch MS (Milan, Ambros. D 538 inf.), and Maria was a patron of the Brontochion monastery in Mistra and the Mangana monastery in Constantinople (D. Bassi, *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 26 [1898] 394–96). An *archon* Manuel Kasandrenos was active ca.1381, and Kasandrenos Palaiologos (died 1439 on Euboea) participated in the Council of Ferrara-Flarence.

LIT. PLP, nos. 11309–21.

—A.K.

**KASSANDREIA** (*Κασ(σ)ανδρεία*). In the late Roman period Kassandreia was a *polis* and bishopric on the site of ancient Potidaia in the Macedonian CHALKIDIKE at the neck of the Kassandra/Pallene peninsula. It was sacked and destroyed by the Huns in 539/40. Justinian I built a cross-wall at the entrance to the peninsula as the bulwark of the region (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.21–25). By the 10th C. it reappears in the sources as a town (*polichnion*—*Ivir.*, no.10.9, later *kastron*—Dionys., p.118), probably under the command of an *archon* (*Ivir.*, no.10.13–14) and a bishopric suffragan of Thessalonike (*Notitiae CP* 7.301). The fertile land

of the peninsula attracted both the citizens of Thessalonike and the monks of Mt. Athos who established estates there and exported grain and other products by sea. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:245.11–13) characterized Kassandreia as a *polis* that used to be famous but at his time was abandoned. Kassandreia was temporarily occupied by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY and served as their operational base in the winter of 1307/8. Before 1407 John VII built walls "over the old foundations" to protect the peninsula (*Lavra* 3, no.159.15–20) and conferred upon several monasteries a part of the state income from land there. In 1419 the *kephale* of Kassandreia, Stephen Radenos, returned to the monastery of St. Panteleemon a village in the peninsula (*Pantel.*, no.18). During the Venetian occupation of Thessalonike, ambassadors from Kassandreia included among their complaints to the Republic that the peninsula had not been sufficiently fortified (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:59, no.272). It was probably seized by the Turks ca.1430.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* supp. 4 (1924) 877f. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:108–10. D. Papachryssanthou in *Xénoph.* 31–33.

—T.E.G., A.K.

**KASSIA** (*Κασσία*), also Kassiane, Eikasia, and other forms of the name, poet; born 800 or 805 (Rochow) or ca.810 (Beck, *Kirche* 519), probably in Constantinople, died between 843 and 867. According to a legend preserved in SYMEON LOGOTHETE she competed in the BRIDE SHOW to select the wife of THEOPHILOS but lost to THEODORA. Rochow rejects this legend but believes that the letters of THEODORE OF STODIOS to "kandidatissa Kassia" were addressed to the poet; if this identification is correct, then Kassia staunchly supported icon veneration. She was a nun and founder of a convent in Constantinople.

Various liturgical hymns are preserved under Kassia's name; it is not always clear whether they belong to her or to other hymnographers such as KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER (G. Schirò, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 303–14). Her troparion *To the Harlot* (included in the TRIODION) is dedicated to the passionate repentance of the sinful woman (E. Catafygiotu Topping, *GOrThR* 26 [1981] 201–09). A series of iambic *gnomai* deals with ethical ideals and weaknesses (friendship, foolishness, etc.) as well as with specific feminine qualities, including beauty; they ignore the norms of ancient



prosody (P. Maas, *BZ* 10 [1901] 54–59) and stress personal antipathies. “I hate,” Kassia reiterates; she hated particularly the illiterate fool who claimed to be knowledgeable, esp. if this fool were “a youth of royal house” (perhaps alluding to her rejection by the young Theophilos).

ED. K. Krumbacher, “Kasia,” *SBAW* (1897) no. 1:305–70.

LIT. I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und den Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin 1967). E. Catafygiotu Topping, “Women Hymnographers in Byzantium,” *Diptycha* 3 (1982–83) 107–10. —A.K.

**KASTAMON** (Κασταμών, mod. Kastamonu), a fortress commanding the upper Amnias valley in northern Paphlagonia; never a bishopric. The ancestral home of the Komnenoi (Alexios I's grandfather Manuel Erotikos had his estates in the neighborhood), Kastamon first appears in history when Isaac I Komnenos was proclaimed emperor in 1057. When Alexios I visited Kastamon in 1075, however, the site was desolate from Turkish attacks. It fell to the DANIŞMENDIDS before 1101, when the Crusaders were defeated nearby. Kastamon was a frequent goal of the campaigns of John II Komnenos, which briefly restored Byz. rule, but it fell permanently to the Turks in the second half of the 12th C. The substantial castle of Kastamon contains stretches of Byz. walls.

LIT. N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara 1959) 197–207. C.J. Heywood, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:737–39. —C.F.

**KASTAMONITES** (Κασταμονίτης), a family name. The name, and perhaps the family itself, originated from the town of KASTAMON. The first firmly dated Kastamonitai lived during Alexios I's reign, but certain family members known from 11th-C. seals (the *protospatharios* Theodore, the *patrikios* Nikephoros, the *vestes* Constantine) probably preceded Alexios. The Life of St. MELETIOS THE YOUNGER mentions Michael Kastamonites, an affluent late 11th-C. proprietor in Hellas, but is silent about his titles or offices. At least one Kastamonites, Niketas, was Alexios I's general, *doux* of the fleet; involved in a plot against Alexios, he lost his position. His identification with the *proto-proedros* Niketas Kastamonites of 1094 (Gautier, “Blachernes” 257) is not certain. Sometime in the 11th C. an unknown family member founded the KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY on Mt. Athos. Their position declined in the 12th C.: Leo was a de-

pendent *anthropos* of Isaac Komnenos in 1152; John Kastamonites served as a patriarchal secretary; another Kastamonites participated in the embassy of 1170 to Pope ALEXANDER III and to Genoa. The Kastamonitai reached their zenith in the late 12th C. because of their relationship with the Angeloi. Theodore Kastamonites, Isaac II's uncle, served as *logothetes ton sekretou*; Constantine was *parathalassites* ca. 1203 (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no. 60.35–36); and Eustathios was imperial *vestiaries* sometime between 1195 and 1199 (nos. 56.16, 59.13). They apparently possessed lands in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, “Smyrne” 170f), at least by 1234, and served in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, for example, Stephen Kastamonites, *chartophylax* of Smyrna from 1257 to 1267 (*PLP*, no. 11374). Later Kastamonitai are rare; some may have acquired their name from the Kastamonites monastery.

LIT. N. Oikonomides in *Kastam.* 1, n. 1. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 231f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 848, 1047. *PLP*, nos. 11370–74. —A.K.

**KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY**, located in the interior of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, between the monasteries of Docheiariou and Zographou. Virtually no documents survive from the Byz. period, so little is known of its history. Dedicated to St. Stephen, Kastamonitou (Κασταμονίτου) was founded in the mid-11th C., probably by a native of Kastamon in Paphlagonia or a member of the Kastamonites family. Until the 14th C. it was a modest establishment, inhabited by Greek monks. After a fire in the 1420s, Kastamonitou was restored through the generosity of the Serbian general Radić, attracted numerous slavophone monks, and remained prosperous until ca. 1500. The present monastery is of modern (18th or 19th C.) construction, and officially called *mone tou Konsta-monitou*. The library contains 40 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:36–42). The dates of three supposedly Byz. wonder-working icons in the monastery's church have not yet been established.

SOURCE. *Actes de Kastamonitou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1978).

LIT. P. Nasturel, “A propos d'un document de Kastamonitou et d'une lettre patriarcale inconnue de 1411,” *REB* 40 (1982) 211–14. —A.M.T., A.C.

**KASTORIA** (Καστορία, “place of beavers,” orig. name of a lake), fortified *polis* (Skyl. 355.25) or *kastron* (An.Komn. 2:41.7–12) in western Mace-

donia or Thrace. Anna Komnene described it as located on the top of a hill, on a promontory projecting into the lake of the same name. The city appears first in the description of Bulgaro-Byz. wars at the end of the 10th C. By 1018 it was occupied by Basil II. Kastoria was probably founded near late antique Diokletianoupolis, built by Diocletian. According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.1–4), Diokletianoupolis was situated near Lake Kastoria; since it was destroyed by barbarian assaults, Justinian I transferred the city to the mountainous and narrow promontory “and gave it an appropriate name.” Whether this name was Justinianoupolis is not clear from Prokopios. As Diokletianoupolis the city appears in Hierokles and (anachronistically) in Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 2.38, ed. Pertusi 88).

In 1082/3 the Normans occupied Kastoria but in Dec. 1093 Alexios I recaptured the fortress. In the 13th–14th C. the “great *polis*” Kastoria (Kantak. 1:451.1–2) was at the center of political struggle in the Balkans. First, as a possession of the despotate of EPIROS, Kastoria was attacked by the Nicaeans; John III Vatatzes took it temporarily in ca. 1252 but Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epiros reconquered it ca. 1257. Michael VIII won a skirmish near Kastoria in 1259 and seized it after the battle of PELAGONIA. In the beginning of the 14th C. Kastoria was in the hands of John II of NEOPATRAS; he titled himself *doux* of “Great Vlachia and Kastoria.” Then (until 1332/3) Kastoria was within the “fief” of GABRIELOPOULOS. Andronikos III managed to annex the city but SYRGIANNES in 1334 surrendered it to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. It was finally taken by the Serbs in 1342/3 (Fine, *Late Balkans* 301), and the truce of 1350 (*Reg* 5, no. 2967) lists Kastoria among the holdings of Dušan. After Dušan's death SYMEON UROŠ made Kastoria the center of his principality. THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ and the Albanian family of Musachi claimed rights to Kastoria, but in the mid-1380s it was captured by the Ottomans.

Kastoria had a significant Jewish population; the Jewish scholar Tobia ben Elieser of Kastoria wrote a commentary on the Torah during the reign of Alexios I (J. Perles, *BZ* 2 [1893] 574f). A. Epstein (*Gesta* 21 [1982] 21–29) surmises that the frescoes in the Mavriotissa monastery near Kastoria reflect anti-Semitic sentiment.

The bishopric of Kastoria is known from the 10th C. Its bishop was *protothronos*-suffragan of Ohrid.

**Monuments of Kastoria.** The relative wealth of this regional trading center is reflected in the number of medieval churches preserved from the late 9th/early 10th C. onward. No dated dedicatory inscriptions survive. The chronology of Kastoria's monuments depends on masonry techniques and the style of the surviving frescoes; it must therefore remain tentative. The Koumpelidike, a domed triconch, Hagios Stephanos, and the Taxiarchs, both minute basilicas, may be ascribed to ca. 900. The Anargyroi, another basilica, appears to have been built and first decorated in the early 11th C. and then redecorated at the end of the 12th C. by a patron named Theodore Lemniotes. One of the painters involved in phase two of the decoration apparently also worked at KURBINOVO. Nikephoros Kasnitzes, *magistros*, funded the construction and decoration of the single-naved church of St. Nicholas in the 3rd quarter of the 12th C. The nave has a cycle of the GREAT FEASTS as well as a handsome PROSKYNESIS icon of the patron saint of the church with the portrait of the donor. A cycle of the life of St. NICHOLAS appears in the narthex. Shifts in painting style suggest that metropolitan trends were familiar to painters working in Kastoria. The particularities of the cloisonné BRICKWORK used in the construction of all these churches, however, reflects the strength and continuity of the local building tradition.

LIT. A.D. Keramopoulos, “Orestikon Argos-Diokletianoupolis-Kastoria,” *BNJbb* 9 (1930–32) 55–63. R. Janin, *DHGE* 11 (1949) 1457f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:327–29. V. Beševliev, “Wo lag der Bischofssitz Diokletianopolis in Thrakien?,” *Linguistique balkanique* 9 (1964) 49–56. A.K. Orlandos, “Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kastorias,” *ABME* 4 (1938) 3–215. S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria I. Byzantinai toichographiai* (Thessalonike 1953). T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria: Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi* (Uppsala 1979). A.W. Epstein, “Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria,” *ArtB* 62 (1980) 190–207. S. Pelekanides, M. Chatzedakis, *Kastoria* (Athens 1985). E.N. Tsigaridas, “La peinture à Kastoria et en Macédoine grecque orientale vers l'année 1200,” in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988) 309–18. —T.E.G., A.J.W.

**KASTRESIOS** (καστρήσιος, Gr. equivalent of Lat. *comes et castrensis sacri palatii*), imperial courtier, usually a eunuch, in charge of the emperor's quarters and provisioning. The post is mentioned first in 319 and last in 612. The vita of DANIEL THE STYLITE (26.20–21) describes a certain Gelanios, who was *kastresios* of the divine table (*trapeza*)



under Leo I; he possessed an estate near Constantinople. The *kastresios* of the imperial table reappears in the *De ceremoniis*. W. Seibt (*BZ* 72 [1979] 38) suggests that in the 7th C. the EPI TES TRAPEZES assumed the main duties of the *kastresios*.

The *kastresios* should probably be distinguished from the *kastresios*; in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Benešević (Oikonomides, *Listes* 251.23), he is listed as a patriarchal official between the *protonotarios* and *referendarios*. He occupies the same position in the synodal lists of the 12th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 100) and kept functioning as a member of the patriarchal chancery to the end of the empire.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 3 (1899) 1774f.

—A.K.

**KASTROKTISIA** (καστροκτισία, lit. "construction of fortresses"), a fiscal charge, one of the EPEREIAI, according to a chrysobull of 1349 (*Docheiar.*, no.25.10). It is first attested in the charter of John Chaldos of 995 (*Ivir.*, no.8.13) exempting the monks of Kolobou from *kastroktisia*, MITATON, providing forage and *prosodion* (?), and other *epe-reiai*. In chrysobulls of the late 11th C. *kastroktisia* is cited along with the construction of roads and bridges (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.36, *Lavra* 1, no.38.38) and probably designated an actual state corvée. It is unknown when it replaced the late Roman *munera*, which were levied primarily in specie.

Although frequent in later chrysobulls, *kastroktisia* is rarely mentioned in *praktika*. A fragment of a *praktikon* from the end of the 13th C. (*Esphig.*, no.7.8) mentions *kastroktisia* of 1.5 nomismata, that is, 1.7 percent of the OIKOUMENON. Forced labor was probably employed in the construction work: in describing Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's refortification of Berroia in Macedonia in 1350, John Kantakouzenos (*Kantak.* 3:124.21–24) states that more than 10,000 men worked there; the historian adds that they were assembled from the entire country of the Serbian kral'. To what extent this Serbian episode can be applied to Byz. remains unclear. By the 14th C., however, *kastroktisia* probably began to lose its technical meaning: lists of privileges sometimes include it in a paramilitary context, together with shipbuilding, *mitaton*, and *APLEKTON* (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.118.190–92), sometimes with *PSOMOZEMIA* and *ANGAREIA* (*Xerop.*, no.8.17–18), but sometimes it is associated with nonmilitary and nonconstruction charges such as *ORIKE* and

ENNOMION (*Esphig.*, no.22.32). On the other hand, a different charge, the *phloriatikon*, known in the Peloponnesos in the 15th C., was used for the reconstruction of fortresses (E. Vranoussi, *EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.4:81–83), and the revenue from the ABIOTIKION could be used to repair a city (D. Bagiakakos, *Athens* 65 [1961] 199f).

LIT. S. Trojanos, "Kastroktisia," *Byzantina* 1 (1969) 39–57.

—A.K.

**KASTRON** (κάστρον), also *kastellion* and *phrou-rion*, fortress or citadel. Since FORTIFICATIONS became the main external sign of CITIES, the term *kastron* came to denote the city as a whole. It was applied even to such relatively large places as Ephesus, but never to Constantinople. In the strict sense, *kastron* designated a fortified settlement, usually on a hilltop, distinct from the open lower town or EMPORION. *Kastra*, however small, played an important role in Byz. defense; the state paid particular attention to them, requiring the population to build and maintain them (KASTROKTISIA). In the 11th C., when the need for defense against the Turks was paramount, *kastra* were assigned for life to individuals who assumed the obligation of maintaining and defending them. On the death of the concessionaire, the *kastron* returned to imperial control; normally it was put in the charge of a KASTROPHYLAX.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "The Donation of Castles in the Last Quarter of the 11th Century," in *Polychronion* 413–17. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 145–48.

—C.F.

**KASTROPHYLAX** (καστροφύλαξ), commander of a stronghold, appointed by the emperor; he was responsible for the maintenance and repair of a KASTRON and for preserving order (*apobiglis*) within its walls (Sathas, *MB* 6:644.19–23). A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 188.20–22) lists them, together with PROKATHEMENOI, as administrators of *poleis*. The office is attested from the second half of the 11th C. (N. Oikonomides in *Polychronion* 417, n.12), but is more frequently mentioned from the 13th C. onward. Some *kastrophylakes* presided over small *kastra* (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.70.20); others administered cities such as Smyrna, Thessalonike, and Serres. Their functions are poorly documented in available sources; in 1230 a *kastrophylax* of Smyrna assisted the *prokathemenos* in a civil trial. Their social po-

sition was not of a high rank, and even the *kastrophylakes* of Thessalonike (Demetrios Talapas—*Docheiar.*, no.48 verso, 5) and Serres (Leo Azanites—Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.34.65–66; Demetrios Arethas—*Koutloun.*, no.33.90) did not come from families of the high nobility. They were sometimes landowners (*Lavra* 2, no.90.122).

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 266f.

—A.K.

**KATAKALON** (Κατακαλὼν, more rarely Κατακαλός), a noble lineage, known from ca.900, when Leo Katakalon was *domestikos* of the *scholae*. In the 10th–11th C. some were governors: Katakalon, *strategos* of Thessalonike; Demetrios Katakalon, *katepano* of Paradounavon. Probably some family members assumed the name of Maurokatakalon (the "Black Katakalon"); they were military commanders in the 11th C. and esp. in the reign of Alexios I (e.g., Nicholas, his son Marianos, Gregory). As a result of intermarriage with a number of aristocratic families, many members of the Katakalon family bore double names: KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS and Katakalon Klazomenites in the 11th C., Katakalon Bryennios and Katakalon Euphorbenos in the 12th C. An anonymous epitaph praised John Bryennios Katakalon, a soldier related to the KOMNENOI and married to a daughter of a *sebastos* of the lineage of PALAIOLOGOI and DOUKAI. Constantine Katakalon Euphorbenos, among the most prominent of Alexios I's generals, was *doux* of Cyprus ca.1100. His son Nikephoros married Maria, Alexios I's daughter. Two of their sons, Alexios and Andronikos, occupied high posts in the mid-12th C.; ca.1162 Andronikos became governor of Cilicia. Another Andronikos Katakalon served as military commander of Alexios III. Later the family declined into obscurity (*PLP*, nos. 11413–29).

LIT. Winkelman, *Quellenstudien* 171f. N. Bănescu, "Sceau de Démétrius Katakalon, katépano de Paradounavon," *EO* 39 (1940) 157–60. D. Polemis, "Anepigraphoi stichoi eis ton thanaton Ioannou Bryenniou tou Katakalon," *EEBS* 35 (1966–67) 107–16.

—A.K.

**KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS** (Κατακαλὼν Κεκαυμένος), general; died after 1057. He was originally from Koloneia and was not an aristocrat by birth (Skyl. 483.15f). His identification with KEKAUMENOS, author of memoirs, is not established. Apparently sent to Sicily with MANIAKES in

1038, he defended Messina. In 1042 Michael V appointed Katakalon commander of troops combatting an uprising in Constantinople. He was *vestes* and *archon* of the Danubian cities ca.1043, governor of Ani and Iberia, *stratelates* of the East ca.1050, and *doux* of Antioch ca.1056. In 1043 he defeated the remnants of the expedition of JAROSLAV of Kiev against Constantinople. Anonymous verses call him "the light of the Thessalians" and praise him as victor over the Scythians and Hungarians (K. Dyobouniotes, *NE* 16 [1922] 53–56). He eagerly supported the uprising of ISAAC I in 1057 for which he received the title of *kouropalates*. G. Litavrin (*RESEE* 7 [1969] 455–68) surmises that Isaac appointed him *strategos* of Koloneia. Katakalon is the hero of the last section of Skylitzes' chronicle (Skyl. 406–500—A. Kazhdan, *IFŽ* [1975] no.1, 207f; J. Shepard, *REArm* 11 [1975–76] 269–311), and Katakalon's recollections may have served as a source for Skylitzes.

LIT. N. Bănescu, "Un duc byzantin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Katakalon Kekaumenos," *BSHAcRoum* 11 (1924) 25–36. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 31f.

—C.M.B., A.K.

**KATAPETASMA** (καταπέτασμα), a veil or curtain separating the sanctuary from the nave. Use of *katapetasmata* is confirmed from the 6th C. in Egypt and Syria (cf. G. Khouri-Sarkis, *Orient syrien* 5 [1960] 363–84; 7 [1962] 277–96; 8 [1963] 3–20). The Byz. practice of suspending *katapetasmata* over the TEMPLON door developed from a monastic custom attested from the 12th C. (NICHOLAS OF ANDIDA, PG 140:445C); occasional references to the *katapetasma* in the sources, esp. INVENTORIES, indicate its slow acceptance. Except for some early Coptic textiles, which might have served as *katapetasmata*, all extant *katapetasmata* date after 1453. The decorative CIBORIUM curtains represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II and elsewhere can also be called *katapetasmata* (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:341C).

LIT. C. Schneider, "Studien zum Ursprung liturgischer Einzelheiten östlicher Liturgien: I. Katapetasma," *Kyrios* 1 (Königsberg-Berlin 1936; rp. Graz 1969) 57–73. Mathews, *Early Churches* 162–71. Taft, *Great Entrance* 411–16.

—A.G.

**KATAPHLORON** (καταφλώρον), a family name that possibly originated from a monastery of St. Phloros (Florus); the formerly accepted spelling

Kataphloros has been rejected by P. Wirth (*BZ* 56 [1963] 235f; idem, *Eustathiana* [Amsterdam 1980] 5f), but is retained by V. Laurent in *Corpus*, vol. 2. The first known Kataphloron was probably John, *protospatharios* and commander (*archegetes*) of the West, whose seal is usually dated to the epoch of the Komnenoi (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:394); the title of *PROTOSPATHARIOS*, however, died out by the early 12th C., and its application to the commander of the Western army indicates an earlier date, perhaps the 10th C. A certain Kataphloron was appointed governor of Mesopotamia in the late 1030s; Psellos's information (Sathas, *MB* 5:459.18–20), however, does not indicate whether he was a judge or a *strategos*. John Kataphloron served in 1079 as *anagrapheus* of Smolena, Thessalonike, and Serres (*Lavra* 1, no.39.1); the editors considered him a *strategos*, an office that does not accord properly with his fiscal duties; Dölger (*Diplomatik* 348, n.4) read *strateutes* (soldier). Other known members of the Kataphloron family were not in the military: one was *praktor* in 1089 (*Lavra* 1, no.50.36–37); another, Nicholas, was *magistros ton rhetoron* (P. Wirth, *ClMed* 21 [1960] 213f); Mark was patriarch of Jerusalem ca.1190–95. John went to Venice in 1195 as Alexios III's envoy; in 1199 he or his namesake served as *grammatikos*. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE was probably Nicholas Kataphloron's nephew (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 218–21). Seals of the 11th–12th C. record an *asekretis* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 109, 115) and a *mystolektes* (no.156) of this family. —A.K.

**KATAPHRAKTOS** (κατάφρακτος, from κατάφρασσω, “cover up”), an armored horseman mounted on an armored horse. *Cataphractarii* or *clibanarii* were created by the Romans during the 3rd–4th C. in response to their SASANIAN enemies (J.W. Eadie, *JRS* 57 [1967] 161–73). The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE portrays 6th-C. heavy cavalrymen, equally adept with lance or bow, wearing knee-length coats and riding horses protected by thick felt coverings (*Strat. Maurik.* 1.1–2, pp. 74–84). Nothing is heard of them again until the 10th C. when Nikephoros II Phokas developed heavy cavalry anew. His *PRAECEPTA MILITARIA* describes *kataphraktoi* wearing lamellar or mail coats bolstered by padded surcoats, gauntlets, leg-guards, and iron helmets, with an iron mace or a saber as

their main weapon. Their horses were protected by carapaces made of felt or thick hides. The *kataphraktoi* were deployed in a wedge-like formation of 400–500 men with mounted archers in the middle. They identified the location of the enemy commander and aimed their charge at a steady pace directly at him, while regular cavalry units on their flanks followed up the attack. Al-Mutanabbî gives a vivid description of the *kataphraktoi* in a poem about a battle of 954 (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:333) and Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 78.21) refers to Phokas's preparation of “all-iron horsemen,” noting their effect at Tarsos in 965 (59.2–22) and in the Balkan campaigns of John I Tzimiskes in 971 (140.10–13).

Heavy cavalry are not specifically attested during the 11th C. but in the 12th C. Manuel I Komnenos enthusiastically adopted the panoply and tactics of European knights (who charged in line with their lances leveled at the enemy) and staged Western-style tournaments (Nik.Chon. 108.53–110.94; cf. S. Lampros, *NE* 5 [1908] 15–18); the practical effect of these horsemen against the evasive Turks was minimal (R.P. Lindner, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 207–13). Byz. heavy cavalrymen continue to appear in the 13th–14th C., but Western mercenaries supplied the bulk of such cavalrymen in Nicaean and Palaiologan armies.

LIT. J.M. Diethart, P. Dintsis, “Die Leontoklibanarier,” in *Byzantios* 67–84. J.F. Haldon, “Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries,” *BMGS* 1 (1975) 11–47. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VIII (1960), 2–24. M.P. Speidel, “Catafractarii clibanarii and the Rise of the Later Roman Mailed Cavalry,” *Epigraphica Anatolica* 4 (1984) 151–56. —E.M.

**KATARTARIOS** (καταρτάριος, from *katartismos*, “furnishing”), craftsman involved in the manufacture of SILK. According to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.7), *katartarioi* prepared (*katartizein*) *metaxa*, but their precise function is unclear since the meaning of *metaxa* in this passage is uncertain: if it means cocoons, then the work of *katartarioi* was reeling, that is, bringing together the filaments from several cocoons to form uniform strands called “raw silk”; if it designates the raw silk itself, then the *katartarioi* were responsible for the next stage of silk production, forming the raw silk threads into more substantial yarn. Subsequent degumming or scouring gave the silk fibers a brilliant, pearly sheen. R.S. Lopez (*Speculum* 20

[1945] 16) translates *katartarioi* as “silk spinners,” E.H. Freshfield (*Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* [Cambridge 1938] 23f) as “raw silk dressers.”

The functions of *katartarioi* overlapped to a certain extent with those of SILK MERCHANTS (*serikopratai*), who sometimes permitted *katartarioi* to purchase *metaxa* directly from foreign merchants. This privilege was extended only to wealthy *katartarioi*; those who were poor (as well as *metaxarioi*, whose status is unclear) had to buy their raw materials from silk merchants. The sale of *metaxa* was strictly controlled by the eparch: *katartarioi* had to be listed in the eparch's register and provide the authorities with testimony concerning their status and moral rectitude. The guild of *katartarioi* occupied a lower rank than that of the silk merchants, and some *katartarioi* strove to gain admittance to the guild of silk merchants; to achieve this goal they had to promise to stop manufacturing silk.

LIT. D. Simon, “Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte,” *BZ* 68 (1975) 24–33. —A.K.

**KATASKEPENOS, NICHOLAS**, author of the *Life of CYRIL PHILEOTES*; fl. first half of the 12th C. Under the name of Kataskepenos are also preserved some KANONES and letters.

ED. See list in Beck, *Kirche* 639.

LIT. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:457–59.

—A.K.

**KATASYRTAI** (Κατασύρται), a battle site in Thrace near Constantinople. In the fall of 917, after the Byz. defeat at ACHELOUS, the *domestikos ton scholon* Leo PHOKAS attempted to organize resistance there to the approaching army of SYMEON OF BULGARIA. The Byz. were again routed, and the way to Constantinople was open for the Bulgarians. Symeon, however, did not continue his attack but withdrew in order to punish the Serbian prince Peter, a Byz. ally. The defeats at Achelous and Katasyrtai accounted for the fall of the administration of ZOE KARBONOPSINA and the *parakoimomenos* Constantine in 918; ROMANOS (I) LEKAPENOS, whom many contemporaries blamed for the defeat at Achelous, assumed control of the government as *basileopator*. Probably at that time Symeon issued the demand that Romanos be deposed and he himself be elected as co-emperor with CONSTANTINE VII (A.Kazhdan, *EtBalk* n.s. 12.3 [1976] 98–100). When this demand was re-

jected, Symeon assumed the title of tsar of the Bulgarians.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:391–401. Runciman, *Romanus* 56. —A.K.

**KATECHOUMENA.** See GALLERY.

**KATEPANATE**, or catepanate, a conventional scholarly term to designate the Byz. territories in APULIA that were placed under the administration of the KATEPANO. The catepanate was established by Basil BOIOANNES after his victory over Melo in Oct. 1018 and existed until Feb. 1042, when ARGYROS, son of Melo, was proclaimed *princeps* and *dux Italiae*. The Normans who began to penetrate this region in 1041 referred to it as Capitanata.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 57–60. Guillou, *Studies*, pt.I (1967), 13–19. —A.K.

**KATEPANO** (κατεπάνω, deriving from the Gk. adverb *epano*, “above” [A. Jannaris, *BZ* 10 (1901) 204–07]), a term used from the 9th C. to designate certain officials: the *katapano* of the BASILIKOI in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the *katapano* of the marines on a 10th-C. seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.962), the *katapano* of imperial workshops, the *katapano* of imperial titles (*axiomata*) in the 11th C., etc. Constantine VII's identification of the *katapano* as *magister militum* (*De adm. imp.* 27.69–70) is a mere anachronism. The term was often used to denote a commander of a military unit, such as MARDAITES, and was identical with STRATEGOS. By the end of the 10th C., *katapano* became primarily the designation of governors of major provinces, esp. Italy (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 46–59) and Mesopotamia, in the 11th C. Bulgaria (Litavrin, *Bolgaria i Vizantijska* 264–73), Antioch, etc. The term in the sense of the governor-DOUX disappears after 1100, but it continued as a name for local officials, at least in Smyrna in the 12th C. and in Trebizond in the 14th. Accordingly, the term *katapanikion*, known in both Macedonia and Asia Minor, was used for small administrative units. The term *katapanate*, often employed in scholarly literature, is not found in Byz. sources, although the Normans created the word *Capitanata* as a designation for southern Italy.

LIT. Ahrweiler, “Administration” 64–67. J. Ferluga, “Niže vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog uredjenja,” *ZRVI*



2 (1953) 74–76. G. Theodorides, *Katepanikia tes Makedonias* (Thessalonike 1954).  
—A.K.

**KATHEDRA** (καθέδρα, lit. “seat”). In addition to its original meaning of THRONE, *kathedra* was a term designating a farmhouse or mansion. In documents *kathedra* appears in association with a courtyard (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.77.46) and in a figurative sense could be used for “abode” (*Lavra* 2, no.100.2). The expression “*kathedra* of a *chorion*” also denoted the center of a village, the point from which a fiscal description (*periorismos*) of a *chorion* began (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 13f). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.14–18), in explaining the difference between a village and a hamlet (*ktesis*), states that a village has a single *kathedra* (i.e., is centrally oriented), whereas in hamlets there are multiple *kathedrai* and the houses of peasants are dispersed.

LIT. Ju. Vin, “Social’no-ekonomičeskoe soderžanie termina *kathedra* vizantijskich dokumentov,” *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 202–11.  
—A.K.

**KATHISMA** (κάθισμα, lit. “sitting, seat”). Five meanings of this term are significant in Byz. studies. (1) A TROPARION inserted after the third or sixth ode of a KANON during the ORTHROS, and during the singing of which it is permitted to remain seated. (2) One of the 20 sections, consisting of from one to five psalms, into which the psalter is divided; each *kathisma* is further subdivided into three *staseis*, or portions. (3) A generic term for a small monastic habitation housing only a few monks and dependent on a larger monastery. The term is used from the beginnings of monasticism, but is found esp. frequently in Athonite documents from the mid-14th C. onward (e.g., *Prot.* 120f). (4) A service exemption of uncertain nature that is mentioned in several chrysobulls of the second half of the 11th C.—the beneficiary was exempted from “the *kathisma* of high-ranking officials.” A chrysobull of 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.58–59) has a more elaborate formula granting an exemption from “the *kathisma* and reception of *archontes*,” thus permitting the hypothesis that *kathisma* was a forced accommodation of imperial dignitaries. (5) Additionally, the term for the emperor’s box in the HIPPODROME of Constantinople.

—E.M.J., A.M.T., A.C., A.K.

**KATHOLIKON**, modern Greek term for the main church in a monastic complex; the term does not appear in Byz. sources, although the term *katholike ekklesia* is occasionally found (*Prot.*, no.14.17; *Ivir.*, no.15.44). The Byz. normally referred to the principal church as the NAOS or *ekklesia*. Since the liturgy could be said only once a day in any given church, monasteries often contained several small churches and chapels in addition to the centrally located *katholikon*, which was usually dedicated to the patron of the monastery. The Council in TRULLO, canon 59, required baptisms to be celebrated only in *katholikai ekklesiai*; here the term seems to mean the principal churches of a diocese, as it does in Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Thess.*, *Capture* 116.35).  
—K.M.K., W.L.

**KATHOLIKOS** (adj. καθολικός, universal), Greek term that as noun designated in the 6th C. the archbishop of Persia (KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES 2.2.14–15, ed. Wolska-Conus 1:307). In Syriac and Armenian the term appears already in the 5th C.: in the acts of the Council of Seleukeia-Ctesiphon of 410, the bishop of Seleukeia is named *katholikos*, as is the bishop of Arsacid Armenia in the vita of MESROP MAŠTOC’. The heads of the churches of Georgia, Caucasian Albania, and esp. Armenia as well as the Nestorian patriarch were called *katholikai*. From the 12th C. onward, certain Armenian bishops (of AĒ’T’AMAR, Sis) claimed this title.

The term was applied also to the superior (“the general abbot,” ARCHIMANDRITE) of a group of monastic communities, e.g., in the region of Amaseia (Beck, *Kirche* 137); in the early 4th C. it was used to denote secular superintendents of finances of large territorial units, DIOCESES (Eusebios, *VC* 4.36.3, ed. F. Winkelmann, p.134.12).

LIT. K.H. Maksoudian, *DMA* 7:226f.  
—A.K.

**KATRARES, JOHN**, writer and scribe from Thessalonike; fl. 1309–22. It can be deduced from his writings that Katrares (Κατράρης, Κατράριος) was interested in classical philology and was a member of the literary circle that flourished in the early 14th C. around Demetrios TRIKLINIOS and THOMAS MAGISTROS. He specialized in the copying of ancient works, such as Homer’s *Iliad*, Proklos’s commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, the

works of Strabo, and Theon’s commentary on the *Canons* of Ptolemy.

Katrares composed a satirical poem of 222 ANACREONTIC verses attacking the Bulgarian writer Neophytos Momtitzilas or Prodromenos (*PLP*, no. 19254). He called Neophytos a *Boulgar-albanitoblachos* and criticized his ignorance of classical literature, his greed, and his ambition to become patriarch. The poem includes some Slavic and perhaps also some Albanian words as examples of the barbaric speech of Neophytos. Katrares also wrote a play in dodecasyllabic verse, of which unfortunately only a short 37-line fragment survives; this literary effort, highly unusual in Byz., was clearly modeled on EURIPIDES. F. Jürss (*BZ* 59 [1966] 275–84) has established that Katrares was not the author of three dialogues (*Hermippos*, *Hermodotos*, and *Mousokles*) that had been attributed to him in the past.

ED. Verses—ed. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 130–50. Drama—G. de Andrés, J. Irigoin, W. Hörandner, “Johannes Katrares und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion,” *JÖB* 23 (1974) 201–14.

LIT. Turyn, *CodVat* 124–30. *PLP*, no.11544. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:510; 2:95, 147f, 251.  
—A.M.T.

**KAUSSIYEH CHURCH.** See ANTIOCH.

**KAVĀD** (Καβάδης), king of Persia (488–531), father of Chosroes I; born 449, died 13 Sept. 531. He succeeded his uncle Valas as king, but from 496 to 498 lived in exile among the EPHthalites. He fought a largely unsuccessful war against Byz. (502–06), ended by a seven-year truce negotiated by KELER. Kavād sought the support of Justin I in securing the succession of Chosroes I by having the emperor adopt him. After this plan failed, relations with Byz. deteriorated in disputes concerning Lazika and Iberia. War broke out in 527 and lasted until Kavād’s death. According to Prokopios (*Wars* 1.6.19), he governed Persia well since “in shrewdness and action he was second to none.”

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 326–62. R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich 1984) 322–25. K. Synelle, *Hoi diplomatikes scheseis Byzantiou kai Persias heos ton ΣΤ’ aiona* (Athens 1986) 73–83.  
—T.E.G.

**KAVĀD-SHĪRŪYA** (Καβάδης Σιρόης), Persian king (Feb.–Sept./Oct. 628), died Ctesiphon from poison or in an epidemic. The son of CHOSROES

II, Kavād-Shīrūya connived to imprison and murder his father and immediately sent an ambassador to Herakleios’s military camp in Ganzak (arrived on 3 Apr.). The new king asked for peace and promised to release the prisoners of war and to send back the fragments of the True Cross; some sources even present him as a crypto-Christian (Mango, “La Perse Sassanide” 109f). His premature death and the succession of his young son, Ardashīr III, weakened Byz. influence in Persia and impelled Herakleios to use SHAHR-BARĀZ as a tool of Byz. interests.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 497f. N. Oikonomides, “Correspondence between Heraclius and Kavād-Shīro in the Paschal Chronicle (628),” *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 269–81.  
—W.E.K.

**KAVALLA.** See CHRISTOUPOLIS.

**KAY-KHUSRAW I**, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Γιαθατίνης), Seljuk sultan of IKONION (1194/5–97 and 1205–11); died near Antioch on the Meander 1211. Youngest son (by a Greek mother) of KILIC ARSLAN II, Kay-Khusraw received SOZOPOLIS ca.1188, then briefly held Ikonion. In 1196 he ravaged the Meander Valley and carried off about 5,000 captives. Driven from Ikonion, the sultan sought refuge at the court of ALEXIOS III. He married a daughter of Manuel MAUROZOMES and resided with him; Akropolites (*Akrop.* 1:14.14) says he was baptized. Regaining his throne, he created a principality on the Meander for Maurozomes and helped THEODORE I LASKARIS consolidate his rule (*Akrop.* 1:11.2–4). Pressing toward the Mediterranean, he took Attaleia in Mar. 1207. Around 1209, Kay-Khusraw allied himself with HENRY OF HAINAULT. Around 1210 he was joined by the refugee Alexios III and used the latter’s claim to the Nicaean throne as a pretext to attack Theodore. Early in 1211, Kay-Khusraw pushed down the Meander but was intercepted by Theodore I with an army strengthened by 800 Latin knights. While most of the Latins fell, Theodore slew the sultan in a duel reported in a contemporary oration by Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 172.1–10).

LIT. C. Cahen, *EP* 4:816. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 55–59, 82–88, 94–105.  
—C.M.B.

**KAYSERI.** See CAESAREA.



**KEBRA NAGAST** ("Glory of the Kings"), an Ethiopic collection of legends compiled in the 14th C. by a certain Isaac of whom nothing is known. According to the colophon, Isaac translated this work from his Arabic copy, which, in turn, had been translated from Coptic. Budge (*infra*) assigns the composition of the Coptic original to the 6th C. The work summarizes many biblical books (with particular emphasis on the queen of Ethiopia and her marriage to Solomon) and contains some data concerning the events of the 6th C., for example, the Ethiopian alliance with Justin I, who allegedly met ELESBOAM in Jerusalem; Shahid (*infra*) suggests that these events are presented in the *Kebra Nagast* in a manner similar to the version of the BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES. Monophysite in its core, the *Kebra Nagast* preserves a hostile attitude toward "Rome" (Constantinople) for having deserted the right faith and prophesies that a Persian king will destroy Rome and carry away the apostate together with his horse.

TR. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek* (London 1922).

LIT. I. Shahid, "The Kebra Nagast in the Light of Recent Research," *Muséon* 89 (1976) 133–78. Th. Papadopoulos, "Stoicheia diagraphes tou byzantinouaithiopikou politistikou chorou," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 691f. —A.K.

**KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY**, founded in Constantinople in the early 12th C. by the empress IRENE DOUKAINA, wife of Alexios I Komnenos. Dedicated to the Theotokos Kecharitomene (Κεχαριτωμένη, "full of grace"), the convent was located in the northern section of Constantinople, adjacent to the male monastery of Christ Philanthropos, which Irene also founded (before 1107). The two institutions were separated by a wall but shared a common water system. The convent is known primarily from the lengthy and detailed *typikon* drafted ca.1110 on the model of the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. Kecharitomene was originally designed to house 24 nuns; the possibility of an expansion to 40 nuns was foreseen. The rule was strictly cenobitic; the nuns did not have separate cells, but slept in a common dormitory. Irene imposed a rigorous rule of enclosure; absolutely no men were permitted to enter the convent except for two priests, the *oikonomos*, and the spiritual confessor (all four of whom had to be eunuchs), and the physician, who

had to be a eunuch or elderly. Adjacent to the nunnery Irene built comfortable apartments to serve as a residence for female members of the imperial family; they were permitted to have servants. It was here that Anna KOMNENE retired after the death of her husband and wrote the *Alexiad*. The convent continued to function as late as the 15th C. when it was visited by the Russian deacon ZOSIMA. No buildings survive.

SOURCE. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de Theotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985) 5–165.

LIT. L. Oeconomus, *La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris 1918) 166–92. Janin, *Églises CP* 188–91. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 298. —A.M.T.

**KEDRENOS, GEORGE**, 12th-C. historian; his biography is unknown. The chronicle of Kedrenos (Κεδρηνός), *Synopsis historion*, encompasses history from the creation of the world to 1057. It is a compilation based on pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS, THEOPHANES, and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS; from 811 onward Kedrenos slavishly follows John SKYLITZES; until the recent publication of Skylitzes, Kedrenos was used by scholars as a substitute.

ED. Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838–39).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:393f. K. Schweinburg, "Die ursprüngliche Form der Kedrenchronik," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 68–77. R. Maisano, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta di Giorgio Cedreno," *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–79) 179–201. Idem, "Il codice Sinaitico della 'Cronaca' di Giorgio Cedreno," *SBNG* 69–77. —A.K.

**KEGEN** (Κεγένης), a PECHENEG ally of Byz.; died 1050. A tribal leader, he quarreled with Tyrach, the Pecheneg chief. Around 1045 or 1046 Kegen became an ally of CONSTANTINE IX. He was baptized and made a *patrikios*. He and his supporters received three Danubian fortresses and used the opportunity to plunder Tyrach's followers. After crossing the Danube (apparently 15 Dec. 1046–13 Jan. 1047), Tyrach and his tribes were defeated and settled near Serdica (before Apr. 1047). His followers rebelled (1048) and occupied an area between the Danube, the Balkan range, and the Black Sea, while Kegen's people kept themselves separate. To deal with the crisis, Constantine summoned Kegen and his army to Constantinople. There three Pechenegs assaulted him. They later convinced Constantine that Kegen had intended to plunder the city, and the emperor had him

imprisoned. In 1050, after repeated Pecheneg victories over imperial forces, Constantine released Kegen and sent him to divide and conquer his compatriots. No sooner had he arrived than he was cut to pieces.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Once More About the 'Alleged' Russo-Byzantine Treaty (ca.1047) and the Pecheneg Crossing of the Danube," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 65–77. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303. —C.M.B.

**KEKAUMENOS** (Κεκαυμένος), author of a book of advice; born southern Macedonia? between 1020 and 1024, died after 1070s. His biography is little known. Kekaumenos's identification with the general KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS is now rejected by the majority of scholars. He was of mixed Armenian and Slavic origin. In 1041 he participated in an expedition against Peter DELJAN, in 1042 he witnessed the deposition of Michael V, and eventually he held an administrative position in Greece. The thesis that he belonged to the military aristocracy, as recently emphasized by Litavrin (*infra*), cannot be proved.

Kekaumenos wrote a unique moralistic work known under the conventional titles *Strategikon* or *Precepts and Anecdotes* and sometimes considered to be composed of two independent pieces. It is an indoctrination in "proper" behavior, addressed both to his sons and to those in various positions in society: emperors, generals, civil functionaries, patriarchs, provincial magnates, toparchs. The social orientation of Kekaumenos's advice remains under discussion. According to Litavrin, he expressed the views of the military aristocracy; according to Kazhdan, those of civil officials. The main tendency of his ethics is circumspection and apprehension: man lives in a dangerous and hostile world and cannot trust anyone; neither friends nor servants are reliable. Abstract admonitions are combined with vivid stories (often the experiences of Kekaumenos's relatives) about military ruses (in their style very close to John SKYLITZES) and everyday cunning. The work also contains abundant information on political events, esp. in the Balkans, Armenia, and on the Byz.-Arab frontier.

ED. G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow 1972), rev. by A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 154–67, with response by Litavrin, 167–77. Germ. tr. H.G. Beck, *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1964).

LIT. P. Lemerle, *Prolegomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kékauménos* (Brussels 1960). R.M. Bartikian, "Nekotorye zamečaniia o 'Sovetach i rasskazach' ('Strategikone') Kekavmena," *Vestnik obščestvennykh nauk AN Arm.SSR* (1974), no.2, 71–88, also *ibid.* (1975), no.6, 55–61. L. Margetić, "Kekaumenos' Dobronja—ein Kroatischer Herrscher des XI. Jahrhunderts," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 39–46. A. Savvides, "The Byzantine Family of Kekaumenos," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 12–27. —A.K.

**KELER** (Κέλερ), or Celer, official of Illyrian origin, consul (508); died after 520. *Magister officiorum* (503–18), he was named commander in the East with AREOBINDUS and HYPATIOS. He conducted several years of successful campaigning, freeing Roman cities and devastating Persian territory. He was the principal negotiator of a seven-year truce, signed in 506, the reward for which was undoubtedly the consulship. In 511 he supported Anastasios I against Patr. Makedonios II (496–511) and put down crowds opposed to the emperor's Monophysite policies. Keler reluctantly accepted the accession of Justin I in 518, did not attend the emperor's elevation (A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* [Cambridge, Mass., 1950] 82), and had to retire from the post of *magister officiorum*. In 519/20, however, he corresponded with Pope HORMISDAS concerning the end of the AKAKIAN SCHISM. He is an example of a talented and loyal official, competent in both civil and military matters, upon whom the emperor could depend (see JOHN LYDOS, *De mag.* 3.17).

LIT. PLRE 2:275–77. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)* (Rome 1969) 183f, 214. —T.E.G.

**KELLIA** (Κελλία, lit. "cells"), the largest Early Christian monastic settlement in Egypt, near the western edge of the Nile Delta. Approximately 1,600 individual dwellings have been identified; most of them were built from the 6th to 8th C., and inhabited until about the 9th C. Each unit contains separate rooms for two monks, an oratory, a reception room, and a kitchen. Usually there is also a well and a garden, all surrounded by a wall. Many have their own defense tower (*jawsaq*), and some even a small church. In the two main settlements, two large complexes (Qasr Wakhâyda and Kûm 'Îsâ South I) have been excavated, regular units which later served as community centers of the LAVRA. They have towers, refectories, and several churches. The earliest church, a single-aisled chapel of ca.400, stood in

Kūm 'Īsā South I. By the late 8th C. most of the monks had abandoned their little cells and moved into these larger units. The site of Kellia is rapidly disappearing, threatened by encroaching agriculture.

LIT. F. Daumas, A. Guillaumont, *Kellia I* (Geneva 1968). R. Kasser, *Kellia: topographie*, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Geneva 1972). Idem, *Survey archéologique des Kellia (Basse-Egypte)*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1983). *Le site monastique copte des Kellia*, ed. P. Bridel (Geneva 1986). —P.G.

**KELLION** (κελλίον) or *kella* (κέλλα, κέλλη), interchangeable terms for several types of monastic cell. (1) A cell in a KOINOBION, housing one or two (*Typikon* of EUERGETIS MONASTERY, ed. P. Gautier, 67.917) monks. In their cells monks slept, prayed, and read; recited certain offices privately; and, where appropriate, did handwork. They were forbidden to eat or keep food in their cells. Aristocrats who retired to a monastery sometimes had a suite of *kellia* (*Typikon* of KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, ed. P. Gautier, 137.2102). (2) A monastic cell at a LAVRA; a monk who lived in a lavra (in contrast to a *koinobion*) was frequently called a *kelliotēs*. (3) The cell of a HERMIT. (4) A small MONASTERY, as on Mt. Athos, the *kellia* of the late Antony (*Prot.* 86, n.245).

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 70–72, 99f, 309f. —A.M.T.

**KELTZENE** (Κελτζηνή, mod. Erzincan), a fortress and region (anc. Kelisene) on the north branch of the Euphrates in eastern Anatolia. A *tourma* of CHALDIA, Keltzene was combined with KAMACHA by Leo VI to form the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Keltzene was a base of Romanos IV during his expedition against the Turks, to whom it fell after the battle of Mantzikert (1071). Its bishop, attested in the late 9th C. as “suffragan of Kamachos,” became metropolitan by the end of the 10th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.60); his see contained 21 suffragans. In the 14th C., under an independent Muslim ruler whose subjects were mostly Armenian, Keltzene was in frequent relation with the empire of Trebizond.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 198–210. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 139. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontus* 171–73. —C.F.

**KENARIOS** (κηνάριος), an official whom Seibt considered as a subaltern to the EPI TES TRAPEZES

or a stage in the transformation of the KASTRESIOS to *epi tes trapezes*. The *kenarios* is mentioned in very few documents: a seal from ca.800, a letter of 836. According to Seibt, an Armenian David (Dawit), a translator of Greek in the first half of the 9th C., was also *hypatos* and *kenarios* of the imperial *trapeza*.

LIT. W. Seibt, “Kenarios—ein ‘neuer’ Würdenträger am Hof des byzantinischen Kaisers,” *HA* 88 (1974) 369–80. —A.K.

**KENCHREAI** (Κεγχρεαί), eastern port of CORINTH on the Saronic Gulf. The site flourished in late antiquity, reflecting the volume of trade between Corinth and the East. Particularly significant is a building identified as a temple of Isis on the southern harborworks; according to the excavators this building was being lavishly restored when the city was devastated by an earthquake, probably in 375. A series of Egyptian glass panels in OPUS SECTILE had been brought to the site, perhaps for decoration of the Isis temple, but the warehouse in which they were stored sank in the earthquake and the panels were never used. They depicted Nilotic scenes and two remarkable portraits of Homer and Plato. A passage in CLAUDIAN (*In Rufinum* 2:199) suggests that both the harbors of Corinth were burned by Alaric. Later a Christian basilica was constructed near the former temple. Coin hoards found at Kenchreai have been taken as evidence of the Slavic invasions in the 580s (R.L. Hohlfelder, *Hesperia* 42 [1973] 89–101; *East European Quarterly* 9 [1975] 251–58). The so-called Iconoclast *notitia* seems to list Kenchreai as a bishopric (*Notitiae CP* 3.736: Kiknipeos in the text, a correction suggested by N. Bees), but this is unlikely. Scattered references show that the harbor continued to be used as late as the early 15th C.; Manuel II used it as his base for reconstruction of the HEXAMILION. Pottery from the excavations spans the entire Byz. period and the latest coin find is a Venetian issue of the doge Antonio Venerio (1382–1400).

LIT. *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth*, 5 vols. (Leiden 1976–81). —T.E.G.

**KENTARCHOS** (κένταρχος), subaltern officer in the army and fleet. The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (4.11) defines the *kentarchos*, or *hekatontarchos* (Lat. *centurio*), as commander of a hundred men; the same

definition is given in the NAUMACHIKA of the *para-koinonēnos* Basil (ed. A. Dain, 4.2, pp. 66f). The first mention of the term is in an early 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 287.7), who states that Phokas was *kentarchos* in 602 when he revolted against Maurice; the chronicler's source, Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok. 296.13), however, called Phokas *hekatontarchos*. The term was in use in the 9th and 10th C. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions the *kentarchos* in various military contingents and themes, under the command of the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS, as well as civil *kentarchoi* in the VESTIARION. They served also in the fleet. Nikephoros OURANOS (*Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain, 7, p.73) mentions the *kentarchos* of a DROMON, and a seal of the 10th C. belonged to Christopher, *spatharios* and *kentarchos* of the imperial fleet (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.988). The word *kentarchia* (*Taktika* of Leo VI 16.4) designated a military unit. Basil II, in his novel of 996 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:265.25), while accepting the definition of the DYNATOI suggested by Romanos I, added to their number also the *protokentarchoi*—“as a matter of fact, we recognize them as *dynatoi*.”

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 169.

—A.K.

**KENTENARION** (κεντηνάριον), a weight of Roman origin (*centumpondium*, *centenarium*) equal to 100 *logarikai* LITRAI [= 32 kg]. The term *talanton* was used synonymously in some classicizing texts. From the mid-6th C. *kentenarion* often meant a quantity of 100 *logarikai litrai* of gold or gold coins. Rarely, *kentenarion* was used as a unit of 100 MODIOI or as a synonym with *litra*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 109, 174. G. Dagron, C. Morisson, “Le *Kentenarion* dans les sources byzantines,” *RN* 6 17 (1975) 145–62. —E. Sch.

**KEOS** (Κέος, mod. Kea), island in the Aegean Sea southeast of Attica; in late antiquity it was part of the province of Achaia. Mention of Keos in Byz. times is rare. In 710/11 when Pope Constantine I was journeying toward Constantinople, Byz. officials gathered on the island *quae dicitur Caea* to meet him; among them was Theophilos, *strategos* of the fleet (*Caravisianni*) (*Lib.pont.* 1:390). Michael CHONIATES, who found refuge on Keos after 1204, described resistance to the Venetians by inhabitants of the island; Keos remained in-

dependent until 1211. Soon after 1261 the *protostrator* Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS attacked several Aegean islands, including Keos, and ca.1279/80 LICARIO of Karystos, a Byz. mercenary, captured it (Jacoby, *Féodalité* 69). The Venetians retook Keos by 1301, and the island was divided among noble families (Giustiniani, Ghizi, Sanudi) under the suzerainty of Venice. They held Keos until 1566.

A three-aisled Early Christian basilica has been discovered, probably constructed on the site of a temple of Demeter (Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens* 202). The major settlement was at the ancient site of Ioulis, where a fortress was constructed in the 13th C., and probably rebuilt in the 15th C. (J.-C. Poutiers, *ByzF* 11 [1987] 389). The Church of the Holy Apostles at Kato Meria has frescoes of the 13th C. The bishop of Keos was a suffragan of Athens (*Notitiae CP* 3.689).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 308–57. I. Psyllas, *Historia tes nesou Keas* (Athens 1921). Ch.P. Demetropoulos, *Hoi ekklesies tes Keas* (Thessalonike 1982–83). —T.E.G.

**KEPHALAIA**. See CHAPTERS.

**KEPHALAION** (κεφάλαιον, chapter, item, or article). In addition to referring to the literary genre of CHAPTERS, *kephalaion* was a fiscal term designating articles of taxation in general. Lexical similarity with the Latin CAPITATIO led some scholars (e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 320) to believe that *kephalaion* was the POLL TAX. Although the term could be used for taxes in general (“no new *kephalaion* must be introduced”—*Xénoph.*, no.29.21) or for the description of the entire amount of taxes paid by a monastery (*Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev [St. Petersburg 1913; rp. Amsterdam 1975] no.6.13–15), there is no evidence of its use to mean poll tax. Nor did its cognates such as *kephalaiographon* (MM 4:318.19) or *kephaletion* (a special tax imposed upon Jews?) have this meaning. *Kephalaia* were also “chapters” of fiscal cadasters (KODIX) in which a single tax unit was registered.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 49f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 147–49. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 21f. —A.K.

**KEPHALAS** (Κεφαλᾶς, from κεφαλή, “head”), a family known from the early 10th C., although



not in the elite: a priest Constantine Kephala compiled an anthology (see KEPHALAS, CONSTANTINE). Nothing links later members of the Kephala family to him. Leo Kephala, son of Alexios I's *doulos*, became a prominent military commander and ca. 1086 *katepano* of Abydos. Alexios I endowed him with lands that were transmitted by a chrysobull of 1089 to Leo's children. In 1115 Nikephoros, Leo's son, donated his lands to the Lavra of St. Athanasios on Athos; Nikephoros's relative, Theodore Kephala, was *hegoumenos* of the Lavra. A certain Kephala was an influential provincial functionary in the 1180s. The family was still active but not prominent in the 14th C.: a Kephala was *kommerkiarios* in 1332; Gregory Kephala was first *ostiaros* in 1285; Kephala Laskaris is called imperial *doulos* in 1373. Charters connected with Leo Kephala's estates are published in *Lavra* 1, nos. 44–45, 48–49, 60. The reading of Keph[ala] on an 8th-C. seal of a certain Basil (Winkermann, *Quellenstudien* 158) is questionable.

LIT. G. Rouillard, "Un grand bénéficiaire sous Alexis Comnène: Léon Képhala," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 444–50. *PLP*, nos. 11667–80. —A.K.

**KEPHALAS, CONSTANTINE**, compiler of a collection of epigrams; fl. ca. 900. His biography is unknown; he is identified with *protopapas* (palace chaplain) Constantine Kephala mentioned by chroniclers (e.g., *TheophCont* 388.24) as active in 917. For his collection Kephala (Κεφαλάς) used ancient ANTHOLOGIES, some epigrams (AGATHIAS), and texts that the *magistros* Gregory of Kampsas (in Macedonia) copied down from inscriptions during his travels in Greece and Macedonia. The work is typical of 10th-C. encyclopedism (Lemerle, *Humanism* 310). Kephala's collection was frequently used in the *Souda* and enlarged by the anonymous editor of the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). The original version of Kephala's collection is not preserved.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:56f. Wilson, *Scholars* 138. —A.K.

**KEPHALE** (κεφαλή, lit. "head, chief"), from the second half of the 13th C. through the end of the empire, a term of colloquial origin denoting the highest functionary of provincial administration. From the middle of the 13th C. the office of *kephale* (*kephalat(i)kion*) gradually replaced that of

the *DOUX*. By the 14th C., the *kephale* was the combined civil and military administrator of the primary provincial administrative unit, no longer the THEME but a much smaller area called a *katepanikion*, usually no larger than the immediate environs of a *KASTRON*. The title *kephale*, found almost exclusively in documentary sources, remained an epithet of function—hence, the participial common forms, *ho kephalit(i)keuon* and *ho eis kephalen heuriskomenos*—and never became a courtly, hierarchical rank; thus, most *kephalai* also possessed courtly ranks. While most *kephalai* were governors of *kastra*, their jurisdictions varied, sometimes extending over islands or groups of villages. On the other hand, during the 14th C., perhaps as an attempt to maintain central control over the provinces, some *kephalai* (*katholikai* ["general"]) as distinguished from *merikai* ["local"] *kephalai* had jurisdiction over larger areas, sometimes entire provinces. These *katholikai kephalai* were usually related to the emperor or were members of very prominent families. During the later 14th C. the *katholikai kephalai* generally disappeared as the areas where they were found, the Morea, Thessaly, and Thessalonike, became *AP-PANAGES*.

LIT. Maksimović, *ByzProvAdm* 117–66. —M.B.

**KEPHALENIA** (Κεφαλληνία, also Kephallonia), island in the IONIAN SEA. In late antiquity it was part of the province of Achaia and metropolitan see of Epiros I. Its political significance increased after Byz. had lost northern Italy, since Kephallenia became the major base of communication with Sicily and southern Italy and a strategic center against Arab attempts to penetrate the Ionian Sea. Information about the administrative structure of Kephallenia is confused, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 50.85–87) asserting that Kephallenia was a *tourma* of Longobardia until Leo VI (?) transformed it into a *strategis*; he also affirmed (*De them.* 7.1–2, ed. Pertusi 91) that Kephallenia had never been a theme. On the other hand, all the *TAKTIKA*, beginning with that of Uspenskij, list the *strategos* of Kephallenia, a Latin chronicler mentions its *strategos* Paulos in 809 (MGH SS 1:196f), and various seals of its *strategoi* are preserved, some of which are dated to the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 919, 2657, 3200). Other functionaries in Kephallenia

were the *kommerkiarios* of Hellas, the Peloponnese, and Kephallenia (no. 1865); the *protonotarios* (no. 1561); and the *tourmarches* (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no. 96)—all attested in the 9th C. By that time a group of the *MARDAITAI* was resettled in Kephallenia (*De cer.* 668.8–10) and the island served as a place of exile for political prisoners (Theoph. 372.8).

The final Byz. retreat from Italy diminished the role of Kephallenia. The island was administered by a judge-*krites* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no. 674). In 1085 the Normans unsuccessfully besieged the main city, in 1126 it was plundered by the Venetians, and in 1185 taken by William II of Sicily and lost to the empire. The Orsini held it as a fief from Venice, in 1357 it came definitively under the power of the Tocco. The Turks occupied Kephallenia in 1479, but in 1500 it was seized by Venice.

In antiquity there were four cities on the island and these survived into late antiquity: Samos presumably as capital and Panormos (mod. Phiskardo) with civic status. From circa the 8th C., the main settlement had moved to Hagios Georgios, a defensible site near the center of the island. A survey of the island drawn up for the Latin bishopric in 1264 provides many details of topography and agrarian relations (ed. Th.S. Tzannetatos, *To praktikon tes Latinikes episkopes Kephallenias tou 1264 kai he epitome autou* [Athens 1965]).

LIT. *TIB* 3:175–77. D. Zakythenos, "Le thème de Céphalonie et la défense de l'Occident," *HellCont* 8 (1954) 303–12. D. Antonakatos, "Ereunes kai symperasmata gyro apo te mesaionike Kephallonia me base to praktikon tou 1264," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 291–356. N. Phokas-Kosmetatos, *To kastro Hagiou Georgiou Kephallenias* (Athens 1966). —T.E.G.

**KERAMION** (κεράμιον) or *keramidion* (κεραμίδιον), the Holy Tile, a relic that had the features of Christ impressed on it through contact with the *MANDYLION*; it is a unique example of one *ACHEIROPOIETOS* producing another. Legends about its origin vary, one deriving it from Edessa, the other from HIERAPOLIS in Syria; in both cases the *Mandylion* was hidden away between tiles, which received the miraculous impression. According to various traditions, either Nikephoros II Phokas in 966 or John I Tzimiskes in 974 removed the Holy Tile from Hierapolis (N. Elisséeff, *El<sup>2</sup>* 6:379) and took it to Constantinople where it was housed

in the Pharos chapel of the GREAT PALACE. The *Keramion*, an early representation of which occurs at LAGOUDEIRA, was never a common theme; it generally serves as a pendant to the *Mandylion*, often between the pendentives of a church, or side by side with it, as in a 12th-C. MS of JOHN KLIMAX (Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, fig. 231). It does not occur on icons, probably because it had no feast in the church calendar.

LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 168. T. Raff, "Das 'heilige Keramion' und 'Christos der Antiphonetés,'" in *Festschrift L. Kretzenbacher* (Munich 1983) 145–49. —N.P.S.

**KERASOUS** (Κερασούς, mod. Giresun), city of the Black Sea coast, west of Trebizond, important as a port and the terminus of a road to KOLONEIA and the interior of Asia Minor. Kerasous was seat of a *kommerkiarios* (usually of Lazika, Kerasous, and Trebizond) in the late 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 164, 178f) and of the imperial *kommerkia* in the 730s (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 250). In the 11th C. it may have had a local scriptorium that produced the Kerasous Gospels, whose illustrations show some Armenian characteristics. Under the empire of Trebizond, Kerasous was the headquarters of a *BANDON* and the western bastion against the Turkomans. In Sept. 1301 the Trapezuntine emperor Alexios II Komnenos defeated them at Kerasous; his victory was eulogized by Stephen Sgouropoulos who also mentions the construction of the local fortress. The fortifications show two main periods, the first probably of 1301; they were maintained until the Turkish conquest in 1461.

Kerasous was a suffragan bishopric of NEOKAISAREIA, first attested in 431; by 1079 it was a metropolis without suffragans. Its church was in close contact with that of Alania (N. Bees, *Arch-Pont* 16 [1951] 255–62).

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 126–34. —C.F.

**KERATION** (κεράτιον, Lat. *siliqua*), lit. the seed (bean) of the carob or locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*). It was widely used in the Near East as a unit of weight, with slight variations of standard from one region to another. The Greco-Roman *keration* was 0.189 g and the pound (see LITRA) was reckoned at 1,728 *keratia*, that is, 12 OUNGIAI of 144 *keratia* each. The *SOLIDUS*, 1/72 of the pound



and 1/6 of the ounce, weighed 24 *keratia* so that the *keration* became, as 1/24 of the solidus, a unit of account. It was also a unit of fineness for gold, that is, the English *carat* or 1/24 part, since the solidus was of pure gold and therefore 24 carats fine.

—Ph.G.

**KERČ.** See BOSPOROS, CIMMERIAN.

**KERIMADDIN OF AKSARAY.** See KARĪM AL-DĪN.

**KERKYRA** (Κέρκυρα, Corfu, with many variants, archaistically known as Phaiakia, etc.), island (and its primary city) in the IONIAN SEA. The ancient city, on the east central coast, was an important way-station in the journey between Constantinople and the West; it was destroyed by the Goths in the 6th C. but was probably resettled soon thereafter (I. Papademetriou, *StB* 6 [1940] 340). Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 7.5, ed. Pertusi, p.92) mentions only Homeric Kerkyra, the kingdom of Alcinous. Some legendary data are preserved in the vita of St. Arsenios of Kerkyra, probably compiled by George BARDANES, which mentions a "Scythian" attack on Kerkyra in the mid-10th C. Skylitzes (*Skyl.* 385.57–58) relates that in 1033 the Saracens burned Kerkyra. According to Anna Komnene (*An.Komn.* 1:57.14–15), Robert Guiscard seized the "well-fortified *polis* of Korypho" in 1081, but the island resisted the Normans and probably remained semi-independent, under the command of its *doux*; at any rate, Bohemund, after his flight from the East, felt secure on Kerkyra. During the expedition of 1147 the Normans, supported by a local population irritated by heavy taxes, again captured Kerkyra. After a long siege Manuel I took Kerkyra in 1149, hoping to use it as a base for an attack on Sicily. In 1204 the Venetians seized the island. In 1214 Kerkyra fell under the control of the despotate of EPIROS and in 1246 the *despotes* Michael II Komnenos Doukas renewed an earlier grant of considerable autonomy to a collegium of 33 priests, maintained by most of the island's Western rulers. In 1259 Michael II granted Kerkyra as dowry to MANFRED of Sicily and by 1272 the island was under the control of CHARLES I OF ANJOU. In 1382 Kerkyra was in Navarrese hands and in 1386

it was ceded to Venice. After the fall of Constantinople and the Morea many Byz. fled to Kerkyra.

According to legend (*Synax.CP* 633.6–18), the church of Kerkyra was founded by two disciples of St. Paul, Jason of Tarsos and Sosipatros of Achaia, who erected there a shrine of Stephen the First Martyr; its bishops participated in councils from 325 to 787. They were suffragans of Nikopolis, then of Kephallenia. In the 11th C. Kerkyra was elevated to the rank of metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:618); the seals of several metropolitans from the 11th to 13th C. are preserved. A Latin archbishop is attested first in 1228; the Orthodox were meanwhile under the authority of a *protopapas*.

In the ancient city, about 2 km south of the modern center, are the remains of the five-aisled basilica of Jovian (Iobianos), dated to the 5th C., rebuilt in the 12th C. as a single-aisled church, and several other churches of various dates. The cross-in-square Church of Jason and Sosipatros, *katholikon* of a monastery, was built ca.1000. Approximately 17 km northeast of the town is the Chapel of St. Merkourios, dated by an inscription of 1074/5 ascribing construction and decoration to the patronage of the *droungarios* Nicholas and his brothers. P. Vocotopoulos (*CahArch* 21 [1971] 151–80) saw in the frescoes of this and other churches on the island elements of the style of HOSIOS LOUKAS, reflections of Kerkyra's role as a station between Greece and Italy. Fortifications at Angelokastron on the west coast have been dated to the 11th/12th C.

LIT. *TIB* 3:107, 178–81. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *RBK* 4:1–63. A.A. Longo, "Per la storia di Corfù nel XIII secolo," *RBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 209–43. —T.E.G., A.C.

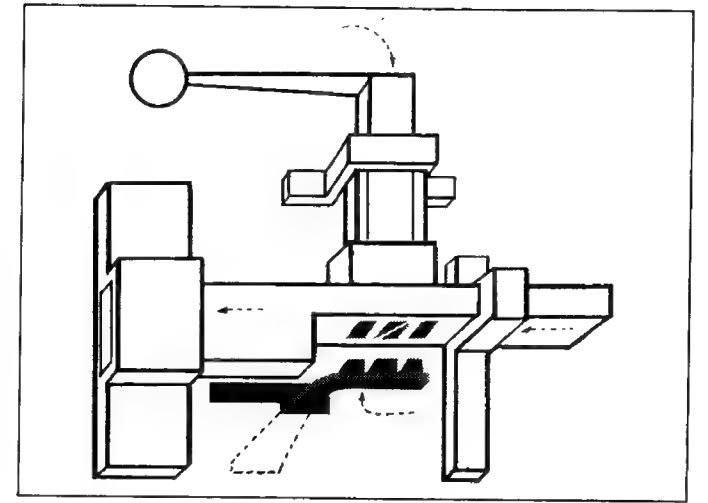
**KEROULARIOS** (Κηρουλάριος), a family name meaning "CANDLEMAKER." P. Gautier (*REB* 27 [1969] 342) suggested that Keroularios was not a family name but merely the sobriquet of a single man; the name, however, was applied to several family members, and the patriarchal catalog (V. Laurent, *EO* 35 [1936] 76f) describes Patr. MICHAEL I as belonging to the Keroularioi—as Constantine III belonged to the Leichoudai. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1:318f) praised the family (perhaps ironically) as an ancient lineage, the descendants of Herakles. The first known Keroularios was a high financial official in the early 11th C. Two of

his sons plotted against Emp. Michael IV in 1040 and were exiled; one eventually became Patr. Michael I. *Peira* 65:2 relates a litigation between a certain Keroularios and his brother's widow; since *Peira* is very unlikely to reflect a case after 1040, this Keroularios must not be the patriarch but rather an older relative (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 12 [1987] 71f). Two of the patriarch's nephews were high-ranking civil officials. One of them, Constantine, Psellos's correspondent, was *megas droungarios tes viglas* and acquired the title of *sebastos*; Psellos knew him also as a land and slave owner. The case of his will was under investigation by Nikephoros III (*Reg* 2, no.1054). Constantine and his brother Nikephoros supported Isaac I Komnenos in 1057. EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA was the patriarch's niece, and her husband, Constantine Doukas, has also been called the patriarch's nephew. Michael, Constantine Keroularios's son, was like his father *droungarios tes viglas*; he was Alexios I's *gambros* (by a niece); he seized his father's fortune, to the detriment of his younger brothers, and Alexios sanctioned his actions in 1082. Several documents of the period, including a charter of 1109, mention Michael, *sebastos* and *logothetes* (*Lavra* 1, no.58.24); Tzetzes also mentions him. According to Tzetzes, Constantine's daughter married a tax collector named George, Tzetzes' own grandfather (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 217–19). Although the Keroularioi appear to have been mostly civil functionaries, an epigram ridicules a *strategos* Keroularios, son of a candle merchant (K. Dyobouniotes, *NE* 16 [1922] 45.13–14).

LIT. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058)," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 96f. —A.K.

**KETOS.** See JONAH.

**KEYS.** Two kinds of key-lock systems, sliding and turning, were used in Byz. The sliding key-lock system was the earlier and mechanically more complex. Its distinguishing feature is a bit composed of raised teeth attached at right-angles to a rectangular shaft. The bit is passed in a rotating motion through the lower extremity of an L-shaped hole in the lock plate. It is then raised until its projecting teeth displace from the bolt a series of pins or tumblers held in place by a spring. Once engaged in the perforations, the key



KEYS. Schematic drawing of a sliding key.

is used to draw the bolt along horizontally, out of its seating. A high level of security was afforded by the fact that only a bit with teeth precisely matching the perforations in the bolt could be raised into those holes and thereby force out the restraining pins. Such locks were esp. preferred and popularized by the Romans, with whom they are customarily associated. That they remained in use in Constantinople at least until the 6th C. is clear from the marble doors in the South Gallery of Hagia Sophia; their carefully sculpted lock plates reveal a sliding key mechanism of surprising accuracy and detail.

The turning key, simpler than the sliding key, was the more popular key-lock system in Byz.; in appearance and mechanics it resembled the old-fashioned skeleton key still in use today. The turning key is inserted through a narrow vertical slit in the lock plate and then rotated so that its panel or bit will lift, release, and ultimately advance or retract a bolt that is held in place by a spring. Only a bit of the proper height and depth will successfully engage the bolt; occasionally, restraining bars or "wards" are set within the lock chamber that further require that the bit have corresponding notches in order to rotate. Nearly all surviving turning keys are bronze, with a movable joint between barrel and hoop. Hoops vary in design (including quatrefoils, zoomorphic motifs, and beads), as do bits, although the technical simplicity of the latter presupposes the use of seals for additional security. Indeed, some turning key hoops bear ring bezels with incised sealing devices. (See also LOCKS AND PADLOCKS.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 2–5.

—G.V.

**KHAČATUR** (Χατατούριος, Χατατούρης in Greek sources, Arm. Xač'atur), Byz. general, Armenian by birth, whom Romanos IV appointed *doux* or *katepano* of Antioch in 1069. After the deposition of Romanos, Khačatur sided with him against Michael VII but fought unsuccessfully, was taken captive by Andronikos Doukas, son of Caesar John, and probably perished in 1072. His identification with the Armenian Pekht or Bekht (*doux* of Antioch in 1065 according to MATTHEW OF EDESSA, in 1069/70 according to IBN AL-ʿADĪM) has not been proved. H. Grégoire (*AIPHOS* 2 [1934] pt. 1, 459–63) suggested that reminiscences of Khačatur were reflected in the image of Asator in the fifth book of the Turkish epic *Said Battal*.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche," *MéUnivfos* 38 (1962) 245–48. J. Laurent, "Le duc d'Antioche Khatchatour, 1068–72," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 405–11. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 126. —A.K.

**KHAGAN** (χαγάνος), title used by Central Asiatic peoples to designate the holder of supreme political authority. According to some scholars the word was borrowed by the Turkic peoples from the Juan-Juan (a group of Asiatic Avars) with this specific sense. Byz. authors use this title to refer to the rulers of the Avars, Turks, Khazars, and Bulgarians; in the Latin *Annales Bertiniani*, *sub anno* 839, the term is applied to the prince of the Rus'. It is also utilized in the corpus of the so-called Orkhon inscriptions of the Gök Turks. Mongols used a version of this word, and it was adopted by the Ottoman sultans as well.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:332–34. J.A. Boyle, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:915. —S.V.

**KHĀLID** (Χάλεδος), more fully Khālid ibn al-Walid; a prominent early Muslim commander and conqueror of Byz. Syria who was known as "the Sword of God." An early opponent of MUḤAMMAD, Khālid converted to Islam in 627 or 629. He participated in an expedition to Mu'ta in 629, where the Byz. commander Theodore defeated him. According to Arabic sources, ABU BAKR sent Khālid to conquer al-Ḥīra in Iraq in 633, which he accomplished, but non-Muslim tradition knows nothing of this conquest. Khālid crossed the desert to assist beleaguered Muslim armies in Syria in 634. He surprised the Byz. defenses and conquered Bostra, contributing to the Muslim victory

at Ajnādayn and the first Muslim conquests of Damascus and Emesa. He participated in the battle of the YARMUK and in the second and final conquests of Damascus and Emesa. ʿUMAR removed him from supreme command, but he participated in other expeditions against the Byz. in northern Syria.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 115–51. P. Crone, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:928f. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin 1899) 6:37–68. —W.E.K.

**KHĀQĀNĪ**, more fully Afḍal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khāqānī, a panegyric poet who wrote in Persian; born Azerbaijan 1121/2 or 1126, died Tabrīz 1199. His mother was for a while an adherent of the Nestorian creed, and Khāqānī displayed an interest in and knowledge of Christianity that was unusual in the East. He lived in Shirwan, which was under the supreme rule of Georgian kings, and in an ode he praised the king of Georgia, Demetrios I (O. Vil'čevskij in *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* [Moscow-Leningrad 1960] 56–60). He traveled much, but his career was not successful. In 1159 he was put in prison. In 1184 he fled from Shirwan, hoping to go to Khurāsān, but was forced to return to Tabrīz, where he spent his remaining years.

In a poem addressed to Manuel I Komnenos, Khāqānī mentions his visit to Constantinople and describes the religious discussions that took place in the Byz. capital ca. 1166 concerning the relationship of the Father and the Son. When Andronikos (I) Komnenos came as an exile to Georgia and participated in the battle of 1173 against the Rus', Khāqānī praised his high qualities and offered him his services.

LIT. B. Reinert, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 4:915f. J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht 1968) 202–28. O. Vil'čevskij, "Chakani," *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, no. 4 (1957) 63–76. V. Minor-sky, "Khaqani and Andronicus Comnenus," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46) 550–78. —A.K.

**KHAZARIA** (Χαζαρία), the land of the KHAZARS. The term was applied to the Khazar khaganate, which Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos places near RHOSIA, ZICHIA, Alania, Black Bulgaria, the land of the UZES, and Lebedia where the Hungarians had dwelt. In the episcopal notitias the term designates a Khazar bishopric under either the metropolitan see of Gothia (see *Notitiae CP*,

no. 3.777–79), or possibly under the guidance of the archbishop of Cherson; the latter is mentioned in a letter of Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep. 68.12–21). In Greek texts of the 14th and 15th C. Khazaria means the "CRIMEA" and, accordingly, Italian documents call the peninsula "Gazariae." Skylitzes' evidence (Skyl. 354.90–94) that in 1015/16 Basil II sent a fleet to Khazaria and, with the help of the Rus', captured "the archon of the land," George Tzoules, refers not to the Khazars (thus Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:82f), but to a revolt in Cherson (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 6 [1953] 266f). —O.P.

**KHAZARS** (Χάζαροι), the name of the ruling tribe (from the mid-7th C.) in the northern Caucasus; the Byz. usually called them TOURKOI. Information concerning the early political history of the Khazars (their conquest of Armenia and Georgia) is anachronistic. If the Khazars were active in the Caucasus in the 6th C. they were subject to the SABIRI and AVARS. As an independent force "the eastern Turks who are called Chazareis" are mentioned (Theoph. 315.15–16) as allies of Herakleios against the Persians in 625/6. The nucleus of the Khazar khaganate was in Dagestan and on the Lower Volga, with capitals at Semender and Balanjar. The population was diversified economically (both seminomadic tribes and traders with the Far East), linguistically, ethnically, and in religion. Some Greeks settled among the Khazars, and a Greek see was established, but the 9th-C. mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and an attempt to convert the Khazars to Christianity failed.

The Khazars were natural allies of Byz., first against the Persians and Avars, then the Arabs. Herakleios suggested his daughter as a wife for the *khagan*; Justinian II married the *khagan's* sister; Constantine V also married a Khazar princess (the famous *Čiček*, lit. "flower"), and his son, Leo IV, was nicknamed "the Khazar." There was some friction in the relationship; the Khazars established their power in Crimea and accepted Judaism as the dominant religion. Nonetheless, Theophilos helped the Khazars build the fortress of SARKEL, and Khazar contingents fought in the army of Leo VI against the Bulgarians.

When SVJATOSLAV of Kiev inflicted a heavy blow upon the Khazars in 965, the Byz. switched to an

alliance with the Rus'. Around 985 VLADIMIR I destroyed the remnants of the Khazar khaganate.

LIT. N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982). P. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1980). D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton 1954). M. Artamonov, *Istoriia Chazar* (Leningrad 1962). S.A. Pltneva, *Chazary* (Moscow 1976). O. Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism," *HUkSt* 2 (1978) 261–81. A.P. Novosel'zev, "Chazarija v sisteme mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenij VII–IX vekov," *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1987) 20–32. —O.P.

**KHLUDOV PSALTER**. See PSALTER.

**KIBOTOS**. See NOAH'S ARK.

**KIBYRRHAIOTAI** (Κιβυρραιῶται). First and most important of the naval themes, Kibyrrhaiotai originally designated part of the fleet of the KARABISIANOI under a *droungarios* attested in 698. With the dissolution of that fleet, Kibyrrhaiotai became a THEME; its *strategos* is first mentioned in 734. Kibyrrhaiotai comprised the coasts of Asia Minor from Miletos to Cilicia, together with the interior of CARIA, LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, and parts of ISAU-RIA. This region provided raw materials, supplies, and recruits for the thematic fleet, which protected the coast and was used for campaigns against the Arabs. The coast of Kibyrrhaiotai was so devastated by Arab attacks that large areas became depopulated and only a few fortified cities and naval bases (ATTALEIA, SYLLAION, SELEUKEIA) survived. The *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai was a naval commander whose main subordinates were the *katepano* of the MARDAITES, the *ek prosopou* of Syllaion, and the *droungarios* of Kos. He commanded 70 ships and about 3,000 men from his headquarters, which was apparently at Attaleia; his salary was 10 pounds of gold. The fleet of Kibyrrhaiotai, which declined in importance with the expansion of the central fleet of Constantinople, is last mentioned in 1043. Subsequently Kibyrrhaiotai denoted a civil province under a *krites* or, in the late 12th C., a *doux*. The theme of MYLASA AND MELANOUDION replaced it in the reign of Manuel I. Most of its territory (except Lycia) had fallen to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 81–85, 131–35. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 149–53. —C.F.



**KIEV** (Κίεβα, Κίαβος, Κύ(γ)εβον, Κίεβος, etc.), town on the middle DNEPER. Constantine VII mentions Kiev (which he also calls Sambatas in *De adm. imp.* 9.8–9; A. Archipov, *Voprosy russkogo jazykoznanija* 5 [Moscow 1984] 220–40) as the main base for the expeditions of the Rus' to Constantinople. Exports from Constantinople and the CRIMEA to and through Kiev included coins, glass, and amphoras with wine and oil. From the mid-10th to the mid-12th C. Kiev was in effect the capital of the Rus' and the main channel for political, economic, and cultural contacts with Byz.: the metropolis of "Rhosia" was established at Kiev in 988–89; the seals of the princes and metropolitans were inscribed in Greek; Greek builders constructed a number of churches (see below). Kievan writers also produced a substantial proportion of the extant literature of Rus' (see **RUS'**, **LITERATURE OF**) during this period. From the mid-12th C. the political authority of Kiev was generally limited to its own principality: Izjaslav II (1146–54) was an ally of Géza II of Hungary against Manuel I, GALITZA, and SUZDAL'. Kiev retained its status as the ecclesiastical capital, however, even after its sack by the MONGOLS (1240) and the rise of LITHUANIA and MOSCOW.

**Monuments of Kiev.** Several churches in Kiev were the work of Greek builders: St. George, St. Irene, the Annunciation, and the Church of the Dormition (1073–76) in the monastery of the Caves. The Cathedral of St. Sophia was begun by JAROSLAV in 1037 at an intersection in front of the city's main public square. Poppe (*infra*) showed that the original mosaic and fresco decoration was completed by the time of its first consecration in 1046. An elaboration of a Byz. cross-in-square CHURCH PLAN, St. Sophia was a five-aisled building with 13 domes. Local features included the superimposed (and originally open) external galleries, the tall drums of the domes and two towers to the west, painted with unusual scenes of hunting and the HIPPODROME. The church was much enlarged in the 17th C. Without textual evidence, Lazarev (*infra*) ascribed St. Sophia's iconographical scheme to ILARION. The mosaic PANTOKRATOR in the dome and the full-length Virgin above the Communion of the Apostles (see **LORD'S SUPPER**) in the apse are normal components of a Byz. CHURCH PROGRAM OF DECORATION, while the figure of Pope Clement I is due to relics obtained by VLADIMIR I. Lazarev suggested that the mosaic

of Christ as a tonsured priest was included in response to a heresy that denied the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rus', but the same image is found at NEREZI. The frescoes include portraits of the founder and his family and scenes from the life of St. George, Jaroslav's patron.

LIT. M.K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, 2 vols. (Leningrad 1958–61). Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 303–22. P.P. Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev 1983). J. Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," *HUkSt* 11 (1987) 323–64. A.I. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zoddčestvo konca X–načala XII v.* (Moscow 1987) 168–236. H. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev 1971). V.N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sophii Kievskoj* (Moscow 1959). A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *JMedHist* 7 (1981) 15–66.

—S.C.F., A.C.

**KILIC ARSLAN I**, Seljuk sultan of Anatolia (ca. 1092–1107); died on the Khabur River 3 June 1107. Son of SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTULMUŞ, Kilic Arslan (Κιλιτζασθλάνης) ruled Iznik (NICAEA) and other possessions of his father. He concentrated his efforts on the east, leaving Il Khan and TZACHAS to oppose the Byz. While Kilic Arslan was combatting Danişmend (see **DANIŞMENDIDS**) in eastern Anatolia, the First Crusaders and Byz. took Nicaea. Kilic Arslan's wife, a daughter of Tzachas, fell into Alexios I's hands. The Crusaders defeated Kilic Arslan at Dorylaion. Alexios seized western Anatolia, and the sultan made IKONION his capital. Kilic Arslan joined with Danişmend to destroy the Crusade of 1101 as it marched through Anatolia. Hostility to BOHEMUND drew the sultan and Alexios together and, in 1106, Kilic Arslan sent Turkish troops to assist Alexios against the invading Normans. The death of Danişmend enticed Kilic Arslan to renew his aggression in eastern Anatolia, and he died fighting Sultan Muḥammad, son of Malikshāh.

LIT. C. Cahen, *El<sup>2</sup>* 5:103f.

—C.M.B.

**KILIC ARSLAN II**, Seljuk sultan of IKONION (1155–92); born ca. 1115, died 1192. Son of MAS'UD I, Kilic Arslan and his TURKOMANS harassed the withdrawal of MANUEL I from Antioch (1159). Manuel's efforts at revenge (1159–60) proved ineffectual and in 1161 the rulers made peace. In 1161 or 1162 Kilic Arslan was magnificently entertained in Constantinople. After the Seljuk sultan acquired most of the **DANIŞMENDID** territories, Manuel, urged by the refugees Dhu'l-Nūn (a Dan-

işmendid) and Shāhīnshāh (Kilic Arslan's brother), renewed hostilities; he fortified DORYLAION and CHOMA. Rejecting the sultan's offer of peace, in 1176 Manuel advanced to besiege Ikonion. Kilic Arslan severely defeated him at MYRIOKEPHALON. Although the peace treaty required him to demolish Soublaion and Dorylaion, Manuel preserved the latter. Until his death, Manuel defended the Meander Valley and Klaudioupolis against Turkomans. Thereafter, Kilic Arslan's forces seized SOZOPOLIS, sacked KOTYAION, and ravaged the Kayster (Küçükenderes) Valley. They were with difficulty repelled from ATTALEIA.

LIT. C. Cahen, *El<sup>2</sup>* 5:104. Vryonis, *Decline* 121–29. H. and R. Kahane, "L'énigme du nom de Cligès," *Romania* 82 (1961) 113–21.

—C.M.B.

**KILNS** (κεραμεικοὶ φούρνοι) for the production of CERAMICS have been discovered at Byz. sites of all periods, both by chance and in controlled excavation (list in R.M. Cook, *BSA* 56 [1961] 67, supplemented by Megaw and Jones, *infra* 236, n.3). Most kilns were cylindrical structures made of clay and broken tiles, with a crude dome; the firepit was underneath the firing chamber, the two sections being separated by a floor pierced with numerous holes to allow the heat to rise and fire the pots. Excavated examples show that pottery was left to harden before being placed in the kiln, and it was commonly fired twice. Many pots contain marks that show how they were stacked in the kiln. From the 14th C. onward, tripod kiln (or stacking) supports were commonly used to separate pieces; they leave telltale marks on the bottom of the vessels.

LIT. Morgan, *Pottery* 14–25. A.H.S. Megaw, R.E. Jones, "Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to Problems of Origin and Distribution," *BSA* 78 (1983) 235–46. A.L. Jakobson, "Srednevekovye gončarnye peč'i v rajone Sudaka," *Kratkie soobščeniia Instituta istorii mater'jal'noj kul'tury* 60 (1955) 102–09.

—T.E.G.

**KINDA**, an Arab tribe that moved in the orbit of the Ḥimyarites in South Arabia and in the 5th–6th C. appeared as the dominant power in central and north Arabia. Although primarily an Arabian peninsular power, Kinda had strong connections with Byz. from ca. 500 until the Muslim conquests. The tribe's first recorded contact with Byz. oc-

curred at the battle of Baradān (5th C.) between the Kindite Ḥujr and the ŠĀLIḤID chief Ziyād ibn-al-Habūla, who was a client of Byz. Around 500 the Kindite Arethas mounted an offensive against Byz. through his sons Ma'di-Karib and Ḥujr, and in 502 he concluded a treaty or *foedus* with Byz. In the 520s the same Arethas appears as the **PHYLARCH** of Palestine who, after quarreling with the *doux* Diomedes, was killed in north Arabia in 528. Ultimately QAYS became phylarch of two of the three Palestines. Thus, the Kindites formed part of the Arab phylarchate of Oriens and maintained federate status until the Muslim conquests. The foremost poet of pre-Islamic Arabia was a Kindite prince, also named Qays, one of whose most famous odes records his journey through Oriens to Constantinople.

LIT. G. Olinde, *The Kings of Kinda* (Lund-Leipzig 1927). I. Kavar, "Byzantium and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 57–73.

—I.A.Sh.

**KINGS, BOOKS OF.** The two Books of Kings that follow the two Books of Samuel are sometimes grouped together as the four Books of Kings. Thus, 1–2 Samuel of the RSV is 1–2 Kings of the Septuagint, and 1–2 Kings of the RSV is 3–4 Kings in the Septuagint. A single illustrated Byz. MS of all four Books of Kings survives—Vat. gr. 333, from the third quarter of the 11th C., with 104 images. (Only three other Byz. MSS devoted entirely to Kings survive—Rahlfs, *Verzeichniss* 382–85). The text of Kings includes the DAVID narrative, illustrations of which are widespread in Byz. art at all dates, and certain other popular scenes, such as the Ascent of ELIJAH. Vat. gr. 333 may thus be the sole survivor of a once-flourishing genre of illustrated MSS of Kings, from which the popular scenes are derived (thus, Weitzmann, *Studies* 55–57), or a *hapax*, exploiting well-known scenes and stock formulas.

The fragments of a 5th-C. Latin MS of Kings, the Quedlinburg Itala, with full-page miniatures interspersed with the text, is often cited as a parallel. The interpretation of this MS, however, is also problematic, for it contains detailed instructions to the artist that may imply that its cycle was invented ad hoc. Further, most of the Itala cycle is unrelated iconographically to Vat. gr. 333. The system of illustration in Vat. gr. 333 is at first consistent, with one miniature per chapter, but



3–4 Kings are sparsely illustrated with only a few commonplace scenes. In comparison, in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS the three surviving frontispieces to Kings are all well-known compositions: the anointing of David, the coronation of Solomon, and the Ascent of Elijah. Three hands have been identified in the miniatures of Vat. gr. 333, including the “pseudo-OPPIAN Master,” suggesting its origin in a major center in Constantinople (J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 175–96).

LIT. Lassus, *Livre des Rois*. I. Levin, *The Quedlinburg Itala* (Leiden 1985). —J.H.L.

**KINNAMOS, JOHN**, historian, *grammatikos* (secretary) of MANUEL I, participant in several of Manuel's campaigns; born before 1143, died after 1185. Niketas Choniates (Nik. Chon., p.331.1) mentions his involvement in theological discussions at the time of Andronikos I. The title of the book of Kinnamos (*Κίνναμος*) is corrupt (P. Wirth, *Byzantion* 41 [1971] 375–77): Kinnamos himself calls it *chronikai* (p.220.22); the ending is missing in the single 13th-C. MS (copied several times in the 16th–17th C.), which probably presents an impaired version of the original. Kinnamos's history encompasses the period 1118–76; his portrait of John II's reign closely resembles that of Choniates; later, however, the two historians diverge (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 24 [1963] 4–31). Kinnamos is Manuel's panegyrist and supporter of the idea of the universal empire (M. Frejdenberg, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 50); accordingly, he is more intolerant toward the Crusaders than Choniates. His philosophy of history is strictly deterministic. Nothing, he says, depends on men (p.24.2–4), and *tyche* (“necessity or providence”) appears in his narration as arbitrarily determining events. Kinnamos is strangely lukewarm toward aristocratic qualities (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 41f) but very attentive to military technique, stressing that Manuel's reforms in this area made “Roman warriors” better than the Germans or Italians (p.125.13). Kinnamos also wrote an *Ethopoiia*, probably under the influence of Nikephoros BASILAKES.

ED. *Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn 1836). Eng. tr. C. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York 1976). Fr. tr. J. Rosenblum, *Chronique* (Paris 1972). *Ethopoeia*, ed. G. Bánhegy (Budapest 1943).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:409–15. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:324–28. C. Asdracha, “L'image de l'homme occidental à Byzance: le témoignage de Kinnamos et de Choniates,” *BS* 44 (1983) 31–40. F. Hörmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax des Johannes Kinnamos* (Munich 1938). —A.K.

**KIPRIAN** (Cyprian), metropolitan of “Rhosia” (1375–1406); born ca.1330, died 16 Sept. 1406. Kiprian was one of the leading figures in the cultural movement generally associated with HESYCHASM. Bulgarian by origin, Kiprian was a monk on Athos and friend of EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO; he became closely associated (as *oikeios kalogeros*, ca.1370) with Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, who appointed him legate to LITHUANIA (1373), then metropolitan of “Kiev, Rhosia, and Lithuania” (1375) resident in Kiev. On the death of Metr. Alexios in Moscow (1378), Kiprian tried to assert his claim to a single metropolitanate “of all Rhosia.” He was accepted in Moscow briefly in 1381–82 and permanently in 1389. In Moscow his activities on behalf of Byz. included raising funds for the defense of Constantinople (1398, 1400) and insisting that the emperor be mentioned in the diptychs (1393). In the cultural sphere, Kiprian sponsored a thorough reform of church books: he introduced the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos for the liturgy of pseudo-Chrysostom, undertook a revision of the *Nomokanon*, and imported the *Jerusalem Rule*. He personally copied, translated, or caused to be translated works important in hesychast spirituality: JOHN KLIMAX (copied by Kiprian in 1387 from a Serbian translation) and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE as well as prayers and hymns by Philotheos (G. Prochorov, *TODRL* 37 [1983] 286–304). Kiprian's own writings include personal letters, numerous official documents, probably parts of a chronicle, a narrative on the putative metropolitan Michael (Mitjaj), a *Testament*, and, most notably, a *vita* (ca.1381) and *enkomion* (ca.1397–1404; see R. Sedova, *TODRL* 37 [1983] 256–68) of Metr. Peter (1308–26).

ED. *Povest' o Mitjaj: Rus' i Vizantijska v epochu Kulikovskoj bitvy*, ed. G. Prochorov (Leningrad 1978) 193–224. N. Dončeva-Panajotova, “Neizvestno ‘Pochvalno slovo za mitropolit Petür’ ot Kiprian Camblak,” *Starobulgarska literatura* 2 (1977) 136–55.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Russia* 200–60, 292–302. G. Prochorov, “Kiprian,” *TODRL* 39 (1985) 53–71. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 173–200. —S.C.F.

**KIRIK OF NOVGOROD**, monk of St. Anthony's monastery in NOVGOROD; born 1110. Kirik is the author of a tract on chronology dated 1136 and perhaps of the chronological data in the *Novgorod Chronicle*'s entry for the same year. The tract consists of a summary of the years since Adam, based on a Byz. short CHRONICLE using the ALEXAN-

DRIAN ERA; a guide to paschal computation based on the Constantinopolitan era; a section on the division of hours, possibly a later accretion (but see E. Piotrovskaja, *TODRL* 40 [1985] 379–84); and an autobiographical colophon, which includes synchronic data from the year 1136 and in which the “Greek tsar” (JOHN II KOMNENOS) is mentioned before the local prince.

Kirik is probably also to be identified with the Kirik who, in the mid-12th C., recorded the responses of various bishops in RHOSIA on questions of canon law. The responses indicate the practical problems of applying Byz. precepts to local life. They chiefly concern ritual and behavior. The major source is the Bulgarian translation of the NOMOKANON OF 14 TITLES, with further material derived from pseudo-JOHN IV NESTEUTES and other penitentials (F.J. Thomson, *Palaeobulgarica* 11 [1987] 23–45).

ED. “Učenie imže vedati čeloveku čisla vseh let,” ed. V. Zubov, in *Istoriko-matematičeskie issledovanija* 6 (1953) 173–90. S. Smirnov, *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj pokajannoj discipliny* (Moscow 1912) 1–27.

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:179–201. R. Simonov, *Kirik Novgorodec* (Moscow 1980). —S.C.F.

**KIRILL** (Cyril), bishop of Turov; died before 1182?. Kirill is thought to be the author of didactic homilies in Slavonic on ecclesiastical and monastic life, a cycle of sermons for the period from Palm Sunday to the Sunday after Ascension Day, a weekly cycle of prayers, and a *kanon*. In his works Kirill amplifies, with florid and emotive rhetoric, themes from his Byz. reading. For example, for the Sunday after Easter he adapts allegories of spring from Gregory of Nazianzos (A. Vaillant, *RES* 26 [1950] 34–50; Ju. Begunov, *Zbornik istorije književnosti* 10 [1976] 269–76), while his allegories for monasticism in the homiletic *Epistle to Basil* are derived from BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (I.N. Lebedeva, *Povest' o Varlaame i Ioasafe* [Leningrad 1985] 85–88). Most of Kirill's identifiable sources can be traced to extant Slavonic translations, though there is disagreement as to whether he also knew and used Greek texts (Ju. Begunov, *BS* 35 [1974] 186f; F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 66–69). Oblique allusions in Kirill's homily *On the Soul and the Body* (an allegorical expansion on the theme of “the lame and the blind”) imply that Kirill took the side of Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES against the ecclesiastical initiatives of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO (ca.1165–69).

ED. I. Eremin, “Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo,” *TODRL* 11 (1955) 342–67, 12 (1956) 340–61, 13 (1957) 406–26, 15 (1958) 331–48. *Kirill von Turov. Gebete* [= Slavische Propyläen 6] (Munich 1965).

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:62–83, 136–41. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 96–101, 149–59, 240–46. —S.C.F.

**KITI**, 7 miles southwest of Larnaka in CYPRUS, site of the Church of Panagia Angeloktistos. The main body of the church is a domed, cruciform structure of the 11th C., built on the remains of an earlier basilica of which the apse is the main surviving part. The conch of the apse still houses the fragment of a 6th/7th-C. mosaic decoration, the best preserved of the three apse mosaics on the island (with the Panagia tes Kyras near Livadia and LYTHRANKOMI). The mosaic shows the standing Virgin holding the Christ child in her left arm, and flanked by the archangels Michael (on the left) and Gabriel (on the right) who appear to be walking towards her with orb and scepter in hand. The figures, all nimbed, stand against a gold ground framed at the edge of the apse with a border of fountains emerging from acanthus clusters flanked by ducks, parrots, and stags. Unusually, the Virgin is identified in an inscription as “Hagia Maria.”

LIT. F.I. Šmit, “Panagia Angeloktistos,” *IRAİK* 15 (1911) 206–39. A.H.S. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus,” *DOP* 28 (1974) 74–76. —W.T.

**KITROS** (*Κίτρος*), fortress and bishopric in Macedonia, on the site of ancient Pydna. The original name was used by Byz. authors who wrote in an antiquarian vein: for example, Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 259.74) mentions the truffle (*hydna*) from Pydna (a play on words) as a delicacy for monks. Little is known of the secular history of Kitros; according to a 14th-C. historian (Kantak. 2:382.11), there was a *pyrgos* and a garrison in “Pydna.”

Kitros was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Thessalonike; although it was in last place ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 3.276), by the 10th C. Kitros (or Pydna) was listed as the first suffragan of Thessalonike (*ibid.* 7.297). The earliest known bishop was Germanos in 879. An anonymous bishop of Kitros corresponded with Theophylaktos of Ohrid. John of Kitros was a canonist of the late 12th or early 13th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 172–74). The *ecclesia Citrensis* and its officials are men-

tioned several times in the correspondence of Pope Innocent III.

LIT. R. Janin, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 998f. G.L.F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro* (Berlin 1839) 57f, 86. P. Gautier in *Théophylakte d'Achrida: Lettres* (Thessalonike 1986) 57–60. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:341f. —A.K.

**KLADAS, JOHN**, an important and prolific composer; fl. late 14th–early 15th C. He is frequently cited in MSS as either John the Lampadarios or simply the Lampadarios (see SINGERS). In his treatise, Manuel CHRYSAPHES mentions Kladas (Κλαδάς) as the last of five major Byz. composers of *kalophonic oikoi* (see TERETISMATA). His chants first appear in musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*) copied toward the end of the 14th C. and become even more numerous in MSS from the early 15th C. His compositions appear in almost all collections of music for the liturgy and HOURS. They are considerably longer and have a wider vocal range than do settings by earlier 14th-C. composers.

LIT. G.I. Papadopoulos, *Symbolai eis ten historian tes par'hemin ekklesiastikes mousikes* (Athens 1890) 274f. Conomos, *Communion*, 77f, 184–86. *PLP*, no. 11739. —D.E.C.

**KLASMA** (κλάσμα, lit. “fragment”), real property escheated to the fisc because of the disappearance of its taxpaying owner. The term appears in documents from the 10th C., when it was already a component of well-established fiscal procedures, through the early 12th C., after which it was superseded by the analogous term *EXALEIMMA*. Since in the 10th and 11th C. the state was interested in maintaining the integrity of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, property on which taxes had ceased to be paid did not immediately devolve to the fisc; rather, the land was granted a *SYMPATHEIA* for a 30-year period after which time, unless *ORTHOSIS* took place, the land became *klasma*, was fiscally separated from the village community, and was disposed of as the state wished, through sale, donation, lease, etc. The *klasma* that had been granted to cultivators, while under *sympatheia*, was sold at its normal price and the new owner henceforth paid the tax on the property at 1/12 the normal assessment; *klasmata* located in depopulated areas, lacking labor, or which needed to be recleared before cultivation, sold at a reduced price, taxed at 1/24 the normal assessment for 15 years, then raised permanently to 1/12.

Even with these inducements, the significant capital outlay needed to acquire *klasma* meant that although peasants could invoke the right of *PROTIMESIS* in sales of *klasma* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:203.3–33; 4:18.12–14), there was a tendency for *DYNATOI* and monasteries to acquire such land, thereby contributing to the decline of the village community and an independent peasantry. There are several documents on sales of *klasma* in the area of Thessalonike in the 10th C.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, “Das Verfalland im 10.–11. Jahrhundert,” *FM* 7 (1986) 161–68. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 81f, 160–64, 184–86. K. Osipova, “Sistema klasm v Vizantii v X–XI v.,” *VizOč* 1 (1961) 174–85. —M.B.

**KLEISOURA** (κλεισούρα, lit. “defile”), a territorial unit, usually smaller than a *THEME*, sometimes part of a theme, but preserving a certain independence; the commander of a *kleisoura* was a *kleisourarches*. Most *kleisourai* were located in the East (Seleukeia, Charsianon, Sozopolis, etc.)—in the West only Strymon was called a *kleisoura*. Normally the status of *kleisoura* was transitional and former *kleisourai* became themes. The first mention of *kleisoura* as an administrative unit is from 698/9; Tiberios II sent a *monostrategos* “to the area of Cappadocia and of the *kleisourai*” (Theoph. 371.11–12). They are not mentioned after the 10th C.

LIT. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 71–85. Ahrweiler, “Administration” 81f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 342. —A.K.

**KLERIKATON** (κληρικᾶτον), defined in the late 12th C. as the liturgical office to which a cleric was ordained as priest, deacon, or *anagnostes*, as distinct from the administrative post (*archontikion*) to which he might also be appointed (BALSAMON, ed. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:386.1). The term was commonly used in later centuries to designate a piece of church property (also called *klerikostasion*, *klerikotopion*), which such a cleric held, as *klerikoparoiikos*, from the bishop in return for his liturgical services. The institution, if not the terminology, existed from at least as early as the beginning of the 11th C. and provided the basic living of the lower “parish” and cathedral clergy. Roughly analogous to the Western *beneficium*, the *klerikaton* differed in that its recipient paid a modest rent (*telos*) and might receive a salary. Since, moreover, he was likely to be married, there was

a constant tendency for *klerikata* to pass to non-clerical heirs and thus to become alienated from the church’s estate.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 85. E. Herman, “Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus,” *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 412–18. E. Papagiannes, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 186–216. —P.M.

**KLETORION** (κλητόριον, from *klesis*, “invitation”), term designating both a banquet (esp. in the imperial palace) and a hall where a banquet was to take place. The word *deipnokletorion* was occasionally used as a synonym.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 27, n.29. —A.K.

**KLETOROLOGION OF PHILOTHEOS**. See PHILOTHEOS, KLETOROLOGION OF.

**KLIM SMOLJATIČ**, monk; metropolitan of KIEV (27 July 1147–55, 1159); and a figure of controversy in Russo-Byz. ecclesiastical and cultural relations. In the ecclesiastical controversy Klim (Clement) was elected metropolitan, at the instigation of Izjaslav of Kiev, by a synod of local bishops and without confirmation by the patriarch of Constantinople. The rift with the patriarchate lasted until JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ took Kiev and Klim was replaced by the Greek Constantine. The cultural controversy concerns Klim’s *Epistle* to a certain Thomas, in which he refutes the charge that he had pursued vainglorious “philosophy” by citing Homer, Aristotle, and Plato rather than Scripture. The charge is probably a polemical *topos*, rather than evidence for any direct knowledge of the classics in Rus’ (apart from translated extracts in *florilegia*). His own exegetic demonstration draws chiefly on THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and other translated commentaries, though it has been suggested that Klim shows an awareness of Byz. *SCHEDOGRAPHIA* and that the label “philosopher” (cf. also *PSRL* 2:340) implies that he was educated in Constantinople. His *dubia* include homilies and some of the canonical responses recorded by KIRIK OF NOVGOROD.

ED. N.K. Nikol’skij, *O literaturnych trudach mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII v.* (St. Petersburg 1892) 103–36, 161–223.

LIT. D. Obolensky, “Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations,” *DOP* 11 (1957) 21–78.

E.E. Granstrem, “Počemu mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča nazývali ‘filosofom’,” *TODRL* 25 (1970) 20–28. S. Franklin, “Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture in Twelfth-Century Russia?,” in *Byzantium and Europe*, ed. A. Markopoulos (Athens 1987) 177–87. —S.C.F.

**KLIMA** (κλίμα, “region”), a word that could designate a district in a city, a part of a province (GEORGE OF CYPRUS, for example speaks of four *klimata* in Isauria), or an ecclesiastical diocese. Specifically, the proper, plural form *Klimata* denoted the theme of CHERSON: the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij explicitly refers to the “*strategos* of the *Klimata*,” and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos speaks twice of the “*kastra* of the *Klimata*” near Cherson (*De adm. imp.* 42.8, 72). The TOPARCHA GOTHICUS, in an enigmatic passage, mentions the town of *Klimata*, the localization of which has been hotly debated (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 25 [1971] 155–60).

From ancient geographers and astrologers the Byz. inherited the concept of seven *klimata*, or zones of the earth, each of which was dominated by a corresponding planet. The CHRONICON PASCHALE gives an elaborate list of the *klimata*: (1) Libya; (2) Egypt; (3) Mauritania, Judaea, Arabia; (4) Syria, Mesopotamia, Medea; (5) Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Armenia; (6) Gallia, Dalmatia, Thrace, Trebizond; (7) the region around the Borysthenes (Dnieper). KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES rejected the idea of seven *klimata* as contradicting Christianity, but attempts to reconcile astrology and Christian faith in questions pertaining to the *klimata* continued well into the 13th and 14th C. (Nikephoros BLEMMEDES, John KATRARES).

LIT. E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die poleis epimoi* (Heidelberg 1929) 6f, 81–102. M. Nystazopoulou, “Note sur l’Anonyme de Hase,” *BCH* 86 (1962) 324f, n.7. —A.K.

**KLIMENT OF OHRID**, Bulgarian writer (probably a native of Macedonia); saint; fl. late 9th–early 10th C.; feastdays 27 July, 22 Nov. A pupil of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and thoroughly familiar with Byz. ecclesiastical literature, he accompanied them to Moravia where he spent some 20 years, perhaps interrupted by a visit to Rome in 867–69. Returning to Bulgaria in 885, he was sent by Tsar Boris I to Kutmičevica in Macedonia (exact location uncertain) as bishop and remained there until retiring



in 915. The date of his death is uncertain. Kliment's writings include a collection of panegyric and edificatory homilies in Church Slavonic and probably also the longer Lives of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios. He may have invented the Cyrillic alphabet, which replaced GLAGOLITIC in the reign of Tsar Symeon. Kliment was active as a teacher, primarily of future clergy: he is said to have had 3,500 pupils. If this figure is to be taken seriously, it implies institutionalized rather than individual teaching. Kliment was among those who laid the foundations of Slavonic literature. The main sources for his life are the Greek Lives by THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, both of which draw on lost Slavonic sources, though they tend to superimpose a Byz. point of view.

SOURCE. A. Milev, *Grückite žitija na Kliment Ochridski* (Sofia 1966).

ED. *Kliment Ochridski. Sübrani süčinenija*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1971-77).

LIT. *Kliment Ochridski (916-1966). Sbornik ot statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smürtta mu* (Sofia 1966). E. Georgiev, *Razcvetüt na bülgarската literatura prez IX-X vek* (Sofia 1962) 87-155. I. Bogdanov, *Trinadeset veka bülgarска literatura*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1983) 66f. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 8-33. —R.B.

**KLIMOVO**, village in the region of Perm', U.S.S.R., where in 1908 a treasure was found containing Byz. and Sasanian objects; it is now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Among the Byz. vessels is a silver dish depicting a shepherd with his dog and goats (with stamps of the reign of Justinian I), a dish with control stamps of the reign of Phokas, and another silver dish of the 7th C. In the same area several other hoards of Byz. and Persian silver vessels were discovered. A group of objects found at Sludka in 1780 includes a 6th-C. plate representing Athena judging the struggle between Ajax and Odysseus for the armor of Achilles and another one with stamps of Herakleios. A silver dish from the village of Kalganovka found in 1878, datable to 613-629/30, represents a dancing Silenus and a maenad. These vessels and several others are all now in the Hermitage.

LIT. *Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, nos. 129f, 132, 134f. *Silbergefässe* 38f. L. Maculevič, "Argenterie byzantine en Russie," in *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, l'ancienne Russie, les Slaves catholiques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1932) 292-301. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 9, 36, 51, 55, 68, 70, 100. —A.K., A.C.

**KLOKOTNICA**, battle that took place on 9 March 1230 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:342), close to the present-day town of Khaskovo in Bulgaria, on the main road from Adrianople to Philippopolis. Although THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS had made a treaty on oath with JOHN ASEN II, the Greek ruler invaded Bulgaria in order to secure his northern flank. The Bulgarian tsar opposed him with a scratch force of CUMANS, but spurred on by belief in his moral superiority—he reportedly hung Theodore's written oath on his standard—he won a complete victory, capturing Theodore along with his chief men. He then made a triumphal progress through Theodore's territories. John Asen II returned in April to Tŭrnovo, where in gratitude for his victory he founded the Church of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, on whose feastday the battle occurred. He sent out governors and tax-collectors to administer his extensive conquests, but left the more distant parts in the hands of local lords. Although Thessalonike eluded him, for the time being Bulgaria was the dominant power in the Balkans.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:338-43. Nicol, *Epiros I* 109-11. —M.J.A.

**KNEELING** (γονυκλισία), a posture of PRAYER. Kneeling was originally considered penitential, as distinct from standing (*stasis*), a sign of the Resurrection (*anastasis*). Kneeling was thus prohibited on Sunday, later on Saturday, and from Easter through the end of PENTECOST vespers, at which time it recommences with the special *gonyklisia* rite. This rite, of Palestinian origin, goes back to the 5th C.; it is unknown to the TYPICON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, though found in the later SABAITIC TYPICA.

Kneeling or prostration (PROSKYNESIS, *metanoia*) for prayer after psalmody, standard practice in cathedral VIGILS and monastic HOURS from the 4th C. onward, was also considered an important element in ascetic exploits: hagiographers describe their heroes prostrating innumerable times in succession. It was imposed as an EPITIMION; thus Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1661CD) requires laymen who communicate with heretics to kneel 50 times in a row—rated a minor *epitimon*.

LIT. M. Arranz, "Les prières de la Gonyklisia," *OrChrP* 48 (1982) 92-123. —R.F.T., A.K.

**KOCHLIAS**. See HIPPODROMES.

**KODINOS, PSEUDO-**, conventional name of the anonymous author of the *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices*, compiled, according to Verpeaux (*infra* 27-30), between 1347 and 1368. The treatise presents the hierarchy (*taxis*) of functionaries' titles and offices, a description of their costumes and functions, of the feasts celebrated at the court and of the ceremony of coronation as well as the duties and the ceremony of promotion of certain dignitaries (DOMESTIKOS, ADNOUMIASTES, SEBASTOKRATOR, etc.). The chapters on ecclesiastical offices were arbitrarily added by Andrew Darnarios in the 16th C. Along with official information pseudo-Kodinos included some personal recollections or those of his informants as well as passages derived from various chronicles. More complex is the question of several sections very close to the work of John VI Kantakouzenos; Verpeaux suggests the use of common sources. Two works of different centuries were also (falsely) attributed to Kodinos: the main version of the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE and a chronicle terminating in 1453 (*Kleinchroniken* 1:121-55)—all three of these works are often transmitted in the same MSS.

ED. *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris 1966).

LIT. A. Grabar, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIVe siècle," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 193-221. J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *TM* 1 (1965) 421-37. —A.K.

**KODIX** (κῶδιξ, from Lat. CODEX), cadastral register in book form drafted by the office of the GENIKON. The term appears in Basil II's novel of 996 establishing the validity of only those land delimitations (*periorismoi*) that are based on the *kodikoi* (*sic*) of the *genikon* or on other appropriate documents (Zepos, *Jus* 1:267.11-14). They formed tax lists of particular regions (*enoriai*), divided into KEPHALAIA (chapters), each *kephalaion* dealing with a subregion (a village), itself divided into a succession of STICHOI. They were revised at perhaps 30-year intervals. Individuals and institutions dispensed copies of *kodikes*, the so-called *isokodika* (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.1.18, 26). Some extracts from *kodikes* survive: the so-called cadaster of THEBES

(Svoronos, *Cadastre* 11-19), fragments from a cadaster of Boleron and Strymon (*Ivir.*, no.30; Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65), a quotation from a cadaster of Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.39.5-8), an extract from a cadaster of Trebizond (*Vazelon*, no.106) from the end of the 13th C.

The term *kodix* disappeared after 1204, being replaced by PRAKTIKON, which was considered a copy "from the imperial book of the *thesis* compiled by the APOGRAPHEIS" (*Zogr.*, no.44.40, 66-67) or of the grand *thesis* (*Dionys.*, no.21.2). The *Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. I. Schmitt, vv. 1908-10) also mentions a "book that listed everyone's tenures granted in ownership and possession."

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 97-102.

—M.B.

**KOIMESIS**. See DORMITION.

**KOINE** (κοινή διάλεκτος, "the common language"), the common Greek of the Hellenistic world, which displaced the old local DIALECTS as the language of administration and of prose literature. In origin a variety of expanded Attic, with many Ionic and other elements, Koine was used as a lingua franca between city states in the 4th C. B.C. It became the current language of the cities founded by Alexander and his successors in Asia and Africa, and the normal vehicle for prose literature until the rise of ATTICISM in the late 1st C. B.C. and the 1st C. A.D. The Septuagint and the New Testament were written in Koine. Technical writing often continued to use Koine, which underwent progressive changes including restructuring of phonology (see PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY) and MORPHOLOGY and extension of vocabulary by derivation, composition, and linguistic BORROWING, esp. from Latin. In the Byz. world Koine continued to be used for subliterate writing: popular saints' Lives such as those of CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (6th C.); anecdotes of ascetics such as *The Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS (early 7th C.); chronicles such as those of John MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; archival works such as the DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO and DE CEREMONIIS of Constantine VII; and medical and other technical treatises. Koine represents one pole of Byz. diglossia, of which the other is represented by Atticism. The normal spo-



ken language of all classes in informal situations, Koine is the direct ancestor of modern demotic Greek and of the Modern Greek dialects.

LIT. A. Meillet, O. Masson, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*<sup>8</sup> (Paris 1975) 251–342. A. Debrunner, A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache II: Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch* (Berlin 1969). J. Frösén, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Greek Language in the First Centuries A.D.: The Problem of Koine and Atticism* (Helsinki 1974). F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 2 vols. (Milan 1976–80). L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (London 1980). Browning, "Language."  
—R.B.

**KOINOBIION** (κοινόβιον, lit. "common life"), monastery housing a community of monks or nuns and emphasizing a communal and egalitarian way of life. *Koinobia* in their earliest form were created by PACHOMIOS in Egypt, for example, at TABENNISI. Basil the Great greatly preferred cenobitic MONASTICISM to eremitism, stressing the advantages of a mutual support system and the possibility of economic self-sufficiency. He required stricter discipline for the monks, and insisted on manual labor. Five novels of Justinian I established the *koinobion* as the norm but did permit eremitism for the chosen few. THEODORE OF STODIOS and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS continued to emphasize the importance of the cenobitic tradition. In the later centuries of Byz., however, *koinobia* tended to develop into communities of landowners rather than of working brethren.

In a cenobitic MONASTERY all of the monks theoretically followed the same schedule for working, praying, eating, and sleeping, with variations permitted only to accommodate the different types of work each performed. They slept in individual cells or (rarely) in a common dormitory but were all supposed to eat the same food in the refectory. Clothes, tools, and other items were owned in common and distributed as necessary. The cenobitic life stressed obedience to the superior or HEGOUMENOS, and adherence to the rules of the TYPICON, including regular attendance at services and avoiding contact with the outside world (esp. members of the opposite sex). The *koinobion* resembled a spiritual family, in which the monks or nuns were linked by a spirit of brotherhood or sisterhood.

Contemporary critics of Byz. monasticism, like Eustathios of Thessalonike, Balsamon, and Patr. Athanasios I, reveal the conflicts between individ-

ualism and the cenobitic ideal. *Hegoumenoi* in particular were accused of eating special food and living in luxury; Balsamon (PG 138:176CD) commented that nuns surpassed their male brethren in "observing communal diet and habitation," and that true cenobitism was rare in male monasteries. Although virtually all nuns and many monks did obey the principle of monastic STABILITY and remained in the same monastery for life, some holy (and not so holy) men in search of more rigorous ASCETICISM viewed their residence in a *koinobion* only as training and preparation for the more arduous life of a hermit. Throughout the Byz. era there continued to be discussion over which form of monastic life was superior; the *typika*, for example, strongly favored cenobitism.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 4. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2:3091–175. A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth–Twelfth Centuries," *GOThR* 30 (1985) 473–87. J. Leroy, "Le cénotisme chez Cassien," *Revue d'ascétisme et mysticisme* 43 (1967) 121–58.  
—A.M.T.

**KOINONIKON** (κοινωνικόν), the CHANT that accompanies the rite of COMMUNION. Originally a responsorial psalm, it later acquired elements, such as the final DOXOLOGY and refrain, called *apolytikion* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285.313–14), of ANTI-PHONAL psalmody. The entire cycle of *koinonika*, 26 texts each assigned to one or more occasions in the liturgical year, was almost fully developed by the 9th C.: its scope and function are indicated in the TYPICON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. However, the music for these chants is documented only from the 12th C. onward, though there is reason to believe that the three Church Slavonic music books known as the Uspenskij, Blagoveščenskij, and Sinodal'nyj Kondakaria preserve Byz. melodies of a more archaic form than any transmitted in Byz. MSS.

LIT. Conomos, *Communion* 1–51. T. Schattauer, "The Koinonikon of the Byzantine Liturgy," *OrChrP* 49 (1983) 91–129.  
—D.E.C., R.F.T.

**KOIRANIDES**. The *Koiranides* (*Kyranides*) was a collection of magical recipes compiled in the 3rd or 4th C. that remained in use throughout the Byz. era; in the 14th C., for example, their use was condemned by Patr. ATHANASIOS I (ep.69.81) and by the synod of 1371 (MM 1:544.17–18); the synodal decision of 1371 also mentions a *tetradion*

by an astrologer, Demetrios Chloros (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2572), compiled on the basis of the "*Koirannis*" and containing invocations of demons, magical formulas, and magical names.

LIT. D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (Meisenheim am Glan 1976).  
—F.R.T.

**KOITON** (κοῖτών, Lat. *cubiculum*), bedchamber, esp. of the emperor. The "chief of the *koiton*" became the designation of the chamberlain: thus PALLADIOS of Galatia addressed his sponsor Lausus as "the *praipositos* of the most pious *koiton*" (PG 34:1259A), the Greek translation of PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. Basil the Great (ep.79.11, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol.1 [Paris 1957] 181) speaks of two "great officials"—the eparch (praetorian prefect) and *ho peri ton koitona*, the latter probably to be identified as the *castrensis sacri palatii* Demosthenes (PLRE 1:249). PHILOSTORGIOS (*HE* 10.6, ed. Bidez 127.23) mentions servants "in the *koiton*," a term synonymous with KOITONITAI. By the 9th C. the chief of the *koiton* was called the PARAKOIMOMENOS. Oikonomides (*Listes* 301) distinguishes *hoi epi tou koitonas*, the servants of the imperial bedchamber proper, and those of the *cubiculum*, the corps of eunuchs of the palace. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 50.51–53) uses the phrase "the *koiton* guarded by God" for the treasury in which the PAKTON of Slav tribes was deposited.  
—A.K.

**KOITONITES** (κοιτωνίτης), courtier whose function was to serve in the KOITON, the emperor's bedchamber. The distinction between the *koitonites* and the KOUBIKOULARIOS is not clear. Guiland (*Institutions* 1:269) asserts that the *koitonites* existed at least from the end of the 8th C.; he bases this on a 19th-C. scholar's chronology for a seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 526) that is in reality of the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.780). The duty of the *koitonites* was to lock the door of the *koiton* (Leo Gramm. 250.22–23). Oikonomides (*Listes* 305) considers *koitonitai* as subalterns of the PARAKOIMOMENOS. On seals of the 11th C. one finds *koitonites* (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.217) and much more often *epi tou koitonas*; the latter combined his title with various court or civil offices (*praipositos* [see PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI], LOGOTHETES, *eidikos* [see EIDIKON], JUDGE, etc.). A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 176.6–11) relates that the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* was the chief

of the servants of the imperial bedchamber and of the *koitonarioi*; probably the latter term replaced *koitonites*.  
—A.K.

**KOKKINOBAFOS, JAMES OF**. See JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS.

**KOLLOUTHOS** (Κόλλουθος), poet; born Lykopolis in Egypt, fl. 5th–6th C. According to the *Souda* he lived in the reign of Anastasios I (491–518), who may well have been the recipient of one of his lost verse panegyrics. Lost also are his epics, the *Kalydoniaka* in six books, and the *Persika*, the latter perhaps contemporary in theme. His surviving work is the *Rape of Helen*, 394 hexameters influenced more by the language than the metrics of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. In the 15th C. one of its MSS (Milan, Ambros. Q 5 sup.) was rediscovered by BESSARION in the monastery of St. Nicola di Casole near Otranto (L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* [Rome 1979] 9, 11f). One matter of accidental interest is his presumed use of Latin poets, notably Catullus.

ED. Tryphiodori et Colluthi carmina, ed. W. Weinberger (Leipzig 1896). Oppian, *Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (London-New York 1928) 541–71, with Eng. tr. *L'enlèvement d'Hélène*, ed. P. Orsini (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr., rev. G. Giangrande, *ClRev* n.s. 24 (1974) 129–31.

LIT. G. Giangrande, "Colluthus' Description of a Waterspout: An Example of Late Epic Literary Technique," *AJPh* 96 (1975) 35–41. M. Nardelli, "L'esametro di Colluto," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 32–33.  
—B.B.

**KOLLYBA** (κόλλυβα), boiled wheat, which, along with raw vegetables, constituted the diet of 5th-C. monks who refused to touch bread (pseudo-Palladios, *Vita Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, p.127.3–4). It was recommended that everyone eat *kollyba* on the first Saturday in Lent. The term also refers, as it did in antiquity, to special cakes made of boiled wheat with sugar, dried raisins, pomegranate seeds, nuts, herbs, etc.; these symbolized the human body and were distributed to the congregation, usually in remembrance of the dead (e.g., the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 119.1767). The *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 43.241–42) indicates that three baskets of *kollyba* were required for a single distribution. In vernacular

literature, *kollyba* are sometimes called the proper food for priests (*Imberios and Margarona*, ed. Le-grand, *Bibliothèque* 1 [1880] 308.690).

It is possible that Christian *kollyba* are connected with the pagan *basynias*, a cake used for religious offerings. Two inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 645, 728) mention a *basymniates*, the baker of *basynias*: one invokes "the only immortal God," the other depicts the cross in a circle.

LIT. L. Petit, "La grande controverse des colybes," *EO* 2 (1898-99) 321-31. A. Scordino, "I coliva nel tipicòn di Messina," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 271-75.

-F.R.T., A.K.

**KOLOBOU MONASTERY**, founded by the monk John Kolobos (Κολοβός) between 866 and 883. It was situated near HIERISSOS, just outside the precinct of the Holy Mountain of ATHOS, on the isthmus that links the peninsula with the mainland, but its fortunes were closely linked with the development of Athonite monasticism. John Kolobos was one of the early anchorites on Athos and an associate of St. EUTHYMIOUS THE YOUNGER. Circa 866, when the danger from Arab attacks increased, Kolobos led a group of disciples to refuge on the mainland, first to Siderokausia, and then near Hierissos. Here he founded the monastery that bore his name and was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was apparently the first KOINOBIUM in the immediate vicinity of Athos, anticipating by almost a century the advent of cenobitic monasticism to the Holy Mountain itself. The monastery of Kolobou is first mentioned in 883 in a *sigillion* of Basil I that guarantees the rights of its monks. The monastery owned substantial estates and was involved in frequent property disputes with the inhabitants of Hierissos and Athonite monks. Its prominence continued until 979/80, when it was absorbed by the newly founded IVERON MONASTERY.

LIT. Prot. 27-53, 177-97. J. Lefort in *Ivir.* 28-32.

-A.M.T.

**KOLONEIA** (Κολώνεια). There were two cities of this name in Anatolia.

1. *Koloneia on the Lykos in interior Pontos*. Now Sebinkarahisar, Koloneia was a stronghold on a main route to the east; rebuilt by Justinian I, it was attacked by the Arabs in 778 and 940. Koloneia appears as a military district commanded by

a *doux* Kallistos ca.838 (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 56 [1986] 155f) and a *strategos* by 863; a seal of the 9th/10th C. calls the commander of Koloneia *archon*. For Constantine VII Koloneia was a small theme, named for its powerful and steep fortress, the *polisma* of Koloneia. In 1057, the *tagmata* of Koloneia and Chaldia supported the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos, and in 1068 Koloneia was controlled by the rebel Crispin. It fell to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 but was briefly retaken by the Byz. in 1106. Koloneia was a bishopric under Sebasteia; by 879 it became autocephalous and in the 11th C. was made a metropolis. The region was the center of the PAULICIANS in the 7th-9th C. The site contains an imposing fortress with citadel and keep of several periods from Roman through Ottoman.

2. *Koloneia in Cappadocia*. Located at the edge of the central Anatolian plateau, this Koloneia, now Aksaray, was important as a road junction and APLEKTON where armies gathered for expeditions to the south and east. Koloneia was a suffragan bishopric of MOKISSOS through the 11th C.; it preserves no Byz. remains.

LIT. 1. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 145-51.

LIT. 2. *TIB* 2:207f.

-C.F.

**KOLOSSAI**. See CHONAI.

**KOLYBAS, SERGIOS**, *protonotarios* and imperial secretary, rhetorician; fl. late 12th C. Kolybas (Κολυβάς) wrote two speeches addressed to ISAAC II and delivered in 1193 (not in 1186 as they are dated by Dujčev), almost at the same time as the speech of George TORNIKIOS. Kolybas's speeches concern the revolt of ASEN I and PETER OF BULGARIA; he stressed that Peter concluded a truce with Byz., whereas Asen was still fighting against the empire.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 280-300.

LIT. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 77-81.

-A.K.

**KOMENTIOLOS** (Κομεντίολος), general; died Constantinople 27 Nov. 602. Komentiolos started his career under Maurice in 583, as a member of an embassy to the Avars, then as military commander. In 584 he defeated Slav troops under Ardagastos; Komentiolos moved less successfully the next year against the Avars. In 588/9 Maurice

sent him against the Persians as a replacement for PHILIPPIKOS, and Komentiolos gained a decisive victory at Sisarbanon, near Nisibis; he captured the fortress of Akbas. When CHOSROES II fled to the empire, Komentiolos and DOMITIANOS were in charge of the king, and Komentiolos restored him to the throne. Recalled to the Balkans, Komentiolos was routed in 598 by the Avars and fled to Drizipetra (Thrace), where the citizens prevented his entry; thereafter the city succumbed to the barbarians. Together with PRISKOS he held command in the area of the Danube; they were unable to stop the Avar invasion. During the revolt of PHOKAS, Komentiolos was assigned to defend the walls of Constantinople but was seized and executed.

Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, the main source on Komentiolos, is hostile to him, describing the general as a coward and even a traitor: thus the battle near Drizipetra is presented as a treacherous act to punish unruly soldiers. To be distinguished from Komentiolos is another Komentiolos, a brother of Phokas; he revolted against Herakleios (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 311-23).

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 108-12. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, "Symbole eis ten chronologesin ton Abarikon kai Slabikon epidromon epi Maurikiou (582-602)," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 175-82. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 97-105, 139-50.

-W.E.K., A.K.

**KOMES**. See COMES.

**KOMES HYDATON** (κόμης ὑδάτων, lit. "count of the waters"), subaltern official of the GENIKON mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. The *komes hydaton* was in charge of AQUEDUCTS, as is clear from the letter of Theodore of Kyzikos to Constantine VII in which the bishop asked the *komes* to provide him with "wintry water" to satiate his "summery thirst" (*NE* 19 [1925] 276.18-20). Dölger (*Beiträge* 90, n.9) surmises that his duty was to collect the tax on canals and aqueducts, which is mentioned in the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 16.1.27). He is perhaps to be identified with the LOGOTHETES TON HYDATON.

-A.K.

**KOMES TES KORTES** (κόμης τῆς κόρτης), official on the staff of a STRATEGOS, probably a civil official with judicial and police duties. Constantine

VII (*De cer.* 489.17-21) states that the name originates from the word *korte* (tent), since the duty of the *komes* was to pitch the imperial tent during a campaign. The author of the vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS (ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3:45.5-16) calls him "the shield-bearer of the *korte*" and stresses the Italian origin of the term. Several seals of this *komes* are preserved, dated mostly to the 8th and 9th C. (*Zacos, Seals* 1, nos. 1422, 1495, 1530A); the legends on certain seals indicate the province in which the *komes tes kortes* served: Peloponnesos (*Zacos, Seals* 2, no.936), Macedonia, Chaldia, and so on. The earliest mention of the *komes tes kortes* in narrative sources is a letter of THEODORE OF STROUDIOS (PG 99:1232A) of 817/18; the vita of Theodore reports that Leo V ordered the *strategos* of Anatolikon to send the *komes tes kortes* to flog the holy man (PG 99:296B). In the vita of George of Amastris the *komes tes kortes* has responsibility in a criminal case, and Constantine VII mentions the *komes* together with PROTONOTARIOI (*De cer.* 489.2-3). *Komites tes kortes* appear in the lists of provincial functionaries from 995 (*Ivir.*, no.8.10) to 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.61), usually after the CHARTOULARIOI of the *dromos* and of themes. The last references to *komites tes kortes* are in the 12th C. in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene and in a letter of 1116.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 43. E. Vranousse, *Komiskortes ho ex Arbanon* (Ioannina 1962).

-A.K.

**KOMES TES LAMIAS** (κόμης τῆς λαμίας), an enigmatic functionary of the GENIKON mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; the name has been connected with the Latin *lamina/lamna*, meaning, among other things, gold or other precious metals, and interpreted as one who "had to do with bullion and mines" (Bury, *Adm. System* 89). The usual opinion that the *komes tes lamias* is to be identified with the *comes metallorum per Illyricum* first mentioned in 365 and known to the *Notitia dignitatum* (O. Seeck, *RE* 4 [1901] 659) cannot be either proven or rejected. On seals of the 9th through the 11th C. the *komes tes lamias* bears the titles of *spatharios*, *strator*, or *protospatharios*, and sometimes combines his office with that of the *epi ton oikeiakon* (see OIKEIAKOS) or the *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 401-06; *Zacos, Seals* 2, no.829).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 593, n.978.

-A.K.



**KOMES TON TEICHEON** (κόμης τῶν τειχέων, τειχῶν, or τοῦ τείχους, lit. "count of the walls"), commander of a military body responsible for the defense of the LONG WALL and the adjacent area. Bury (*Adm. System* 68) without convincing proof connects this office with the *vicarius* of the Long Wall who was introduced by Justinian I and soon replaced by the Justinianic praetor for Thrace. The first mentioned *komes ton teicheon* (named *archon tou teichiou* by Theoph. 401.1 or *ton teicheon* by Nikeph. 56.4–5) was Niketas Anthrax who was executed in 718/19. The term seems not yet established in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C.; in the late 9th C. the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS calls him sometimes *domestikos* and sometimes *komes*. A 10th-C. historian (Genes. 4.46–47) describes him as "one entrusted with the care of the Walls." The functions of the *komes ton teicheon* are not clearly defined: he belonged to the DOMESTIKOI and could even combine his post with that of the DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON. The *komes ton teicheon* supervised the PRISON of Chalke and participated in guarding the palace. The office of *domestikos ton teicheon* is mentioned by pseudo-KODINOS in the 14th C., but the last known *komes ton teicheon* was probably the 11th-C. *patrikios* Melias, whom CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. Kurtz, no.16.27) calls the *archon* of the walls. Oikonomides (*Listes* 337) surmises, contrary to Guillard, that the office is mentioned also in the PEIRA. The staff of the *komes ton teicheon* was identical to that of the *domestikos ton Noumeron*.

LIT. Guillard, *Titres*, pt.XIX (1964), 17–25. —A.K.

**KOMES TOU STAULOU** (κόμης τοῦ σταύλου, lit. "count of the stable"), one of the STRATARCHAI, a high-ranking official responsible for the horses and mules needed by the army and the court, a duty he shared with the LOGOTHETES TON AGELON. In the late Roman Empire the *comites* (or *tribuni*) *sacri stabuli* administered the levying of horses from the provinces; this levy was later commuted, and in 367 Valens ordered that procurators of the imperial estates should pay to the government 23 solidi per horse assessed (Jones, *LRE* 1:625f). In the 6th C. the title of *archon* of the imperial *hippokomoi* (grooms) was conferred on leading generals such as Belisarios (Prokopios, *SH* 4.39) or Konstantianos (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.7.26). Badouarios, Justin II's brother, is called *komes* of the

imperial stable (*ton staulon*) by a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 246.12–14). In the TAKTIKA and esp. in the *De ceremoniis* the *komes tou staulou* is an officer responsible for horses in Constantinople (at the court?) and in the estates of Malagina; his staff, omitted in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, included CHARTOULARIOI, *komites* of Malagina, and several others (EPEIKTES, *saphramentarios*, etc.) whose functions are not clearly defined; a *chartoularios* of the stable still existed at the end of the 11th C. (PG 127:973B). By the 13th C. the KONOSTAULOS seems to have replaced the *komes tou staulou*, although in the 14th C. pseudo-KODINOS mentions the *komes* of the imperial horses, a courtier who, together with the PROTOSTRATOR, held the horse while the emperor mounted. At the end of the 13th C. Chadenos, who was the *komes* of the imperial horses (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:47.10), was given important political assignments.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 113f. Guillard, *Institutions* 1:469–71. Oikonomides, *Listes* 338f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:487–97. —A.K.

**KOMETOPOULOI** (Κομητόπουλοι), the sons of the *comes* Nicholas and his wife Ripsime—David, Moses, Aaron, and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. ASOLIK plainly says that the Kometopouloi ("Komsajagk") were Armenians from the district of Derjan. They headed a revolt in Bulgaria against Byz. power. Where and when this revolt began are the subject of discussion. An 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 255.73–80) says that the sons of PETER OF BULGARIA, Boris II and Romanos, left Constantinople ca.970 in order to oppose the revolt of the Kometopouloi; JOHN GEOMETRES in a poem titled *On the Kometopouloi*, playing on the word for comet and the name of Kometopouloi, connects the revolt with the appearance of a comet (perhaps in 968) and the death of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS in 969 (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 42 [1972–73] 410f). Nevertheless W. Seibt thinks it impossible that the revolt started in 969; he refers to another passage in Skylitzes (Skyl. 328f) in which the revolt of the Kometopouloi is set at the time of the death of JOHN I TZIMISKES in 976. Also disputed is whether the revolt encompassed only Macedonia or took place in northeastern Bulgaria, eventually to be united with the movement in western Bulgaria. P. Petrov (*BBulg* 1 [1962] 137–42) hypothesized that the account by the 15th-C. Polish historian

Długosz about the revolt of Peter and Bojan in Bulgaria in 976 is to be connected with the activity of the Kometopouloi. David and Moses died soon after 976, and Aaron, probably, on 14 June 987 or 988. Samuel remained alone at the helm of the Bulgarian state.

LIT. W. Seibt, "Untersuchungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der 'bulgarischen' Kometopulen," *HA* 89 (1975) 65–100. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 345–54. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Les 'Cométopoules et l'état de Samuel,'" *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 497–500. —A.K.

**KOMMERKIARIOS** (κομμερκιάριος), a fiscal official, probably the successor of the late Roman *comes commerciorum*, the controller of trade on the frontier. The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM mentions only three *comites commerciorum*: for Oriens, for the area on the Danube and the Black Sea, and for Illyricum (O. Seeck, *RE* 4 [1901] 643f). The first mention of *kommerkiarios* is found in fragmentary inscriptions of a law promulgated by Anastasios I. The seals of *kommerkiarioi* show that they were stationed in many places on the frontier, apparently supporting the statement of Prokopios (*SH* 25.5) that Justinian I installed customs stations "at each strait" and sent two *archontes* to each location to collect tolls. G. Millet's attempt (*Mélanges offerts à m. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 2 [Paris 1924] 303–27) to consider the early *kommerkiarioi* as the emperor's merchants is questionable.

The [*genikos*] *kommerkiarios* farmed out his office at public auction for one or two years; his functions have been understood as those of a duty collector or of a quartermaster general of the army or of an entrepreneur (or association of entrepreneurs) who obtained the monopoly of SILK trade and silk production, initially for all the empire, then for one or more provinces. The *kommerkiarioi* had special seals for their merchandise, displaying the image of the emperor(s), the INDICATIONS for which each seal was valid (ranging from 673/4 to 832/3), and naming the warehouses (*apothekai*, concentration and redistribution points) of the province(s) under their jurisdiction. For a short period in 695–97 and permanently from 730/1 to 832/3, these special seals do not mention individual *kommerkiarioi* but rather bear the impersonal expression "of the imperial *kommerkia*," presumably because these were offices run by state employees who may have exercised general control over the merchandise and collected duties.

After the mid-8th C. these offices appear only in Thrace and Macedonia. From the end of the 7th C. the significance of *kommerkiarioi* decreased; the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS cites them only as subaltern officials in the GENIKON. These new officials, called [imperial] *kommerkiarioi*, had jurisdiction over themes or ports as well as the function of controlling imports and exports and collecting some duties.

On seals of the 9th to 11th C., *kommerkiarioi* are seen to control larger territorial units, such as Chaldia or Cyprus, or to operate in trade centers such as Abydos, Erythrai, and Cherson; sometimes, like Joseph, *abydikos* and *kommerkiarios* of Thessalonike and Kephallenia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1075), they functioned simultaneously in towns far removed from each other. Some *kommerkiarioi*, such as the *kommerkiarios* of the Bulgarians (*ibid.*, no.910) and *kommerkiarios* of Preslav (no.1043), were inspectors of trade in the northern Balkans. They held court titles, such as *mandator* or *protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, but could have specifically "commercial" offices such as *metretes* or "measurer" (no.627). A seal of a *megas kommerkiarios* of the West, titled *spatharokandidatos*, is datable to the second half of the 10th C. (no.809).

At least until 1196 (*Lavra* 1, no.67.61), *kommerkiarioi* appear in chrysobulls as collectors of KOMMERKION, but the author of the vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par.10.13–15) already identified a *kommerkiarios* as the Byz. equivalent of PRAKTOR.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 157–91. C. Morrisson, W. Seibt, "Sceaux de commerciaux byzantins du VIIe siècle trouvés à Carthage," *RN* 24 (1982) 222–40. Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, nos. 2–15, 17, 19–22, 27, 29–30, 40, 42, 46. Idem, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 33–53. —A.K., N.O.

**KOMMERKION** (κομμέρκιον), a term with two meanings in Byz.

1. *Commercium* was the late Roman name of some frontier cities where exchanges with foreign merchants were authorized; their activities were supervised by the *comes commerciorum*.

2. *Kommerkion* was a tax on merchandise that appears in the sources around the year 800. It has been understood as a circulation and sales tax, paid at the CUSTOMS and a replacement of the OCTAVA; it was collected on all merchandise



imported into the empire (including some prisoners of war destined to be sold as slaves) and, inside the empire, on merchandise reaching Constantinople by sea. Its rate was 10 percent *ad valorem* (thus also called *dekate*), until the mid-14th C., when John VI reduced it to 2 percent.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 174, 282f, 592, 594, 596–98. —N.O.

**KOMNENE, ANNA**, historian; born Constantinople 2 Dec. 1083, died ca. 1153/4. Eldest daughter of ALEXIOS I, Anna Komnene (Κομνηνή) was betrothed to Constantine Doukas, son of MICHAEL VII, who was regarded as the heir to the throne; after his premature death she married Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. In 1118, with the support of IRENE DOUKAINA, she schemed in order to obtain the throne for her husband, but the success of JOHN II forced her to retire to the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, although she became a nun only on her deathbed.

In the monastery Anna was a patron of scholarship and wrote (after 1148) the *Alexiad*, a long panegyric of her father, whose reign she contrasted to the rule of her nephew MANUEL I. As in Bryennios's history, Anna started with the background of Alexios's victory; Bryennios, however, praised the leading noble families equally, while Anna concentrated on her father's deeds. Proud of the ancient heritage of Byz., she was very conservative and disapproved of the radical ideas of both JOHN ITALOS and the BOGOMILS. Although Anna's chronology is inconsistent (Ja. Ljubarskij, *VizVrem* 23 [1963] 47–56), and the facts sometimes distorted, the *Alexiad* is an important source, esp. for the history of Alexios's wars and international relations. A talented writer, Anna often created images (e.g., for ROBERT GUISCARD) of depth and complexity; many scenes are emotionally vivid. The *Alexiad* was paraphrased in the vernacular. Anna's eulogy by George TORNIKIOS provides us not only with her moral characterization, but also with a physical portrait.

ED. *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (with P. Gautier), 4 vols. (Paris 1937–76), with Fr. tr.; Eng. tr. E.R.A. Sewter (Baltimore-Harmondsworth 1969); Russ. tr. Ja. Ljubarskij (Moscow 1965). H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII* (Vienna 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:400–09. G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford 1929). Ja. Ljubarskij, "Mirovozzrenie Anny Komniny," *Učenyje zapiski Velikolukskogo pedinstitutu* 24 (1964) 152–76. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Ge-

schichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. —A.K.

**KOMNENE, IRENE**, *sebastokratorissa*, wife of the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos (Manuel I's brother); born ca. 1110, died Constantinople? soon after 1151/2. After her husband's death in 1142, the ambitious Irene came into conflict with the young Manuel I. She was exiled to the Princes' Islands, and her enormous fortune was confiscated. When she returned, she was then accused of being involved in a plot against Manuel I (in 1148) and after a short banishment was placed in the Pantokrator monastery. Irene was the patron of literati in the capital (Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, Tzetzes, Manasses) and corresponded with the monk Jacob. The poets praised her wealth, beauty, cleverness, and her courageous independence in opposition to Manuel I. Irene's sons John and Alexios became Manuel's favorites, and Alexios Komnenos controlled the government during Alexios II's minority; her daughter Theodora was married to Henry of Babenberg, another daughter Eudokia was Andronikos I's mistress.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:360–79. E. Jeffreys, "The Sebastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness," *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 63–71. O. Lampsidis, "Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 91–105. —A.K.

**KOMNENE, MARIA** (the Porphyrogenete), daughter of MANUEL I and BERTHA OF SULZBACH; born Constantinople Mar. 1152, died Constantinople July 1182/early 1183. She was heiress-presumptive until ALEXIOS II was born. About 1163 she was betrothed to the future BÉLA III of Hungary. Despite the betrothal, in 1166 or 1167 Manuel offered her hand to WILLIAM II of Sicily, whose regents declined the offer. After Alexios II's birth, her engagement to Béla was terminated. In 1171 or 1172 Manuel betrothed her to William II, but she never left for Italy. In 1177 or 1178, Manuel offered her hand to confirm an alliance with the Montferrat family; early in 1180 RENIER OF MONTFERRAT married her. She received the title *kaisarissa* (i.e., wife of the caesar); with her forceful personality, she easily dominated him. After Manuel's death, dissatisfied by her lack of influence on the regency for Alexios II, Maria started a conspiracy (Feb. 1181). When it was detected in March, she and her husband fled to

Hagia Sophia, whence she waged war on the regency's soldiers. She urged the future ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS to advance on Constantinople. In May the patriarch arranged peace and she and Renier returned to the palace. After Andronikos took Constantinople, she allegedly was poisoned.

LIT. J. Parker, "The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166–7)," *BSR* n.s. 11 (1956) 86–93. Brand, *Byzantium* 34–37. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:439–52. —C.M.B.

**KOMNENIAN DYNASTY**, family that ruled from 1081 to 1185. The first of the KOMNENOI to ascend the throne was ISAAC I, but the dynasty really commenced with his nephew ALEXIOS I. Exceptionally in the history of Byz. the first three members of the dynasty, Alexios, JOHN II, and MANUEL I, held power for a full century. The 12th C. was comparatively stable. Alexios quashed political and ideological resistance and, apart from the rivalry within the family of the Komnenoi, the century did not see serious rebellions or riots. The minority of ALEXIOS II and the usurpation of ANDRONIKOS I, however, reopened political conflict. The Komnenoi stabilized the international position of the empire despite severe pressures from Seljuks, Normans, the Crusaders, and Venice. The economy revived; art and literature flowered even if the term Komnenian RENAISSANCE cannot be used without qualification. Evaluation of the dynasty is contradictory. On the one hand, V. Vasil'evskij propounded a theory (developed by G. Ostrogorsky and modified by P. Lemerle) that, by accepting Western feudalism, the Komnenian dynasty destroyed original Byz. institutions and caused the decline of the empire, while on the other, A. Kazhdan and R.-J. Lilie emphasize the positive effect of Komnenian policy.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Zagadka Komninov," *VizVrem* 25 (1964) 53–98. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 309–12. R.-J. Lilie, "Des Kaisers Macht und Ohnmacht," in *Varia*, vol. 1 (Bonn 1984) 9–120. —A.K., C.M.B.

**KOMNENODOUKAS**. See DOUKAS.

**KOMNENOS** (Κομνηνός), name of a noble lineage, deriving from village of Komne (Psellos in Sathas, *MB* 4:407.20–21); K. Amantos (*Thrakika* 10 [1938] 232f) located it in Thrace despite the explicit evidence of Attaleiates (Attal. 58.11–13)

that they were among those who were noble and famous in the East; in the mid-11th C. their estates were situated in the KASTAMON region. The Komnenoi are known from the reign of Basil II onward: the *protospatharios* Nikephoros governed Vaspurakan, the *patrikios* Manuel Komnenos Erotikos was *strategos autokrator* of the East. His son ISAAC (I) became emperor in 1057. In the 11th C. Komnenoi were landowners (cf. *Peira* 44.1) and military commanders: John, Isaac I's brother, was *domestikos ton scholon*, as was his son Isaac; another son Manuel was *protostrator*; the third son, ALEXIOS (I), became emperor in 1081. The Komnenoi were intermarried with aristocratic families (Dassassenoi, Doukai) and foreign dynasties—Bulgarian and Georgian.

After the establishment of the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, the Komnenoi and families related to them by marriage acquired almost all of the highest military posts and were granted the highest dignities newly invented by Alexios I: according to a very approximative calculation, 90 percent of the topmost elite from 1118 to 1180 consisted of Komnenoi and their relatives (I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 [1976] 374). The Komnenoi were also active as provincial governors in Cilicia and the Balkans. Only rarely were they in the civil service: the *parakoimomenos* John reportedly administered "the state affairs" under John II; Stephen was *megas droungarios*; Alexios and Constantine served as imperial *pinkernes*. These civil servants were all distant relatives of the emperors. Only one relative was in the church hierarchy: Adrianos, Alexios I's nephew, who after a career as ruler of the "Chalybes," a tribe on the eastern frontier, became archbishop of Bulgaria in 1143 under the name of John; Hilarios, *protos* of Athos ca. 1110, who is called a relative of Alexios I, is a very obscure figure.

The role of the Komnenos family in cultural life was limited: Anna KOMNENE received her education against her parents' will; the only other writers in the family were a certain *sebastokrator* Isaac (or Isaac Porphyrogenetos—see KOMNENOS, ISAAC), who composed several theological works, and Alexios I, who produced some poems. More important was the role of the Komnenoi as patrons, esp. certain women, such as Anna and the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE. Great landowners, they founded several churches and monasteries: Kosmosoteira at BERA, KECHARITOMENE,



Uspenskij (*IRAIK* 12 [1907] 29f), followed by O. Jurewicz (*Andronikos I. Komnenos* [Amsterdam 1970] 33f), as the author of the Homeric commentaries. This identification is based on the statement in Isaac's *typikon* for Kosmosoteira that he composed (*syntetacha*) a book including verses and *ekphraseis* (see KOMNENOS, ISAAC THE PORPHYROGENNETOS), and the alleged stylistic similarities between the commentaries and the *typikon*, but neither Uspenskij nor Jurewicz gives examples for comparison. The question remains open.

ED. 1. Proclus, *Trois études sur la providence*, ed. D. Isaac (Paris 1977, 1979) 1:153–223, 2:99–169. *Isaak Sebastokrator's "Peri tes ton kakon hypostaseos" (De malorum subsistentia)*, ed. J.J. Rizzo (Meisenheim an Glan 1971).

LIT. 1. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:79, 253.

ED. 2. *Polemonis declamationes*, ed. H. Hinck (Leipzig 1873) 57–88. *Isaac Porphyrogenitus, Praefatio in Homerum*, ed. J.F. Kindstrand (Uppsala 1979).

LIT. 2. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:51, 2:58. Browning, *Studies*, pt. XVIII [1975], 28. —A.K.

**KOMNENOS, ISAAC THE PORPHYROGENNETOS**, the third son of Alexios I; born Constantinople 16 Jan. 1093, died soon after 1152. Caesar during his father's reign, Isaac was granted the title of *sebastokrator* by his brother John II whom he supported in the latter's conflict with their mother Irene Doukaina and sister Anna Komnene in 1118. The alliance of the brothers, however, was of short duration: ca.1130 (according to Kurtz, in 1122) Isaac, together with his sons Andronikos (the future emperor) and John, fled to Amīr Ghāzī, the Danişmendid sultan of Ikonion (died 1134) and attempted to create a broad coalition against John II including the Turks, Constantine Gabras of Trebizond, Leo I of Cilician Armenia, and Foulques of Anjou, the king of Jerusalem (1131–43). Isaac also went to Palestine and visited some pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. When the coalition failed, Isaac negotiated with John II and returned to Constantinople in 1138, but the peace was soon broken: in 1139 Isaac's son John again fled to the Turks and Isaac was exiled to Herakleia Pontike. After John II's death in 1143, Isaac supported his nephew, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, but this proved to be the wrong choice, and it was another nephew, Manuel I, who managed to seize the throne. Isaac (the son of Alexios I) continued, however, to dream of imperial power, and according to Kinnamos (Kinn. 53f) he tried to take advantage of Manuel's

difficulties and assume his place on the throne. After 1150 Manuel forced Isaac to go into retirement; in 1151/2 Isaac founded the monastery of Kosmosoteira at BERA for which he wrote a *typikon*.

Isaac is represented on a mosaic in the church of the CHORA MONASTERY (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:45–48, no.6): it is believed (R.G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* [Washington, D.C., 1987] 21) that he was the *ktetor* of Chora and had a tomb built there for himself before removing it to the church of the Kosmosoteira (N.P. Ševčenko, *GOrThR* 29 [1984] 135–40). The date for Isaac's reconstruction of Chora suggested by Ousterhout (ca.1120) is based on Kurtz's date of his flight from Constantinople and is probably too early. Isaac also restored the Church of St. Stephen in Constantinople and made it into a hospice for the monks of the Kosmosoteira who visited the capital (Janin, *Églises CP* 473).

During the short period of peace between John II and Isaac, Theodore PRODROMOS addressed to Isaac an *enkomion* (E. Kurtz, *BZ* 16 [1907] 112–17) and a eulogy in hexameters (ed. Hörandner, no.42); some verses were written as if spoken by Isaac (Hörandner, nos. 40–41, cf. also E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 5 [1926–27] 44–46). Isaac has been identified as the paraphraser of the *Letter of Aristeas* (a preface to the Old Testament) preserved in the Seraglio Octateuch, and as the patron of this deluxe MS (J. Anderson, *DOP* 36 [1982] 84–86). In his *typikon* (ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 69.6–8) Isaac states that he “composed (*syntetacha*) a book with hexameter, iambic, and political verses, in addition to letters and *ekphraseis*,” a passage normally interpreted as alluding to his authorship of the book, although it could conceivably refer rather to a compilation. He may have been the author of commentaries on Homer ascribed to an enigmatic Isaac Komnenos the Porphyrogenetos (see the preceding entry on KOMNENOS, ISAAC).

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:238–54. B. Ferjančić, “Sebastokrator i Vizantiji,” *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 159f. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970) 28–35. —A.K.

**KOMNENOS, JOHN**, or John the Fat (Παχὺς), usurper on 31 July 1200 (not 1201, as previously believed). He was the son of Alexios AXOUCH and Maria Komnene (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:117–35), who was a granddaughter of John II. Contrary

to V. Laurent (*EO* 32 [1933] 52f), Pachys was John's sobriquet, not a family name; he had nothing in common with an undistinguished Pachys family known predominantly from 14th-C. sources. John was involved in a plot, probably organized by Alexios Mourtzouphlos (the future Alexios V). Conspirators broke into Hagia Sophia, swore an oath to restore the empire to its former borders, and acclaimed John as emperor; thereafter the crowd pillaged the palace and churches. Alexios III Angelos, who at that time resided in the Blachernai Palace, sent troops under the command of Alexios Palaiologos; they sailed in boats to the Great Palace and easily cleared the Hippodrome of John's supporters. He surrendered and was executed on the spot. The unsuccessful usurpation served as the subject of several contemporary orations by Nicholas MESARITES, Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES, Euthymios TORNİKIOS, and Niketas CHONIATES.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 122–24, 347f.

—A.K.

**KONOSTAULOS** (κονοσταῦλος, from Lat. *comes stabuli*, “count of the stable,” Fr. *connétable*), a term that entered Byz. in the 11th C. under Norman influence. A 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 2:28.5–7) speaks of a Latin *phalangarches* Bryenne “called *konostaulos*.” Guiland (*Institutions* 1:471) mistakenly ascribes a seal of an *anthypatos* Isaac (?) to a *konostaulos* of the 11th C.; in fact, the seal belonged to a KOMES TOU STAULOU (St. Maslev, *IzvBulgArchInst* 20 [Sofia 1955] 452f, no.3; Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.924). The office/title, predominantly in the form *megas konostaulos*, is known only from the 13th C. onward. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:37.4–7) defines him as the commander of Italian mercenaries. The first *megas konostaulos* mentioned in the sources is Michael Komnenos Palaiologos under John III Vatatzes (Akrop. 1:134.10–11). In the hierarchy of pseudo-KODINOS the *megas konostaulos* follows the *megas PRIMIKERIOS*. From the 13th to the 15th C. members of noble families (Palaiologoi, Tarchaneiotai, Monomachoi) held this post as did Western seigneurs such as LICARIO of Verona; the title was also conferred on Leonardo Tocco.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:471–74. Stein, “Untersuchungen” 54.

—A.K.

**KONSTANTIA**. See CONSTANTIA.

**KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI** (Constantine the Philosopher), Bulgaro-Serbian teacher and writer; born Kosteneć (on the Marica River)? ca.1380, died after 1431. He studied at the PETRITZOS monastery under EVTİMĪJ OF TŪRNOVO and his pupil Andronikos. After the Turkish sack of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) in 1410, Konstantin migrated to Serbia, where the *despotes* STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ welcomed him. He devoted himself to teaching and writing, interrupted by a visit to the Holy Land and diplomatic missions to Timur and Ottoman sultans. Konstantin encouraged the reform of Serbian Slavonic in accordance with the principles established by Evtimij. He wrote a treatise on orthography, surviving in two redactions; a Life of Stefan Lazarević which is rich in historical, geographical, and ethnographical information (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:366–71); and a *Pilgrimage to Palestine* that is mainly derivative of *hodoiporiai to Edem*, Greek travel guides for PILGRIMAGE. Konstantin also translated Theodoret of Cyrillus's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and possibly other Greek texts. Konstantin introduced to Serbia the rigorous philology and literary sophistication which his teachers had learned from 14th-C. Byz.

ED. *Sŭbrani sŭčinenija*, ed. K. Kuev and G. Petkov (Sofia 1986).

LIT. Ju. Trifonov, *Život i dejnost na Konstantin Kostenečki* (Sofia 1943). K. Kujew, *Konstantyn Kostenecki w literaturze bulgarskiej i serbskiej* (Krakow 1950) and rev. I. Dujčev, *BS* 13 (1952–53) 328–34. I. Dujčev, “Za knižovnoto tvorčestvo na Konstantin Kostenečki,” *Izvestija na Institut za bŭlgarska literatura* 2 (1954) 223–31. S. Stanojević, “Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle,” *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 18 (1896) 409–72. —R.B.

**KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA**, a native of Serbia, captured by the Turks at Novo Brdo in July 1455 and forced into military service as a JANISSARY until the Hungarians recaptured him in 1463. Konstantin also claims to have participated in the siege of Constantinople in 1453, as one of the Serbian contingent sent by the *despotes* GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ. His *Memoirs* were probably written in Serbian, though they survive only in Czech and Polish versions in MSS and printed editions dating from the 16th C. onward. The Czech version is probably closer to the original; the Polish is translated from the Czech (A. Danti, *RicSlav* 16 [1968–69] 126–62). Chapter 26 treats the siege of 1453. Konstantin's account con-



centrates on the Turkish maneuvers, particularly the feats of engineering in conveying ships across land and in breaching the walls. He stresses the "treachery" of Mehmed II in breaking his truce with Constantine XI.

ED. Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, Czech text with Eng. tr. B. Stolz (Ann Arbor 1975). *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, tr. R. Lachmann (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1975). —S.C.F.

**KONSTANTIN OF PRES LAV** (Constantine of Bulgaria), medieval Bulgarian writer and bishop of Preslav; late 9th–early 10th C. A pupil of Methodios and thoroughly familiar with the Greek language and Byz. religious culture, he may have been among the pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS sold into slavery and ransomed by a Byz. official. Konstantin lived in Bulgaria from before 893 to ca.910. His works include a translation of Athanasios of Alexandria's homilies against the Arians (906), a Gospel commentary (*Učitel'noe evangelie*) consisting mainly of translations of homilies of John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, a short explanation of church organization and liturgy based largely on the works attributed to Patr. Germanos I, a world chronicle from Adam to 893 drawing entirely on Byz. sources (Bulgaria is mentioned only in connection with the death in battle of Emp. Nikephoros I), an edifying acrostic poem, the earliest surviving Old Church Slavonic poetic text, an Office in honor of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios, and several liturgical hymns. Konstantin displays little originality of thought, but considerable skill in adapting Church Slavonic to the expression of theological, philosophical, and other abstract ideas, as well as some poetic feeling. His works were influential in Serbia and later in Russia.

ED. *Azbučnata molitva v slavjanskite literaturi*, ed. K.M. Kuev (Sofia 1974). V.N. Zlatarski, ed. "Naistarijat istoričeski trud v starobŭlgarskata knižnina," *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija* 27 (1923) 132–82.

LIT. Antonin, *Konstantin, episkop bolgarskij, i ego Učitel'noe evangelie* (Kazan 1885). E. Georgiev in *Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura*, vol. 1, ed. P. Dinekov (Sofia 1962) 112–26. K. Kuev in *Rečnik na bŭlgarskata literatura* (Sofia 1977) 2:238f. T.G. Popov, *Triodni proizvedenija na Konstantin Preslavski* (Sofia 1985). —R.B.

**KONTAKION** (κοντάκιον), a sermon in verse, usually celebrating major feasts and saints. From the late 5th to 7th C. it was chanted during the

ORTHROS by a preacher or *psaltes* (SINGER) and choir. It consists of an introduction (the *prooimion* or *koukoulion*), followed by a varying number of OIKOI (stanzas) connected to the *prooimion* by a refrain; the *oikoi* are linked by an ACROSTIC as well as by their shared and complex metrical structure, which is based on patterns of corresponding stressed syllables. An HEIRMOS (model stanza) begins each *kontakion* and indicates its melody and metrical pattern, which differ for the *prooimion* and for the *oikoi*.

Though antecedents for several of the *kontakion*'s most striking features can be found in Greek homiletic practice of the 3rd–4th C., the first authors of the *kontakion* were drawing on Syriac forms of poetic sermon (the Memra, a metrical sermon; the Madrasa, which used a refrain and acrostic; and the Sugita, a sermon in dialogue form), particularly as developed by EPHREM THE SYRIAN, whose work also existed in Greek versions. The high point in the composition of the *kontakion* was reached in the mid-6th C. by ROMANOS THE MELODE. The AKATHISTOS HYMN may also date from this period. Other writers of *kontakia*, older contemporaries of Romanos, include Kyriakos and Domitios, of whom little is known but their names.

The dominant form of HYMN, the *kontakion* was gradually superseded during the 8th C. by the recently devised KANON. *Kontakia* continued to be written until the 9th C. (e.g., by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER), but the vigor had gone; eventually the *kontakion*, reduced to its *prooimion* and first *oikos* only, became simply a hymn to be inserted after the sixth ode of the *kanon*. At their liveliest, *kontakia* use bold imagery and vivid, almost theatrical dialogue that dramatically recreates the scriptural texts set in the liturgical calendar.

ED. C. Høeg, *Contacarium Ashburnhamense* (Copenhagen 1956).

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 171–353. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 3–156. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 1:111–81. P. Maas, "Das Kontakion," *BZ* 19 (1910) 285–306. —E.M.J.

**KONTOSTEPHANOS** (Κοντοστέφανος, "short Stephen," fem. *Κοντοστεφανίνα*), a noble family the first known member of which was Stephen, *domestikos* of the West under Basil II, whose nickname was "due to his short stature" (Skyl. 331.33–34). Involved in intrigues, Stephen fell victim to

Basil's wrath and was beaten by the emperor. Nothing more of the Kontostephanos family is recorded until 1080, when the Turks captured Isaac, a military commander. The Kontostephanoi played an important role throughout the 12th C., predominantly as commanders of the fleet: admiral (*thalassokrator*) Isaac fought unsuccessfully in 1107/8; Stephen fell during the siege of Kerkyra (1149); Andronikos, *megas doux* of Manuel I, led the fleet against Egypt in 1169; John was the admiral (*naumarchos*) of Isaac II. They also served as governors of Crete (Alexios ca.1167, Stephen in 1193, Nikephoros in 1197) and of several other provinces. The Kontostephanoi intermarried with KOMNENOI, DOUKAI, ANGELOI, and other noble families and possessed large estates. There is no evidence of their participation in cultural life. Their position declined after 1204, although they are mentioned in the list of noble families in the poem on BELISARIOS. They owned property in Constantinople, on Lemnos, and elsewhere, were related to noble families such as LASKARIS, and obtained some government positions: for example, a certain Kontostephanos was commandant of the fortress of Garella in Thrace in 1343. Among later Kontostephanoi were a teacher (John, ca.1358), a scribe (Phlamoulios, ca.1413–16), and a monk (Dionysios, ca.1365).

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 52.3 (1909) 152–66. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 57–62. *PLP*, nos. 13111–27. —A.K.

**KONYA.** See IKONION.

**KORAN.** See QUR'ĀN.

**KORIUN.** See MESROP MAŠTOC'.

**KORMČAJA KNIGA** (lit. "The Pilot's Book" according to current etymological interpretation, cf. Gr. *pedalion*), a term attested from the 13th C. for Slavic collections of ecclesiastical and secular law of both Byz. and Slavic origin. Three or four "families" of Kormčaja are distinguished, named after their most important or most familiar MSS or after their place of origin (not in all cases undisputed).

1. The Old Slavonic (or "Bulgarian") Kormčaja, the best MS of which is the Efremovskaja Korm-

čaja of the 12th C. (*Drevneslavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovaniij*, ed. V.N. Benešević, vol. 1 [St. Petersburg 1906, rp. Leipzig 1974]; vol. 2 [Sofia 1987]). Its core is the *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* without commentary.

2. The "Serbian" redaction, translated by SAVA OF SERBIA ca.1219? (complete text—Raškij MS of 1305), with variants in the Rjazanskaja Kormčaja of 1284, which includes the commentated *Synopsis canonum*.

3. The "Russian" (Novgorodskaja or Sofijskaja) Kormčaja of the 13th C., which has the complete text of the canons with commentary.

As a fourth family some cite the Ustjužskaja (or "Moravian") Kormčaja (*Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, ed. J. Vašica et al., vol. 4 [Brno 1971] 147–98, 205–363), which contains selected passages from the SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES in translation. The Russian Kormčaja was widely disseminated in Russia and was supplemented by numerous original Slavic texts.

LIT. Ja.N. Ščapov, *Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow 1978). I. Žužek, *Kormčaja kniga: Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (Rome 1964). S.V. Troicki, *Kako treba izdati Svetosavsku Krmčiju* (Belgrade 1952). —L.B.

**KORONE** (Κορώνη, Coron, anc. Asine), city in the southeast corner of Messenia in the PELOPONNESOS. The city had civic status in late antiquity (Hierokl. 647.15), and a fragment of Diocletian's Price Edict was discovered there. By the time of the Slavic invasions the site was probably strongly fortified. At some undetermined date the people of ancient Korone (modern Petalidi) moved to Asine, and the name was changed. By the early 9th C. a bishop of Korone is attested as a suffragan of the archbishop of PATRAS (*Reg* 2, no.371), and Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, no.646) dates to the 9th C. the seal of Prokopios, bishop of Korone. Like METHONE, Korone profited from the pilgrimage traffic and the growth of east-west trade from the 11th C. onward. After the Fourth Crusade Korone was granted first to GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN, who ceded it to Venice in 1209; ca.1300 it was under the authority of Monemvasia. The Greek peasants of the hinterland of Korone seem to have had a favorable status in comparison with their counterparts in the Morea: they could hold land, in addition to their unfree tenure (*stasia*), and

could dispose of this land freely without recourse to the commune.

The imposing fortress on the sea, although substantially rebuilt by Venice, is essentially Byz., probably to be assigned to the 6th–7th C. Within the fortress are the remains of a basilica, presumably of the same date.

LIT. Andrews, *Castles* 11–23. A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, "He episkope Korones stis arches tou IG' aiona," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985–86) 376–84. C. Hodgetts, "Land Problems in Coron 1298–1347," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 135–57. —T.E.G.

**KORYKOS** (Κώρυκος), coastal city of CILICIA whose rich architectural and epigraphical record compensates for the deficiencies of the late antique sources, which state only that Justinian I restored the local bath and poorhouse. Five major churches, richly decorated basilicas of varying style, reflect considerable activity ca.480–550, and 636 funerary inscriptions, of which 393 name occupations, allow the social and economic structure to be reconstructed. The population included manufacturers and sellers of a vast range of products. As an important port near the frontier, Korykos became headquarters of a *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI; one such *droungarios*, Apsimar, became emperor as Tiberios II. The troops from Korykos were called Kourikiotai (Theoph. 370.24, Nikeph. 40.2). Korykos was later incorporated in the theme of SELEUKEIA. Circa 1100, after a brief Turkish occupation, Alexios I rebuilt Korykos, which was described by his historian daughter (An.Komn. 3:45.22–30) as formerly well fortified but recently ruined. By that date the city consisted of a castle whose concentric walls occupied a small part of the ancient site. It was lost to the Armenians in the late 12th C. The castle manifests several stages of construction, some perhaps as early as the 7th C.

LIT. E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (Manchester 1930). H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:210–22. Idem, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 242–49. A. Gurevič, "Iz ekonomičeskoj istorii odnogo vostočno-rimskogo goroda," *VDI* (1955) no.1, 127–35. —C.F.

**KOS** (Κῶς), island in the Dodekanese north of RHODES. In late antiquity it was second city of the province of the Islands. The bishop of Kos was suffragan of Rhodes; bishops of Kos participated in various councils from that of NICAIA I (325) onward (R. Janin, *DHGE* 13 [1956] 927). An 8th-

C. seal of a bishop of the island of Kos is known (Zacos, *Seals*, 1, no.1948). The island was administered by a *droungarios*; a seal of Leo, *droungarios* of Kos, is dated to the 8th or 9th C. (V. Laurent, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 789). In the 11th and 12th C. Kos seems to have become more important: Nikephoros MELISSENOS began his revolt there (Bryen. 301.1–6); in the mid-12th C. Nikephoros Komnenos, a grandson of Anna Komnene, governed the island (E. Kurtz, *VizVrem* 17 [1910–11] 288f). An *anagrapheus* of Kos signed a document of 1089 (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.54.24–25).

After 1204 the island was controlled by the Genoese, although it was seized temporarily by John III Vatatzes after 1224 (Greg. 1:29.2). Circa 1325 Kos nominally belonged to the "kingdom" of Martino ZACCARIA but probably was in the hands of the Turks. Circa 1337 the HOSPITALLERS recaptured it and used it as a stronghold for protecting Rhodes: the preceptor of Kos had to maintain 25 Hospitallers, 10 Latin soldiers, 100 "Tourkopouloi," and a doctor with an apothecary. Kos fell to the Turks soon after 1 Jan. 1523.

A three-aisled basilica with elaborate mosaic decoration has been found at Mastikari, and another has been discovered in the town of Kos (A.K. Orlandos, *ArchEph* [1966] 4–98).

LIT. *HC* 3:283–93. A. Maiuri, "I Castelli dei Cavalieri di Rodi a Cos e a Budrum (Alicarnasso)," *Annuario della Regia Scuola archeologica di Atene* 4–5 (1921–22) 275–343. H. Balducci, *Basiliche protocristiane e bizantine a Coo (Egeo)* (Pavia 1936). —T.E.G.

**KOSMAS I**, Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (from ca.727); died 768. After the Arab invasions, the Chalcedonian see of Alexandria remained vacant until the accession of Kosmas. He had the approval of both the emperor and the Muslim ruler. In 742/3, according to Theophanes (Theoph. 416.13–16), Kosmas abjured the doctrine of MONOTHELETISM, which had held sway in Alexandria since the time of HERAKLEIOS. It is, however, doubtful that the patriarch himself had been a Monothelite. The chronicler's brief account may be a confused reference to the formal recognition of Alexandria as an Orthodox see by the other patriarchates.

LIT. M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740; rp. Graz 1958) 2:457–61. A. Jülicher, "Die Liste der alexandrinischen Patriarchen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," in *Festgabe Karl Müller* (Tübingen 1922) 7–23. —A.P.

**KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS**, also called the ANARGYROI, legendary saints. The cult of Kosmas and Damianos apparently developed by the 5th C. in Constantinople, where, according to local tradition, two churches (in Zeugma and Kosmidion) were dedicated to them ca.440 (Janin, *Églises CP* 284–89). According to certain sources (e.g., *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and John XIPHILINOS the Younger, nephew of Patr. John VIII), there were three pairs of *anargyroi* doctors called Kosmas and Damianos: (1) the sons of a certain Theodote from Asia, who died natural deaths and were buried in Pherema (feastday 1 Nov.); (2) the saints executed by Carinus (283–85) in Rome (1 July); and (3) the saints who originated from Arabia and were martyred in Cilicia under Diocletian and Maximian (17 Oct.).

Numerous authors produced stories of miracles performed in Constantinople by Kosmas and Damianos that were used by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, such as the sick being healed by INCUBATION in the church atrium and porticoes. The patients included people whose piety and morals seemed questionable: a Jewess, an ardent fan of the Hippodrome, and a dissolute woman. The veneration of Kosmas and Damianos spread beyond Constantinople; their legends were rewritten by various writers such as ANDREW OF CRETE, PETER OF ARGOS, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and a certain Maximos ca.1300. The legends are preserved also in Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, and Latin.

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of the two saints abound, standing side by side, often in the company of other *anargyroi* such as PANTELEEMON; they are mature men with spare dark beards, clad in tunics and *phelonia* and carrying the tools of their trade. One composition shows them facing each other and receiving the gift of healing in the form of a medical bag offered by the hand of Christ (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.152); at the Holy Anargyroi church at KASTORIA, a similar composition depicts Christ extending them crowns. Few narrative cycles of their lives have survived, though there is a vita icon with 12 scenes that comes from their church at Kastoria, some frescoes in that church and at MISTRA, and occasional miracle scenes in lectionaries or *menologia*. The Arabian pair celebrated Oct. 17 are shown with turbans or being beheaded (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.120).

SOURCES. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907). E. Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vita et miracula* (Berlin 1935). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges* (Paris 1971) 83–213. M. van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' des SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphore géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin," *OrChrP* 47 (1981) 389–425; 48 (1982) 29–64.

LIT. *BHG* 372–392, 2021. A. Wittmann, *Kosmas und Damian* (Berlin-Bielefeld-Munich 1980). M. van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende de sts. Cosme et Damien," *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés* (Paris 1981) 61–77. —A.K., N.P.S.

**KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS MONASTERY**, also known as the Kosmidion. The original church, dedicated to the martyrs KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, was built during the reign of Theodosios II in the suburbs of Constantinople; numerous miracles were ascribed to this shrine. An attached monastery is first attested in the 6th C. Because of its vulnerable location outside the walls, in present-day Eyüp, the church was destroyed in the Avar attack of 626. It was, however, restored by the 8th C. In the 11th C. Emp. MICHAEL IV PAPHLAGON was responsible for major improvements at the monastery; he provided bathhouses, lawns, and fountains, in addition to commissioning the rebuilding of the church and its decoration with mosaics and marble revetment (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:72f). It was to this monastery that, suffering from terminal illness, he retired in Dec. 1041; he received the monastic habit on the day of his death. He was buried in the church he had restored. The monastery of Kosmas and Damianos is mentioned frequently in sources of the Palaiologan period and apparently survived until 1453. It should be distinguished from the contemporary nunnery dedicated to the same saints, which was restored in the late 13th C. by the Dowager Empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 331–33. Janin, *Églises CP* 285–89. —A.M.T.

**KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES**, Alexandrian merchant and (perhaps) later a monk, who traded in ETHIOPIA and the RED SEA, possibly also in INDIA and Taprobana (CEYLON); fl. first half of 6th C. These travels are described in his *Christian Topography*, a work that provides much valuable information about Byz. trade with Africa and Asia, Christianity in Persia, and exotic flora and



fauna. His central purpose is to refute both Ptolemaic astronomy and the contemporary synthesis of Christianity and Aristotelianism in favor of a system that permitted the literal acceptance of the Bible, the world being shown to resemble the tabernacle of Moses. Kosmas wrote as a Nestorian follower of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA at the apogee of the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, tilting primarily at John PHILOPONOS. Given the involvement of Justinian I, the book comports a political undertone. Because Kosmas alludes in his text to illustration, a 6th-C. prototype is assumed for three richly illustrated MSS: Vat. gr. 699 (9th C., ed. Stornajolo), Sinai gr. 1186 (11th C., P. Huber, *Heilige Berge* [Zurich 1980] 56–115), and Florence, Laur. plut. 9.28 (11th C.). Although their pictorial content varies, each contains more than 50 miniatures invaluable for the study of COSMOLOGY, ASTRONOMY, and ZOOLOGY. Biblical sequences emphasize the equipment of the Temple, the Exodus itinerary, and the PROPHETS. Kosmas also wrote a commentary on the SONG OF SONGS in four books, to which a few fragments on the Psalms might belong.

ED. *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus, 3 vols. (Paris 1968–73), with Fr. tr. *The Christian Topography of Kosmas*, tr. J.W. McCrindle (London 1897).

LIT. W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Kosmas Indico-pleustes* (Paris 1962). M.V. Anastos, "The Alexandrian Origin of the Christian Topography of Kosmas Indico-pleustes," *DOP* 3 (1946) 73–80. C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indico-pleuste* (Milan 1908). —B.B., A.C.

**KOSMAS MAGISTROS**, jurist; died after 946. Kosmas was the nephew of Photios and probably was the compiler of Romanos I's novel of 934. Two statements (*psephoi*) of Kosmas have survived as an appendix to the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM. The first, a regulation pertaining to the division of land, has been erroneously interpreted as proving there were periodical distributions of peasants' allotments in Byz.; in fact, it deals with resolving litigation over land (Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 40f). Some monastic acts (*Prot.*, no.6.7–8, of 943; *Ivir.*, no.4.27, of 982) make reference to this *psephos* of Kosmas. The second *psephos* is a definition of the rights of PAROIKOI who settled on the land of a bishopric: the *paroikoi* had no right to alienate or hand down the land granted to them and on their departure could claim only the construction materials of their houses. Weiss (*infra*) considers

this definition proof of the continuity of the status of the late antique *coloni liberi*. Kosmas was in correspondence with ARETHAS and NIKETAS MAGISTROS and was sent with John Kourkouas in 946 to negotiate with the Arabs of Tarsos for the return of prisoners (*TheophCont* 443.1–12).

ED. F. Uspenskij, V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie akty* (Leningrad 1927) xxxv–vi.

LIT. G. Weiss, "Die Entscheidung des Kosmas Magistros über das Parökenrecht," *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 477–500. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 177–80. L.G. Westerink, *Nicetas Magistros: Lettres d'un exilé* (928–946) (Paris 1973) 136. —A.K.

**KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER**, poet and saint; according to Detorakes, born Damascus ca.675, died Maiouma ca.752; feastday 15 Jan., later shifted to Oct. Adopted by the father of JOHN OF DAMASCUS, he was educated together with John by a certain *asekretis* (also Kosmas by name?), a captive from Constantinople. A monk (in the Lavra of St. SABAS), Kosmas was elected bishop of Maiouma, near Gaza, ca.734/5. Together with John, Kosmas defended icon veneration.

Under the name of Kosmas are preserved various hymns on church festivals (PG 98:459–524), a *kanon* on the Elevation of the Cross (H. Tillyard, *BZ* 28 [1928] 29–32), a *kanon* on St. GEORGE (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 14 [1905] 520–25), as well as scholia on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (PG 38:341–680). Th. Detorakes (*EEBS* 44 [1979–80] 223–30) emphasizes that Kosmas was influenced not only by Gregory but also by ROMANOS THE MELODE. Kosmas liked to use cosmic images (abyss, fire, clouds) and sharp contrasts; his language teems with archaic words—all leading to an impression of lofty solemnity. Kosmas enjoyed a high reputation and was praised in various vitae (sometimes together with John of Damascus), *akolouthiai*, and epigrams.

From the 14th C., the portrait of Kosmas, along with those of John and two other hymnographers, sometimes adorns one of the pendentives of a dome. Seated in the pose of an EVANGELIST, writing his hymns into a book, Kosmas is clad as a monk, not a bishop, and often wears a sort of turban characteristic of images of Palestinians (e.g., Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 3, pl.225). He has a full, dark beard.

LIT. *BHG* 394–95. Th. Detorakes, *Kosmas ho Melodos, Bios kai ergo* (Thessalonike 1979). —A.K., N.P.S.

**KOSMAS THE PRIEST**, Bulgarian writer of the second half of the 10th C. Nothing is known of his life, but he probably lived and worked in Preslav. He wrote a treatise against the BOGOMILS. In the first book he sets out critically the religious and social views of the new heretics and seeks to refute them. In the second book he attacks the higher clergy, the monks, and the rich, whose neglect of their religious and social duties, he declares, encourages the spread of the heresy. Kosmas's treatise is a priceless contemporary source on the early development of Bogomilism. It also contains valuable observations on the changing economic and social structure of Bulgaria at that time. He is an intelligent and observant critic, a sharp polemicist, and a vivid and colorful writer. His treatise was much read in medieval Rus', where it provided a model for polemics against local heresies.

ED. *Le traité contre les Bogomils de Cosmas le Prêtre*, ed. A. Vaillant, H. Puech (Paris 1945).

LIT. M. Popruženko, *Kozma Prezviter, bolgarskij pisatel' X veka* (Sofia 1936). C. Backvis, "Un témoignage bulgare du Xe siècle sur les Bogomiles: le 'Slovo' de Cosmas le Prêtre," *AIPHOS* 16 (1961–62) 75–100. F.P. Thomson, "Cosmas of Bulgaria and His Discourse Against the Heresy of Bogomil," *SlEERev* 54 (1976) 262–69. —R.B.

**KOSMAS VESTITOR** (Κοσμάς Βεστίτωρ), writer. According to Beck, he lived between 730 and 850, but A. Wenger (*REB* 11 [1953] 299f) dates him in the mid-8th C. He wrote an *enkomion* of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (K. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 16 [1940] 151–55) and five *enkomia* on the translation of Chrysostom's relics to Constantinople (K. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 55–83). In the fourth of these *enkomia* Kosmas emphasized that THEODOSIOS II was forced by Patr. PROKLOS to return Chrysostom's body from exile and to apologize before the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see DIDASKALOS) for the long delay. The Virgin was also of interest to Kosmas. He dedicated a discourse to her parents Ioakeim and Anna (PG 106:1005–12) and produced four homilies on the Dormition, preserved only in a 10th-C. Latin MS, probably of Italian provenance. Although Kosmas borrowed some passages from Patr. GERMANOS I, he differs from him in details and emphasizes the parallelism of the earthly lives of Mary and Christ; he includes later legends such as the translation of Mary's robe, the famous talisman of Constantinople, to her church at Blachernai.

ED. A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI<sup>e</sup> aux X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1955) 315–33.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 502. A. Wenger, "Les homélies inédites de Cosmas Vestitor sur la Dormition," *REB* 11 (1953) 284–300. —A.K.

**KOSMIDION**. See KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS MONASTERY.

**KOSMOSOTEIRA MONASTERY**. See BERA.

**KOSOVO POLJE** (Πεδίον Κόσοβον), "Field of the Blackbirds," a valley in southern Serbia between Priština and the Laba River; site of two battles, in 1389 and 1448.

On 15 June 1389 a coalition of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, and others under command of the Serbian prince LAZAR fought a battle there against the Turkish army of MURAD I that had invaded Raška; possibly some Greek vassals of the sultan were summoned. According to the contemporary Florentine *Cronaca volgare*, Murad's army was 140,000 men strong while Lazar had only 70,000 soldiers. The actual course of the battle is shrouded in legend and contradictory historical narratives. A Russian traveler, the deacon IGNATIY OF SMOLENSK, in his diary written a few years after the battle noted only the rumors that both Lazar and Murad were killed. Demetrios KYDONES, in a letter to Manuel II (ep.396), alluded to this event; S. Ćirković (*ZRVI* 13 [1971] 213–19) hypothesized that in another letter (ep.398) Kydones celebrated this battle as a victory over the Turks. The *Cronaca volgare* gives a detailed description of the battle: the author says that Lazar together with some valiant men penetrated the Turkish camp; one of them wounded Murad, and the sultan died on the third day, after ordering the execution of Lazar and his companions. The chronicler presents the war as a defeat for the Turks who fled home after the battle. King Tvrtko of Bosnia, in his letters, described Kosovo as his victory and praised "twelve loyal lords" who assassinated the sultan. Serbian chroniclers and hagiographers concentrate on the heroic deeds of Lazar.

In contrast, the Turkish sources of the 15th C. (A. Olesnicki, *Glasnik srpskog naučnog društva* 15 [1935] 59–98) characterize the battle as won by the Turks—either by Murad (they place the as-



sassination of Murad at the very end of the battle, with the assassin rising from among the corpses and taking the sultan by surprise) or by his son Bayezid after the father's assassination. Only in the 15th-C. sources does the name Miloš Kobilić appear as the sultan's assassin. Byz. historians of the 15th C. give disparate descriptions of Kosovo: Sphrantzes briefly presents the Turkish version, Doukas eulogizes the assassin of the "tyrant," and Chalkokondyles analyzes the distinction between the Turkish and Greek views of Kosovo.

Although the battle is usually described as a Turkish victory, both armies suffered enormous losses, and scholars such as Fine (*Late Balkans* 408–11) and Emmert (*infra*) regard the battle as more of a draw. The immediate consequences of the battle were that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state (by the end of 1389) and the Balkan peninsula was opened to further Ottoman expansion. Probably shortly after the battle the Serbian epic tradition began to take shape, praising and lamenting Lazar and Miloš, and transforming the events into a noble moral victory, the source of subsequent Serbian resistance against the Turks.

The second battle of Kosovo, on 17–19 Oct. 1448, resulted in a victory by Murad II over HUNYADI a few years after the defeat of the crusading expedition at VARNA.

LIT. T.A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: The Battle of Kosovo* (New York 1990). D. Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu* (Belgrade 1986). M. Braun, "Kosovo" (Leipzig 1937). G. Škrianić, *Kosovska bitka* (Cetinje 1956). N. Radojčić, "Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kosovo Polje," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 241–46. —A.K., S.W.R.

**KOTYAION** (Κοτύαιον, mod. Kütahya), city of Phrygia, at a strategic road junction; site of an exceptionally powerful fortress. A city of the OP-SIKION theme, Kotyaion occasionally appears in history as a place of refuge or exile; Romanos IV was blinded there in 1072. Byz. lost it ca. 1082 but recovered it for a brief while. A suffragan bishopric of Synnada, Kotyaion was made metropolis in the early 9th C. It rose to greater prominence after its recapture by the Seljuks in 1182 or 1183. The extensive fortifications of Kotyaion, with more than 70 towers, are well preserved. Their first stage, of the early 9th C., consisted of a double wall that made extensive use of *spolia*. This was replaced by more massive structures of ashlar with

bands of brick, apparently of the 12th C. No other Byz. remains survive.

LIT. C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* (Oxford 1985). C.E. Bosworth, *ET* 5:539. —C.F.

**KOUBIKOULARIOS** (κουβικουλάριος, from Lat. *cubicularius*), a general term to designate palace EUNUCHS who waited upon the emperor, the servants of the *sacrum cubiculum*. Guiland (*infra* 269) distinguishes them from the KOITONITAI, suggesting that the *koubikoularioi* were noble personages. In the late Roman Empire they were emancipated slaves imported primarily from Persia or the Caucasus. They were very numerous. In the 6th C. Empress Theodora's retinue consisting of *patrikioi* and *koubikoularioi* was estimated at 4,000 (Malal. 441.9–10). They stood under the command of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and *primicerius* (Jones, *LRE* 1:566–70).

Abundant seals of the 7th–9th C. present the *koubikoularioi* as fulfilling specific duties at court, those of PARAKOIMOMENOS, PRIMIKERIOS, EPI TES TRAPEZES, and OSTIARIOS. They were engaged in financial administration as SAKELLARIOI and CHARTOULARIOI; especially indicative is the 8th-C. seal of an anonymous *koubikoularios* of the imperial bedchamber (KOITON) and *chartoularios* of the imperial VESTIARION (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 1093); *koubikoularioi* also served the ORPHANOTROPHOI, KOURATOIRES, and so on. They played an important role in imperial ceremony. At the same time *koubikoularioi* received posts as governors and army commanders as well as diplomatic assignments. Special *koubikoularioi* were attached to the empress (sometimes female *koubikoulariai* are mentioned) and co-emperors. It seems that Pope Leo I introduced the office of ecclesiastical *cubicularius*, in imitation of the imperial *koubikoularios*, to celebrate the cult of the apostles Peter and Paul (M.A. Cavallaro, *Athenaeum* 50 [1972] 158–75). Guiland (*infra* 280) thinks that the office of *koubikoularios* existed until the 13th C. but Oikonomides (*Listes* 301) asserts that it disappeared by the second half of the 11th C. The term *spatharokoubikoularios* was a combination of *spatharios* and *koubikoularios*; his function was to escort the emperor. Some seals of this dignity are dated to the 11th/12th C. (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 44).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 120–22. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:269–85. E. Honigmann, "Le cubulaire Urbiculus," *REB* 7 (1949) 47–50. —A.K.

**KOUBOUKLEISIOS** (κουβουκλείσιος), imperial title conferred on patriarchal chamberlains. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (151.19–21), they follow the emperor's KOUBIKOULARIOI, thus forming an ecclesiastical parallel to the latter. The title is first mentioned in the minutes of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 (Mansi 13:213E) and often appears on seals of the 9th–11th C.; it probably did not survive the 11th/12th C. The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Benešević distinguishes two groups of *kouboukleisioi*: priests and deacons. As an honorific title, *kouboukleisios* sometimes appears in combination with the offices of *chartophylax*, *skeuophylax*, *oikonomos*, etc.; some *kouboukleisioi* were monks. In the 9th C. the emperor granted the title; under MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS the patriarch bestowed it. Sometime between 1052 and 1056 Keroularios gave the title to a deacon of Antioch (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 860–61).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 39–44. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:119–47; 3:37–42. —A.K.

**KOUKOULION**. See COSTUME.

**KOUKOUZELES, JOHN**, composer, theoretician, singer, teacher, scribe, MAISTOR, monk at the Lavra on Mt. Athos, and saint; born Dyrrachion late 13th/early 14th C., died before ca. 1341; feast-day 1 Oct. His vita has survived in various recensions, the earliest being Thessalonike, Blatadon 46 (1591). There is evidence that his last name was Papadopoulos, Koukouzeles (Κουκουζέλης) being a nickname, and that his mother was Bulgarian. Most frequently, however, he is referred to simply by the epithet, "the *maistor*." Two copies of Koukouzeles' edition of the HEIRMOLOGION, dated 1302 and 1309, survive. His famous didactic chant, "Ison, oligon . . .," is first recorded in Athens, Nat. Lib. 2458 (1336) and has been transcribed by G. Dévai; it exists also in many later MS versions.

Most of his music is transmitted in musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*; see PAPADIKE). His compositions demonstrate new and innovative features: melodic expansion, troping (textual and/or musical additions to a preexisting verse or verse-setting), textual expansion, and greater vocal ranges. Forming a bridge from the musical tradition of the 13th C., his work appears to have provided

the impetus for a new repertory and for musical developments that were to be continued by his contemporaries and successors.

LIT. R. Palikarova Verdeil, *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Copenhagen 1953) 193–210. G. Dévai, "The Musical Study of Koukouzeles in a 14th-Century Manuscript," *ActaAnthHung* 6 (1958) 213–35. *PLP*, no. 13391. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:203–09. E. Trapp, "Critical Notes on the Biography of John Koukouzeles," *BMGS* 11 (1987) 223–29. A. Jakovlević, "Ho megas maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles Papadopoulos," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 357–72. —D.E.C.

**KOUPHISMOS** (κουφισμός, lit. "alleviation"), a temporary tax-relief on property owned by a member of a VILLAGE COMMUNITY. The term appears in only two sources. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.19–30) describes *kouphismos* as a well-established fiscal procedure, which a tax inspector could perform when a member of the village community abandoned his STICHOS. If the individual was known to be living nearby and was expected to return eventually to his property and if the tax inspector thought other villagers would simply abandon their *stichoi* if required to shoulder the tax burden of the member who had fled, the inspector could temporarily reduce the tax burden on the abandoned *stichos* until the original owner returned, at which time the property's full tax liability was restored. The principal differences between *kouphismos* and SYMPATHEIA were that *kouphismos* involved only a partial reduction of the tax, and that, if the owner returned, the property's full tax liability was immediately restored. Further, unlike *sympatheia*, *kouphismos* had no time limit for the owner's return, nor does *kouphismos* appear to lead to KLASMA. As with *sympatheia*, property that had received *kouphismos* could not be sold or confiscated. The brief explanation of *kouphismos* in the 11th-C. (?) Zavorda *Treatise on Taxation* (J. Karayannopoulos in *Polychronion* 323.63–67) is unclear.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 26f, 78f. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 120. —M.B.

**KOURATOR** (κουράτωρ), term that in the late Roman Empire was still applied to a city magistrate (*curator civitatis*); it was eventually replaced by the DEFENSOR CIVITATIS (E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 [1901] 1809–11). From the 6th C. the term acquired the meaning of the manager of imperial

estates (probably KOURATOREIA); the first known *kourator* was Anatolios in 557. This functionary seems to have administered imperial domains that were previously under the direction of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM. *Kouratores* of the late 6th C., esp. Magnos, who controlled the domain of Marina (near Attaleia) and of Hormisdas (near Antioch), seem to have been very influential people (D. Feissel, *TM* 9 [1985] 465–76). In the 9th C. the management of domains was divided among several independent *kouratores*: the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. mention the *megas kourator* and *kourator* of the MANGANA. Eventually the *megas kourator* was replaced by the *oikonomos* of “pious houses” or *euageis oikoi* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 318), who is still known in the 10th C. (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 155–90).

In the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was applied to the heads of individual *kouratoreiai*: 11th-C. seals belong to the *megaloï kouratores* of Eleutherion (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1019), MYRELAION (no.1017), or Kanikleion (no.132). Imperial charters from the 11th C., however, mention simple *kouratores* “of the house of Eleutherion and of Mangana.” A *kourator* of the palace of the lord Romanos is known from a seal (V. Laurent, *BZ* 33 [1933] 351f); also on a seal a *kourator* of the New Estate (*Ktema*) is named (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.184).

A seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.813) belonged to a *megas kourator* [of the properties?] of Antiochos, probably of one of two districts in Constantinople of this name or of local churches. Some *kouratoreiai* were connected not with pious institutions but with particular territories: an imperial *kourator* of Tzouroulon is mentioned in an inscription of 813 (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 564–74); a seal of the *megas kourator* of Mitylene (Mytilene) is dated in the first half of the 11th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.252).

*Kouratores* of the domains of the augusta are also known (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 193f). Some *kouratores* were in the *logothesion* of the DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 485–88). *Kouratores* continued to exist in the 12th C., since Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES prohibited the clergy from holding *kouratoreiai* and overseeing the estates of the *archontes* (PG 138:89A). The staff of the *megas kourator* included clerks, simple *kouratores* of palaces and estates, XENODOCHOI, and EPISKEPTITAI.

The term *kourator* also designated the ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION; *kouratores* of imperial

ateliers, esp. those dealing with silk production, are known from seals of the 9th–11th C. Ecclesiastical *kouratores* are mentioned on seals (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5, nos. 1620–22) and in charters, for example, Michael, “bishop’s *kourator*” in 1071 (*Lavra* 1, no.35.59).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 39–41. Bury, *Adm. System* 100–03. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 131–34. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 304. —A.K.

**KOURATOREIA** (κουρατορεία), also *kouratori-kion*, term used from the second half of the 6th C. to designate a particular group of imperial DEMESNES. Probably the simplification of the administration of imperial demesnes encouraged use of a term to refer to this administration as a whole. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 487.2–4) accuses Emp. Nikephoros I of confiscating the best lands of the EUAGEIS OIKOI and transferring them to “the imperial *kouratoreia*” while the taxes remained on the pious institutions. The office of the *megas KOURATOR* is known from the end of the 6th C. through the 10th C. (Oikonomides, *Listes* 318). From the mid-9th C. onward, the administration of the crown lands expanded and grew more complex. Basil I founded the office of the *kourator ton Manganon*, which was obliged to provide the emperor’s household with necessary goods. In 934 a *kouratoreia* of Melitene was created; a *kouratoreia* of Trychina was located in Lydia (*De cer.* 462.7). Other 10th–11th-C. *kouratoreiai* were Eleutherion, Myrelaion (identical with that of the palace of the lord Romanos [I]?), Kanikleion, New Estate. Probably other heads of imperial estates (provincial *kouratores*, *ephoros* of imperial *kouratoreiai*, EPISKEPTITAI, KTEMATINOS) were connected with this institution. On the other hand, the directors of certain imperial workshops were also called *kouratores*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 39–47. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 131–34. I. Ševčenko, “Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios ‘Curator’ of Tzurulon (AD 813),” *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 568–72. —A.K.

**KOURION.** See CYPRUS.

**KOURKOUAS** (Κουρκούας), a family name of Armenian origin (Arm. Gurgen). Theophanes Continuatus relates that a certain Kourkouas—first name, Romanos (Skyl. 140.44)—a wealthy

and arrogant man, plotted against Basil I. John Kourkouas was *domestikos ton Hikanaton* (TheophCont 426.20); his grandson, also John, became *domestikos ton scholon* in 923 and successfully fought the Arabs: he captured Melitene on 19 May 934 and in 944 took Edessa. His brother Theophilos was also a general. John’s son Romanos was *domestikos ton scholon* in the West. Romanos’s son John, *domestikos ton scholon* in the East, fell in battle against the Rus’ in 971. Theophilos’s grandson, JOHN (I) TZIMISKES, became emperor. Another John Kourkouas was *katepano* of Italy in 1008. Intermarried with the PHOKAS and SKLEROS families, the Kourkouas family belonged to the highest echelon of the military aristocracy. After Basil II their role declined: Romanos, who married the daughter of the last Bulgarian tsar, was accused of plotting against Constantine VIII and blinded. The family shifted to the civil service (*Mich. Ital.* 53–56) and in the 12th C. held important ecclesiastical posts: Michael (II) Kourkouas became patriarch of Constantinople (1143–46).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 13f. B. Blysidou, “He synomosia tou Kourkoua sto ‘Bio Basileiou,’” *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 53–58. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 175. —A.K.

**KOURKOUAS, JOHN**, general, the closest supporter of ROMANOS I; died after 946. After serving as *droungarios tes viglas*, he was promoted ca.921 to the post of *domestikos ton scholon* and sent to subdue the rebellion in Chaldia (Adontz, *Études* 217f). From 926 on Kourkouas fought on the eastern frontier; despite several defeats, mostly by SAYF AL-DAWLA, he managed to seize MELITENE (19 May 934). His invasion of Mesopotamia in 942/3 led to the siege of Edessa in 944. This siege had enormous political and religious significance, since Kourkouas received the MANDYLION in Edessa and sent it to Constantinople. Kourkouas was dismissed after Romanos I’s deposition. His military exploits were praised by a certain *protospatharios* and judge Manuel in a historical work (now lost) in eight books; Kourkouas was considered “a second Trajan or Belisarios.”

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 135–50. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:261–73, 283–95. —A.K.

**KOUROPALATES** (κουροπαλάτης), a high-ranking DIGNITY. In late antiquity the *cura palatii* designated a subaltern official in charge of con-

struction and order in the palace; his rank in the 5th C. was *spectabilis*, rarely *illustris*. The situation changed when Justinian I appointed his nephew, the future emperor Justin II, to this post; thereafter *kouropalates* became a title conferred primarily on members of the imperial family and foreign princes (Armenian, Georgian, etc.). In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. *kouropalates* follows the CAESAR and NOBILISSIMOS; it retained its exceptional character in the 10th C. when Emp. Nikephoros II granted this title to his brother Leo PHOKAS. In the 11th C. it was conferred on several generals outside the imperial family, for example, KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS. The significance of the title declined considerably in the 12th C. when the dignity of the *protokouropalates* was introduced. Although pseudo-KODINOS, himself a *kouropalates*, mentions the title, it was not widely used in later centuries. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the insignia of the *kouropalates* was a red chiton with a cloak and girdle; at the beginning of the 9th C. the color associated with this dignity seems to have been purple, by the end of the 11th C. green (Oikonomides, *Listes* 96, n.49). A seal of the *kouropalatissa* Maria is dated by Seibt in the early 12th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.III (1970), 187–249, with corr. by A. Stratos, *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 49–56. Stein, *Histoire* 2:739–46. Bury, *Adm. System* 33–35. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 242–49. M. Whitby, “On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople,” *Historia* 36 (1987) 468–76. —A.K.

**KOURTIKIOS** (Κουρτίκιος), also Kourtikes, a family name of Armenian origin (K’urdik). The family founder surrendered his town, Lokana, to Basil I and settled in Byz. territory; in 913 another Kourtikios, “the Armenian,” supported the revolt of Constantine DOUKAS. Michael Kourtikios, imperial admiral (*nauarchos*) in Attaleia, participated in the rebellion of Bardas SKLEROS (976–79) and commanded the rebel fleet. Basil Kourtikios was among the *oikeioi* of another usurper, Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, in 1077; later he became Alexios I’s general. The family belonged to the topmost aristocracy of the 11th C.: the Kourtikioi intermarried with DOUKAI, PALAIOLOGOI, and KOMNENOI. Constantine Kourtikios is said to have been betrothed to Theodora, Alexios I’s daughter. This union was dissolved, however, and ca.1105 a certain Kourtikios was involved in the plot of ANEMAS against Alexios I. The family’s position declined



in the 12th C.: except for a seal devoid of information (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.64), only Nicholas Kourtikes is known, a modest functionary in the Mylassa theme (MM 4:329.20–21), active in 1143 (according to Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 128f) or possibly at the end of the 12th C. In the 12th C. a branch of the family is attested in Armenian Cilicia. The Kourtikai recovered for a short period in the 13th C. John Doukas Kourtikes, a relative of John III, served as governor of the Thrakesian theme in the 1230s. The family possessed lands in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, *supra* 140f). In 1271 Nicholas Kourtikes was *hastrophylax* on Kos (PLP, no.13597).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 14–17, with add. in Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1179. PLP, nos. 13594–97. —A.K.

**KOUTLOUMOUSIOU MONASTERY**, located near Karyes on Mt. ATHOS and dedicated to Christ the Savior. Although a forged document in its archives claims that Alexios I founded Koutloumousiou (Κουτλουμουσίου, Κουτουλμουσίου) in 1082 (P. Lemerle, *BCH* 58 [1934] 221–34), the monastery is first mentioned in a document of 1169, and appears to be a 12th-C. foundation. The monastery's unusual name, derived from the Turkish patronymic Kutulmuş, suggests that a christianized descendant of the Seljuk prince Kutulmuş (died 1063) may have retired to Athos and established a monastic complex. The monastery was small and poor in resources until the 14th C. when it increased to 40 monks and acquired substantial properties in Macedonia (near Serres and on Chalkidike) and in Wallachia. It reached its peak under the *hegoumenos* Chariton (ca.1362–ca.1381), who attracted the patronage of Wallachian *voivodes*, which was to continue well into the period of Turkish rule. As a concession to the Wallachian monks who came to reside at Koutloumousiou, Chariton was forced ca.1371 to institute an IDIORRHYTHMIC regime that lasted until 1856. In 1393 Koutloumousiou became a patriarchal monastery. In 1428 the monks of Koutloumousiou took over the virtually abandoned buildings of the nearby monastery of Alopou (Alypiou). Thereafter, the two monasteries were united under one *hegoumenos*.

The archives preserve 47 documents of Byz. date (1012–1447?), mostly of the 14th C., while the library contains ca.187 MSS of the 15th C. or

earlier (Lampros, *Athos* 1:270–318; Politis, *Katalogoi* 1–71).

SOURCE. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutulmus*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1988).  
LIT. *Treasures* 1:236–309, 451–70. A. Kambylis, "Zu den Urkunden des Athosklosters Kutlumuşiu," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 82–90. —A.M.T.

**KRATEMA**. See TERETISMATA.

**KRITAI KATHOLIKOI** (κριταὶ καθολικοί, lit. "universal judges"), a college of judges, secular and ecclesiastical, which served as a supreme court in the Palaiologan period. In 1296 Andronikos II created a tribunal of 12 members consisting of ecclesiastics and senators; its decisions could not be appealed. In 1329 Andronikos III replaced this tribunal with the college of four judges called *kritai katholikai*; one of them was supposed to be a bishop (Greg. 1:437.23). The first four *kritai katholikai* are known by name: Joseph, bishop of Apros; the archdeacon and *dikaiohylax* Gregory Kleidas; the *megas dioiketes* Glabas; and the literatus (?) Nicholas Matarangos. In 1336/7 a scandal erupted, the *kritai katholikai* were accused of corruption, and only Matarangos was acquitted; the scandal is reflected in a letter by the *protasekretis* Leo Bardales (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.VIII [1949], 247–59) and in an apology of the condemned judges (G.J. Theocharides, *BZ* 56 [1963] 69–100).

In 1398 (?) Manuel II formulated the principles of their activity: all subjects and all cases came under their jurisdiction; the plaintiff was obliged to present his case in written form; after the hearing the judges had to deliberate in seclusion and to follow the opinion of the majority; if necessary, the judges could request the participation of experts. Under their authority were TABOULARIOI, who were not allowed, however, to act independently (E. Schilbach, *BZ* 61 [1968] 44–70). Besides the imperial *kritai katholikai*, provincial *kritai* eventually appeared, in the Morea (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:129–31), Lemnos, Thessalonike, Serbia (G. Ostrogorsky in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. 2 [Poitiers 1966] 1317–25), and Trebizond.

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III," *Mém. L. Petit* 292–316, and add. in *DChAE*<sup>4</sup> 4 (1964–65) 29–44. —A.K.

**KRITES**. See JUDGE.

**KRITES TOU PHOSSATOU** (κριτής τοῦ φωσσάτου, lit. "judge of the moat"), a military judge, an office known from the end of the 13th C. when the *sebastos* Constantine Cheilas occupied this post (MM 4:272.13–14); his seals are preserved (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1193–94). Guiland suggests that the *krites tou stratopedou* (office held by Michael ATTALEIATES) was the predecessor of the *krites tou phossatou*. In pseudo-Kodinos the *krites tou phossatou* is a modest functionary following the AKOLOUTHOS on the hierarchical ladder; his duty was to make decisions in cases of disputes of soldiers over horses, weapons, or booty (pseudo-Kod. 184.25–31). In reality, this judge's functions were broader: on the one hand, *kritai* such as Constantine Cheilas presided over cases related to land, while on the other, the *krites* could be a military commander promoted, like Alexios Diplobatatzes, to the post of *megas hetaireiarches* (PLP, no.5510). A certain Maurophoros is identified in 1348 as the *krites tou phossatou* of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.18.68–69). No *krites tou phossatou* is known after the mid-14th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:528f. —A.K.

**KRITOBOULOS, MICHAEL**, historian; died Constantinople? ca.1470. Kritoboulos (Κριτόβουλος) first appears in the sources in 1444, when CYRIACUS OF ANCONA visited him on the island of Imbros. Kritoboulos recognized the inevitability of the Ottoman conquest of Byz. and sought an accommodation with the new rulers of the Aegean. In 1456 MEHMED II made him governor of Imbros; he remained in this position until 1466, when he fled to Constantinople after the Venetian occupation of the island. He survived the plague of the following year, but probably died soon thereafter.

His *History* in five books covers the period 1451–67 and focuses on the Turks; it begins with the reign of Mehmed II and is dedicated to the sultan. Kritoboulos gives a flattering portrait of Mehmed, whose deeds he compares with those of Alexander the Great. Kritoboulos regularly referred to the sultan as *basileus* and *autokrator*; he emphasized Mehmed's interest in classical antiquity to make him a worthy successor of the Byz. emperors. Kritoboulos used THUCYDIDES as a model for his *History* (P.D. Mastrodemetres, *Athena* 65 [1961] 158–68), which is full of classical allusions and

archaizing language. It is possible that the historian Kritoboulos is to be identified with the religious writer Michael Kritopoulos, who composed an unpublished homily on the Passion of Christ.

ED. *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch (Berlin-New York 1983). Eng. tr. C.T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (Princeton 1954). Germ. tr. D.R. Reinsch, *Mehmet II. erober Konstantinopel* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1986).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:499–503. PLP, no.13817. V. Grecu, "Kritobulos aus Imbros," *BS* 18 (1957) 1–17. G. Emrich, "Michael Kritobulos, der byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber Mehmeds II.," *Materialia Turcica* 1 (1975) 35–43. Z. Udalcova, "K voprosu o social'no-političeskich vzgljadach vizantijskogo istorika XV v. Kritovula," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 172–97. —A.M.T.

**KROIA**. See ALBANIANS; SKANDERBEG.

**KRUM** (Κροῦμος), Bulgarian khan (ca.802–14); died Pliska? 13 Apr. 814. Early in his reign Krum, himself from a Pannonian clan, exploited Charlemagne's destruction of the AVARS to consolidate the northwestern region of BULGARIA. Hostilities with Byz. flared in 807, when Emp. Nikephoros I conducted an abortive campaign into Thrace; in 808, when a Bulgar force ambushed a Byz. army at the Strymon; and in 809, when Krum captured Serdica. In 811 Nikephoros invaded Bulgaria, despite Krum's entreaties for peace, and on 20 July sacked PLISKA, plundering Krum's own palace. On 26 July, however, Krum trapped and destroyed the Byz. army in a mountain pass; Nikephoros was slain (Krum reportedly made his skull into a drinking cup), and his son STAUAKIOS was mortally wounded. Krum soon captured Develtos and resettled its population in Bulgaria. In the summer of 812, he seized numerous Macedonian and Thracian towns and forts, including Anchialos, Berroia, and Philippopolis. Krum urged Michael I to renew the treaty of 716 between TERVEL and Theodosios III and stormed Mesembria upon the emperor's refusal. In 813 he returned to Thrace, on 22 June routing the Byz. army at VERSINIKIA. Krum then marched on Constantinople, where he was wounded in an assassination attempt organized by Leo V. Enraged, Krum devastated Constantinople's environs and captured Adrianople, deporting its inhabitants to Bulgaria; Byz. hagiographical and liturgical texts commemorate the martyrdom of 377 captives (E. Follieri, I. Dujčev, *Byzantion* 33 [1963] 71–106, V. Beševliev in *Polychronion* 90–104). Death from a



hemorrhage ended preparations by the "new Sen-nacherib" for an assault on Constantinople in 814.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:247-92, 408-24. N.P. Blagoev, "Knjaz Krum," *GSU JuF* 19 (1924) 1-91. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 235-66. J. Wortley, "Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 533-62. J. Karayannopoulos, "Kroumos kai Philippoi. Hoi byzantino-bulgariques epicheireseis sta 812-814," in *Festschrift Stratos* 101-09. —P.A.H.

**KTEMATINOS** (κτηματίνος), a functionary probably responsible for management of imperial estates (*ktemata*). The evidence—in narrative sources of the 10th C. and on a seal (St. Maslev, *Izv-InstBulgIst* 20 [1955] 446, no.2)—is scanty. Perhaps the office was created when the *megas* KOURATOR began to lose his significance and his department was divided into several independent bureaus.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 318, n.180. —A.K.

**KTETOR** (κτήτωρ), founder (*ktistes*), PATRON, or owner of an ecclesiastical institution (a church, monastery, GEROKOMEION, PTOCHOTROPHEION, etc.) and its properties. The *ktetor*'s right (*ktetorikon dikaion*) could originate with the foundation itself (whether he built the institution from scratch or merely restored it), be inherited, or be acquired as a privilege; it could be held for a lifetime or for two or three generations. The *ktetor* (who under certain circumstances might also be called EPHOROS, PRONOETES, *epikouros*, *authentēs*, etc.) could be a layman, a clergyman, or an ecclesiastical institution. The conditions of the *ktetorikon dikaion*—drawn up in a "contract" called a ΤΥΡΙΚΟΝ, *diataxis*, or *diatyposis*—included spiritual rights (the performance of memorial services, the name of the *ktetor* being included in the BREBION of the church), administrative privileges (e.g., the right to appoint the *hegoumenos*), and revenues as well as obligations: maintenance and embellishment of the premises, providing oil for the lamps, care of the sacred vessels, etc.

Recognized in Justinianic law and papyri, the *ktetorikon dikaion* was popular in Byz. since it met both pious requirements and the need for a relatively stable form of investment, church property being less vulnerable to CONFISCATION than secular estates. Nikephoros II Phokas in 964 tried unsuccessfully to limit the founding of new mon-

asteries, ordering that pious donations instead be channeled into the repair of older, run-down institutions. The system of CHARISTIKION, common in the 11th and 12th C., was an offshoot of the *ktetorikon dikaion*. *Ktetor* rights existed down through the 15th C., long after the term *charistikion* had fallen into disuse.

LIT. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987). Zhishman, *Stifterrecht*. A. Steinwenter, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *ZSavKan* 19 (1930) 1-50. E. Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine," *OrChrP* 6 (1940) 293-375. —A.K.

**KUFIC, PSEUDO-**. See ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART.

**KUMLUCA TREASURE**. See SION TREASURE.

**KURBINOVO**, site in Macedonia of the Church of St. George. Nothing is known about the patrons of this church, but an inscription on the back of the altar indicates that the decoration of the monument was begun on 25 April 1191. A wooden roof covers the single nave; there is an apse at the east and a narthex at the west. The mortared rubble fabric of the building was externally plastered and painted in imitation of the cloisonné BRICKWORK found, for example, at KASTORIA. The interior is elaborately painted with the GREAT FEAST cycle. The Kurbinovo master was probably one of the artists who worked on the second phase of decoration in the Church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria. The style of the paintings conforms to the sinuous forms characteristic of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, although the exaggerated features of the figures and the stark tonal contrasts of their flesh lend the images an expressive intensity lacking in painting of this period outside of Macedonia.

LIT. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*. —A.J.W.

**KÜTAHYA**. See KOTYAION.

**KUVRAT** (Κοβράτος, according to Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:161f), khan of the Onogur Bulgars; died after 642. Patr. Nikephoros I mentions his revolt against the Avars and alliance with HERAKLEIOS; Kuvrat was granted the title of *pa-*

*trikios*. John of Nikiu relates that Kuvrat was brought up and baptized in Constantinople, and staunchly supported MARTINA. V. Beševliev (*BBulg* 5 [1978] 229-36) tried to separate these pieces of evidence and saw in a second Kuvrat a commander of the troops in Cappadocia. Theophanes the Confessor calls Kuvrat the ruler of Great Bulgaria (occupying the steppe north of the Black Sea); Nikephoros lists his sons, one of whom was ASPARUCH. H. Grégoire (*Byzantion* 17 [1944-5] 88-118) identified Kuvrat with the Kouber (Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:143-60) who revolted against the Avars; this revolt, however, should be dated in 680-85 and does not fit Kuvrat's chronology. It also remains unclear how Kuvrat could "revolt" against the Avars, whose territory lay farther to the west. Werner (*infra*) hypothesizes that Kuvrat was buried near Poltava and that the hoard of precious objects found at MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA belonged to him.

LIT. P. Charanis, "Kouber, the Chronology of His Activities and Their Ethnic Effects on the Region around Thessalonica," *BalkSt* 11 (1970) 229-47. I. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow 1980) 112-14, 174-76. P. Lemerle, "Où en est la 'Question Kuber'?" in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:51-58. J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Perešepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Munich 1984). —W.E.K., A.K.

**KYDONES, DEMETRIOS**, statesman, scholar, and translator; born Thessalonike ca.1324, died Crete ca.1398. Dispossessed of his family's wealth by the uprising of the ZEALOTS in his native city, Kydones (Κυδώνης) entered the service of John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347 and held the position of *mesazon* until the emperor abdicated in 1354. After a brief retirement his political career continued during the reigns of John V and Manuel II, whose mentor he became. Kydones consistently supported a policy of resistance to the Ottoman Turks and sought a military alliance with the rulers of western Europe through the mediation of the papacy.

Kydones opposed the theology of Gregory PALAMAS and wrote several anti-Palamite treatises. He studied Latin and translated into Greek theological works by AUGUSTINE, Anselm of Canterbury, and Thomas AQUINAS, as well as Ricoldo da Monte Croce's *Refutation of the Koran*. After studying and translating Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* and parts of his *Summa theologiae*, Kydones became

a defender of Thomism. His brother, the hieromonk Prochoros KYDONES, also translated parts of the *Summa theologiae* and used Thomist arguments in his refutations of Palamas's theology.

Kydones converted to Roman Catholicism ca.1357 and supported John V's profession of faith made in Rome before Pope URBAN V in 1369. His pro-Latin and Thomist sympathies were shared by a number of younger followers, many of whom became DOMINICANS.

Despite his preference for a theology based on Aristotle, Kydones admired the works of PLATO. He successfully imitated the Platonic idiom, esp. in his correspondence, an important source containing over 450 letters. His other writings include several political speeches, apologies, sermons, and polemical works dealing with theology.

ED. *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, 2 vols. (Vatican 1956-60). *Briefe*, tr. F. Tinnefeld (Stuttgart 1981).

LIT. PLP 13876. R.-J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès," *OrChrP* 36 (1970) 47-72; 37 (1971) 5-39. F. Kianka, "Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Kydones," *International History Review* 7 (1985) 175-213. M.A. Poljakovskaja, "Žisn' i smert' v ponimanii Dimitrija Kidonisa," *ADSV* 21 (1984) 109-19. —F.K.

**KYDONES, PROCHOROS**, monk and anti-Palamite theologian; born Thessalonike ca.1333/4, died Constantinople 1369/70. Younger brother of Demetrios KYDONES, he went to Athos as a youth and took monastic vows at the Great Lavra. Circa 1364 he became a priest. After the return of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS to the patriarchate in 1364, Kydones became embroiled with the superior of the Lavra because of his opposition to PALAMISM and was expelled from the monastery in 1367. He went to Constantinople, where he was formally condemned by the permanent synod in 1368 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2541), defrocked, and excommunicated. He died shortly thereafter.

Kydones knew Latin, and made accurate and elegant Greek translations of works of AUGUSTINE, BOETHIUS (D. Niketas, *Hellenika* 35 [1984] 275-315), and part of the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas AQUINAS (A. Glycofridou-Leontsini, *Nicolaus* 3 [1975] 429-32). His principal work, *On Essence and Energy*, was the first Byz. treatise to be strongly influenced by Aquinas; it was attacked by John (VI) Kantakouzenos in (his unedited) *Antirrhetics*. Kydones also wrote an *Apologia*, which was directed to Philotheos, and other anti-Palamite works.

ED. *On Essence*—(bks. I-II) PG 151:1191–1242; (bk. VI) ed. M. Candal, "El libro VI de Prócoro Cidonio (Sobre la luz tabórica)," *OrChrP* 20 (1954) 247–97. *Apologia*—ed. Mercati, *Notizie* 296–313. H. Hunger, ed., *Prochoros Kydones Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Vienna 1984).

LIT. G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota* (Vatican 1931). *PLP*, no. 13883. Beck, *Kirche* 737–39. —A.M.T.

**KYNEGETIKA.** See **OPPIAN**.

**KYNOKEPHALOI** (Κυνοκέφαλοι), men with dogs' heads, a fabulous tribe located by ancient geographers either in Libya or in India. A detailed description of Kynokephaloi was given in the *Indika* by Ktesias, a summary of which is preserved in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (cod. 72). Following this account, they appear in MS illustration as associates of HEKATE. Christian authors also used the legend of the Kynokephaloi—for example, the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME, the *Alexander Romance*, and TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:705–07), who directly refers to Ktesias and calls the Kynokephaloi righteous people. According to the vita of Makarios (ed. A. Vassiliev, p. 139.22–30), they were gentle, wore no clothes, and lived with their children and wives in animal dens, under rocks. The *Alexander Romance* states only that the Kynokephaloi were able both to speak and to bark (thus differing from Ktesias who says they were unable to use human speech) and that Alexander killed several of them. —A.K., A.C.

**KYPARISSIOTES** (Κυπαρισσιώτης), a family name probably derived from the toponym Kyparission, found in both Constantinople and the provinces. The earliest Kyparissiotēs was apparently Leo, *spatharios* and *strategos* of Chios (Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p. 196); the combination of the title of *spatharios* and the office of *strategos* does not permit a date later than the 10th C. In 1088 the *protonotarios* John and his son (also a *protonotarios*) served in the department of the *genikon* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:49G.305). The family is again attested in the 14th C.: John Kyparissiotēs was a philosopher and writer (see **KYPARISSIOTES, JOHN**); another Kyparissiotēs, an *oiketes* of Matthew I Kantakouzenos, is mentioned as a good-for-nothing soldier but an educated man. The family still belonged to the intelligentsia in the

15th C., when Kosmas Kyparissiotēs was active as a hymnographer ca. 1403.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 13898–901.

—A.K.

**KYPARISSIOTES, JOHN**, anti-Palamite theologian; born Kyparissia (Messenia) or Constantinople? ca. 1310, died 1378 or shortly thereafter. A supporter of GREGORAS, Kyparissiotēs became the principal theoretician of the opponents of PALAMISM. He was eventually forced to flee from Constantinople to Cyprus, where Demetrios KYDONES sent him a letter (ep. 35) in 1371. He then moved to Rome; in 1376/7 he traveled from Avignon to Rome as a member of the entourage of Pope Gregory XI (1370–78) and received an average monthly stipend of ten florins (A. Mercati, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 496–501). He may have converted to Catholicism at this time and came under the influence of SCHOLASTICISM. It is not clear whether Kyparissiotēs is the "kalos Ioannes" described by Kydones (ep. 190) as returning to Constantinople in 1378/9; if not, he probably died in Rome.

Kyparissiotēs wrote two major works: the *Elementary Exposition of Theological Texts*, preserved only in the 16th-C. Latin translation of Francisco Torres, and five books titled *Against the Heresy of the Palamites*. Nine hymns to the Divine Logos are also attributed to him.

ED. Lat. tr. of *Elementary Exposition*, ed. B.L. Dentakes, *Theologia* 29 (1958) 115–24, 301–11, 411–20, 437–47; 30 (1959) 492–502; 32 (1961) 437–54, 605–23. *Palamite Heresy*, Logoi 1, 4—PG 152:663–738. *Hoi eis ton Ioannen Kyparissiotēn apodidomenoi ennea hymnoi eis ton tou Theou Logon*, ed. B.L. Dentakes (Athens 1964).

LIT. B.L. Dentakes, *Ioannes Kyparissiotēs ho sophos kai philosophos* (Athens 1965). M. Candal, "Juan Ciparisiota y el problema trinitario palamítico," *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 127–64. *PLP*, no. 13900. —A.M.T.

**KYPSSELLA** (τὰ Κύψελλα), ancient city in Thrace, mod. Ipsala, where the Via EGNATIA met the HEBROS River, not far from the sea. A bishopric by 553, it became an autocephalous archbishopric in the 7th C. It appears in Byz. sources of the 12th C. as the "valley of Kypsella" (Kinn. 191.8), a place where nobles and the emperor went hunting (Nik.Chon. 280.31–33, 450.58–62) and stayed in tents (p. 369.60). A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:229.6–7) calls Kypsella a *polichnion*. It was prob-

ably the emperors' hunting residence where important meetings could take place. Thus, in Kypsella occurred the refusal of the demands of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I that led to the revolt of the Bulgarians and Vlachs in the late 12th C. Isaac II was deposed and blinded in Kypsella.

The valley of Kypsella played a significant strategic role during the Pecheneg invasions (An.Komn. 2:107f) and esp. during the conflict with the Bulgarians and Vlachs at the end of the 12th C. In the winter of 1208/9 the army of the Latin emperor Henry of Constantinople crossed the frozen Hebros near Kypsella (Asdracha, *Rhodes* 46). Later writers barely mention the place.

Nevertheless, Kypsella preserved its position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Demoted to the status of simple bishopric during the Latin occupation and adjoined to the metropolis of Rosion in the late 13th C. (V. Laurent, *EO* 26 [1927] 146, no. 18), it reappears as an archbishopric in the 14th C. In 1324 the archbishop of Kypsella was obliged to pay 16 hyperpera annually to the patriarchate of Constantinople (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP* 1 [1981] 508.69).

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 12 (1925) 117f. R. Janin, *DHGE* 13 (1953) 1161f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:651f. —T.E.G.

**KYPTIKON.** See **PARAKYPTIKON**.

**KYRA MARTHA NUNNERY**, founded in Constantinople in the latter part of the 13th C. by Maria (Martha as a nun) Palaiologina, sister of Michael VIII and widow of the *megas domestikos* Nikephoros TARCHANEIOTES. According to STEFAN OF NOVGOROD (1348/9), the church was located on a hill south of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES. Originally connected with the Palaiologan dynasty, the convent seems to have passed eventually into the hands of the KANTAKOUZENOS family. In 1342 it was the burial place of Theodora Kantakouzene, mother of John VI, and in 1354 provided a refuge for John's wife, Irene, after his abdication from the throne. Irene's daughters, Maria and Helena, also became nuns at the convent after the death of their husbands. At the end of the 14th C. it was one of the larger nunneries in Constantinople (Sphr. 34.22–24). It was visited by several Russian pilgrims, who noted

in the church the relics of JOHN ELEEMON, Mary Kleophas, and St. Theodosia the Virgin. No building or *typikon* survives.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Kyra Martha," *EO* 38 (1939) 296–320. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 306–09. Janin, *Églises CP* 324–26. —A.M.T.

**KYRANIDES.** See **KOIRANIDES**.

**KYRIAKOS** (Κυριακός), author of a *kontakion* on the Raising of LAZARUS; fl. 6th C.? Kyriakos was probably an older or younger contemporary of ROMANOS THE MELODE, whose hymns his resemble in style and treatment. S. Pétridès (*EO* 4 [1900] 282–84) identified him with the *anachoretēs* Kyriakos (448–556), an equation that has not found much support.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 79–85.

LIT. K. Papadopoulos, *Hagios Kyriakos, anachoretēs kai hymnographos* (Phlorina 1966). —B.B.

**KYROS** (Κύρος), poet and official; born Panoopolis, Egypt, died 457. When Kyros came to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II, he was already well known for his literary accomplishments. Probably through the patronage of the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA he was appointed urban prefect ca. 435 and praetorian prefect by Dec. 439, holding both prefectures simultaneously for two years. Kyros rebuilt much of the capital after a disastrous earthquake in 437, arranged for the illumination of major city streets and shops, and attended to the fortifications of the city; he built a church of the Theotokos in a region of the city called *ta Kyrou* after him (Janin, *CP byz.* 378f). Kyros also conducted negotiations with the EPHthalites and Armenians. The religious belief of Kyros has been the subject of some dispute, but he apparently became a Christian and followed the religious orientation of Patr. PROKLOS. Circa 443 he earned the enmity of the eunuch Chrysaphios. He was deposed and consecrated bishop of Kotyaion. The sources are divided about the later career of Kyros and whether he continued as bishop. He was a devotee of DANIEL THE STYLITE. Kyros's poetry is highly classicizing; he laments in his verses that he was a

man of affairs rather than a simple shepherd and complains of the "harmful drones" who harassed him. His fame as a poet and wise man survived in later Byz. times.

LIT. Al. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982) 217–89. D.J. Constantelos, "Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 451–64. T.E. Gregory, "The Remarkable Christmas Homily of Kyros Panopolites," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 317–24. —T.E.G.

**KYROS** (Κύρος), patriarch of Alexandria (from 631); died Alexandria 21 Mar. 642. Bishop of Phasis in Kolchis, he was one of the initiators of MONOENERGISM. Herakleios and Patr. Sergios promoted him, and in 631 he came to Alexandria as Chalcedonian patriarch and *dioiketes* of Egypt. He reached an accord with some Monophysites on the basis of the formula of Monoenergism, despite the resistance of SOPHRONIOS, the future patriarch of Jerusalem (synod of Oct. 631—Butler, *infra* 183). This aroused discontent among both Monophysites and Chalcedonians and even led a group of the Gaianites (supporters of APHTHARTODOCETISM) to attempt to assassinate Kyros. Theophanes the Confessor accuses Kyros of paying annual tribute to the Arabs (after the battle at Yarmuk?) to preserve Egypt from invasion. When 'AMR advanced against Egypt, Kyros fled to the island of Rawḍa (Roda) and reluctantly agreed to submit to the Muslims. Herakleios recalled him and rejected the treaty. Kyros returned to Alexandria with a fleet on the orders of MARTINA (14 Sept. 641) and arranged a treaty with 'Amr on 8 Nov. 641. The overthrow of Martina and the sufferings of Egypt under the Muslims showed Kyros the failure of his policy and may have contributed to his death.

LIT. Butler, *Arab Conquest*, lxx–lxxvii, 175–93, 303–32. A. Grohmann, "Al-Mukawkas," *EI* 3:712–15. F. Winkelmann, "Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung," *BS* 40 (1979) 170–74. —W.E.K., A.K.

**KYROS AND JOHN**, healing saints; feastday 30/31 Jan. Supposedly Kyros was a physician in Alexandria, John a soldier attracted to Egypt by Kyros's fame; they were executed during Diocletian's reign. There is no evidence of them until the 5th C., when CYRIL of Alexandria found their relics, which he transferred from Alexandria to

Menuthis. SOPHRONIOS described their cures and claimed to have been healed by the pair. According to him the local cult of Isis disappeared and her temple sank into the sand, whereas Kyros and John were successful. They worked their miracles inside the church by INCUBATION; sometimes they recommended the local bath. Some contemporaries expressed doubts concerning their sanctity; a certain Athanasia noted that their martyrdom was not documented; the physician Gesios asserted that their healings were not miraculous but conformed to the prescriptions of Hippocrates and Galen. Sophronios made Kyros and John reject both ancient values and ancient medicine; he represents them as more hostile to the medical profession than KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS (T. Nissen, *BZ* 39 [1939] 355f), and some of their remedies are ostentatiously antimedical. After the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th C., their cult shifted to Constantinople and Rome; an Arabic legend treats the saints' healings in Monemvasia (P. Peeters, *AB* 25 [1906] 233–40), unless the Monufasia in the Arabic MS is a distorted form of Menuthis.

**Representation in Art.** Kyros is depicted sometimes middle-aged, as one of the ANARGYROI, sometimes as an elderly monk holding a little white jar; John is middle-aged, clad in court costume.

SOURCES. *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos (Madrid 1975). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges* (Paris 1971) 238–56. PG 87:3677–96. T. Nissen, "De SS. Cyri et Iohannis Vitae formis," *AB* 57 (1939) 68–70.

LIT. *BHG* 469–479i. P. Maraval, "Fonction pédagogique de la littérature hagiographique d'un lieu de pèlerinage: l'exemple des Miracles de Cyr et Jean," *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés* (Paris 1981) 383–97. R. Herzog, "Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis," in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums*, Franz Joseph Dölger . . . dargeboten (Münster 1939) 117–24. J. Duffy, "Observations on Sophronius' *Miracles of Cyrus and John*," *JThSt* n.s. 35 (1984) 71–90. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:2f. —A.K., N.P.Š.

**KYZIKOS** (Κύζικος, now Balkız near Erdek), city on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara, at the head of routes leading into Asia Minor. Diocletian made Kyzikos metropolis of the province of Hellespont, headquarters of a legion, and site of an imperial mint. The usurper PROKOPIOS took it in 365; an earthquake destroyed half the city in 539. The Arabs occupied Kyzikos from 671 to 678 during their attack on Constantinople. To repair the devastation, Justinian II installed Cyp-

riot refugees there in 688 and named the settlement Nea Ioustinianoupolis. In 1078, Kyzikos was base for the attack of Nikephoros BRYENNIOS on Constantinople, and in 1090 and 1113 it briefly fell to the Turks. After ravaging the area in 1204, the Latins rebuilt Kyzikos in 1206; John III Vatatzes recaptured it around 1225. Kyzikos was headquarters of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in

1303–04. ORHAN captured it soon after 1335. Kyzikos was the metropolitan bishopric of Hellespont. Its region contained numerous monasteries, notably Megas Agros, the home of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 27 [1973] 248–67).

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 192–205. Janin, *Églises centres* 192–214. —C.F.



# L

**LABARUM** (λάβραρον, perhaps derived from Celtic *llafar*, “eloquent,” or rather *laureum* [*vexillum*], laurel standard), Christian military standard first attested by Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 1.31) and characterized as a “cross-shaped sign.” This may have been the standard devised by Constantine I prior to the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, as ambiguously described by Lactantius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 44.4–5; see Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 306, n.146). The colossal statue of Constantine in the Basilica of Maxentius may have held the labarum (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.10 and *VC* 1.40.2; see A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* [Oxford 1948] 42). In later representations the labarum was generally shown as a standard with CHRISTOGRAM, or, as held by Honorius on an ivory diptych (Delbrück, *Consular-diptychen*, no.1), with an inscription alluding to Constantine’s victory.

LIT. J.-J. Hatt, “La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l’origine celtique du labarum,” *Latomus* 9 (1950) 427–36. H. Grégoire, “Encore l’etymologie de ‘labarum,’” *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 277–81. M. Green, J. Ferguson, “Constantine, Sun-Symbols and the Labarum,” *Durham University Journal* 80 (1987) 9–17. —T.E.G., A.C.

**LABIS.** See SPOONS.

**LABOR** (πόνος, also ἐργόχειρον) was ambivalently viewed by the Byz. On the one hand, it was considered suffering or punishment for the ORIGINAL SIN of their ancestors; on the other hand, those who labored were blessed by Christ. Two main perceptions of labor were developed in Byz.

1. Labor was considered an ascetic discipline, as a means of self-subjugation and as a path to spiritual enlightenment. Monastic communities—in the rules of Basil the Great and Theodore of Stoudios, in monastic *typika*, in hagiographical writings—praised labor from this viewpoint. We can question whether such an attitude toward labor was actually characteristic of monks—at any rate, criticism of monks for their idleness is not

infrequent in Byz. literature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike)—but such was the theoretical view.

2. A “rationalistic” perception was elaborated by such writers as Michael Choniates and Eustathios of Thessalonike. For Michael Choniates, labor is valuable not in itself but for its results; the beauty is in creation or in gain but not in the work itself. Eustathios speaks of labor as the natural condition of mankind, satisfying both bodily and spiritual needs; men work to avoid the hunger which is the reward of idleness, yet this same labor is pleasing to God. St. PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION, he stresses, happily worked with his own hands and considered “noble toil” as a worthy pursuit for man. In the aristocratic ideal of behavior, however, there was a place for war, hunting, games, and cultural pleasures, but not for work.

LIT. T. Teoteoi, “Le travail manuel dans les typika byzantins des XIe–XIIIe siècles,” *RESEE* 17 (1979) 455–62. H. Dörries, “Mönchtum und Arbeit,” *Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte und zur christlichen Kunst* (Leipzig 1931) 17–39. *Spiritualità del lavoro nella catechesi dei Padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici (Rome 1986). A. Quacquarelli, *Lavoro e asceti nel monachesimo prebenedettino del IV e V secoli* (Bari 1982). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 162f. —A.K.

**LABOR DISPUTES** can be divided into two categories: (1) broadly, the collective actions of workers as a pressure group and (2) in a narrower sense, disagreements between an employer (*ergodotes*) and his contractors (*ergolaboi*), who in the 10th C. were equated with *technitai*. Examples of pressure groups are the *fabricenses* of imperial FACTORIES in the 4th C. who were politically very active (L.C. Ruggini, *SettStu* 18 [1971] 163–76). In later centuries the workers in state factories were also sometimes used as a political force, as when imperial weavers helped to foil the usurpation of the *kouropalates* Leo Phokas in 971 (Leo Diac. 146.20–147.3).

The second kind of labor dispute involved arguments over the quality of the work performed (the worker was responsible for defects caused by his incompetence or negligence), work stoppages

(contractors had to pay a fine for the suspension of work), poor working conditions, and esp. WAGES. Since a portion of the wages could be advanced, some contracts (e.g., P.Grenf. II, 87, a.602) required that the advance payment be returned with INTEREST if the workers did not complete the given task. Conflicts were to be resolved through the expertise of arbitrators (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.22.2), but in case of a deadlock workers used strikes as their last resort. An inscription from Sardis of 459 testifies to such a strike of construction workers. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 204.5–6) mentions that the MISTHIOI in Rhaidestos demanded a salary increase during the inflationary period under Michael VII. An ordinance by Emp. Zeno of 483 prohibited contractors and workers in Constantinople from organizing a boycott of an employer; this law was extended by Justinian I to the provinces in 531 and later included in the *Basiliika*; the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* also punishes work stoppages.

LIT. M.Ja. Sjuzumov, "Trudovye konflikty v Vizantii," *VizOč* (Moscow 1971) 26–74. W.H. Buckler, "Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.M. Ramsay* (Manchester 1923) 27–50. B. Hemmerdinger, "Marx et Engels sur une grève à Constantinople," *Belfagor* 27 (1972) 478–80. —A.K.

**LACHANODRAKON, MICHAEL**, general; died Markellai 20 July 792. Appointed *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme in 766/7 by Constantine V, Lachanodrakon (Λαχανοδράκων) actively supported ICONOCLASM and esp. persecuted its monastic opponents. In 771, "imitating his teacher" Constantine (Theoph. 445.3–4), he summoned to Ephesus monks and nuns from his theme and threatened to blind and exile those who refused to marry. In 772 he confiscated all monastic property in the Thrakesion and gave proceeds from its sale to Constantine, punished those who possessed relics, and ultimately prohibited anyone in the theme from being tonsured. Lachanodrakon was a talented general. In 778 he commanded a multi-theme army (including the troops of TATZATES) that invaded Syria and besieged Germanikeia, although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 451.19–20) says that Lachanodrakon was bribed by the Arabs to withdraw. In 780 he ambushed an Arab army in the Armeniakon and in 782 destroyed at Darenos in the Thrakesion one-third of the army of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. His Iconoclastic

sympathies may have led Irene to remove him as *strategos* (Bury, *LRE* 2:485). Lachanodrakon was a close adviser to Constantine VI and in Dec. 790 helped him depose Irene by securing the support of the Armeniakon army. As a *magistros* (Theoph. 468.1) Lachanodrakon died at the battle of MARKELLAI while campaigning with Constantine against the Bulgarians.

LIT. Gero, *Constantine V* 125f, 154.

—P.A.H.

**LACTANTIUS**, more fully Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, Latin Christian writer and teacher; born probably in Africa ca.240, died ca.325. A pupil of Arnobius, Lactantius was appointed by DIOCLETIAN to teach rhetoric at Nikomedeia. Already a Christian when the persecution of 303 began, he lost his position, leaving ca.305 to spend some years in Gaul or Africa. When very old he was asked by Constantine to tutor his son Crispus, a post that gave Lactantius some court influence. Of his two most important extant works the *Divine Institutes* seeks to persuade men of letters of the moral superiority of Christianity; it is the earliest systematic account of Christian morality in Latin. The other, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, covers the period from Nero to Galerius and Maximinus Daia. Its extreme celebration of divine vengeance is new to classical literature, while its combination of secular narrative and praise of God is reminiscent of 2 Maccabees (J. Rougé, *StP* 12 [Berlin 1975] 135–43). The work, chronologically sound and sometimes citing imperial edicts verbatim, is a particularly important source for the period 303–13. Lactantius's essays, *The Workmanship of God* and *On the Wrath of God*, also survive. Perhaps he wrote the poem *Phoenix*. Ten books of letters and some possibly pagan pieces—*Symposium*, *Grammaticus*, and a verse account of his trip from Africa to Nikomedeia—are lost.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. S. Brandt, G. Laubmann, 3 vols. in 2 (Vienna 1890–97). *Minor Works*, tr. M.F. McDonald (Washington, D.C., 1965). Tr. eadem, *The Divine Institutes*, books 1–7 (Washington, D.C., 1964). *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed. J.L. Creed (Oxford 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Perrin, *L'homme antique et chrétien: L'anthropologie de Lactance*, 250–325 (Paris 1981). R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978). *Lactance et son temps*, eds. J. Fontaine, M. Perrin (Paris 1978). O.P. Nicholson, "The Source of the Dates in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes*," *JThSt* n.s. 36 (1985) 291–310. —B.B.

**LAGOUDERA**, in the Troodos mountains of CYPRUS, site of the Church of the Panagia tou Arakos. This structure of three bays, a central dome, and a single apse follows a plan common among the small mountain churches of the island. The pointed arches suggest a construction date in the second half of the 12th C.; the narthex and heavy protective roof are not part of the original structure. The first phase of the fresco decoration includes a Virgin and Child and two registers of frontal bishops in the apse and the lower fragments of a figure enthroned between angels on the south wall of the nave. The second phase includes the rest of the sanctuary and all of the nave (the group on the south wall was over-painted). Dedicatory inscriptions indicate that the second phase was completed in December 1192, through the patronage of Leo tou Authentou (or tou Authentos). Leo's special veneration for the Virgin is evident not only in the dedicatory verse accompanying the fresco icon of the Theotokos tou Arakos, but also in the emphasis on her life in the decoration of the nave. On the basis of a fragmentary inscription and stylistic traits, Winfield identified the painter of the second phase of decoration as Theodore APSEUDES. These frescoes exhibit the stylistic characteristics of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

LIT. D. Winfield, C. Mango, "The Church of the Panagia Arakos, Lagoudera: First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 377–80. Idem, "Reports" 262–64. A.H.S. Megaw, "Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes," *JÖB* 21 (1972) 195–201. D. Winfield, *Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera* (Nicosia, n.d.). —A.J.W.

**LAITY** (pl. *laïkoí* from *laos*, people), term denoting the nonclerical element of the Christian community, in contrast to its CLERGY. Unknown in the New Testament, the term was used by Clement of Alexandria, and in the 3rd C. the laity was differentiated not only from the clergy but also from the ordinary faithful: they formed an elite of males married only once who were allowed to baptize and officiate in the absence of clergy. When the monastic movement started, the monks were at first considered laymen. Some ministerial functions (esp. those of ANAGNOSTES) were assigned to the laity. In the 4th–5th C. the distinction between the laity and clergy became sharper. First, the monks formed a special category separate from the laity; then the formal rite of ordi-

nation drew a stronger line of demarcation between the clergy and laymen: the latter received a special place in church and were prohibited from entering the sanctuary; they were forbidden to baptize and discouraged from teaching. Gradually, all groups of Christians except the clergy and monks were subsumed into the category of laity.

The differentiation between the laity and clergy in Byz. remained less sharp than it was in the West: CELIBACY was a requirement only for the higher clergy; the consecrated wine was never forbidden to the laity; country *klerikoi* were barely distinguishable from PAROIKOI in terms of their social status. The church prohibited the clergy from performing military service and from fulfilling state offices, but the ban was often ignored in practice. On the other hand, some imperial dignitaries held ecclesiastical offices, while laymen, as *charistikarioi* and *kletores*, exercised authority over ecclesiastical institutions.

LIT. A. Faivre, *Les laïcs aux origines de l'Église* (Paris 1984). G. Tabancis, *Die "Laien" in Kirche und Öffentlichkeit nach griechischen Zeugen des 4. Jhs, besonders des Johannes Chrysostomos* (Münster 1977). I. de la Potterie, "L'origine et le sens primitif du mot 'laïc,'" *Nouvelle Revue théologique* 80 (1958) 840–53. —A.P., A.K.

**LAKAPENOS, GEORGE**, writer and grammarian; fl. ca.1297–1310/11, died before 1315. Lakapenos (Λακαπηνός) was probably a pupil of Maximos PLANOUDOS and was active in literary circles in Constantinople under Andronikos II. About 20 of his letters survive, accompanied by EPIMERISMS and addressed to Andronikos and John Zarides, Michael GABRAS, and the physician JOHN AKTOUARIOS. This collection was preserved in a number of MSS because it was used for instructional purposes. He also prepared a selection of 264 of the letters of LIBANIOS, and wrote grammatical notes and commentary on books I and II of the *Iliad* and on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus.

ED. *Georgii Lacapeni Epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, ed. S. Lindstam (Uppsala 1910). Idem, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII, cum epimerismis Lacapeni* (Göteborg 1924).

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "To epistolario Georgiou Lakapenou kai Andronikou Zaridou," *Athena* 77 (1978–79) 291–386. Idem, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias paraleptes tes epistoles I' tou Georgiou Lakapenou," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 237–76. *PLP*, no. 14379. —A.M.T.

**LAKEDAIMON** (Λακεδαίμων), ancient name applied by Byz. authors to both the region of La-

konia (Lakonike) in the southern PELOPONNESOS and to its capital, ancient Sparta (A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *LakSp* 4 [1979] 4–6). The extensive expanse of Roman Sparta was contracted in late antiquity and a limited area (ca. 650 × 300 m) was fortified; the foundations of three churches of this period have been found (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] 621f), as have various objects, including clay lamps of the 6th C. (A. Oikonomou, *LakSp* 9 [1988] 286–92). The *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 647.8) lists Lakedaimon as the “metropolis of Lakonike.”

The CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev, 12.95–96) is the only text that reports that the Lakones (variant Lakedaimonitai) left their city under pressure of the Slavic invasions and settled in Sicily; Nikephoros I rebuilt the *polis* of Lakedaimon and had a “mixed population”—Thrakesioi, Armenians, and the enigmatic Kapheroi (*ibid.*, 22.196–99)—settle there. The early history of the bishopric of Lakedaimon is puzzling: the first known bishop, Hosios, is attested in 458; then, in 681, when the city was supposedly abandoned, a bishop “of the *polis* of Lakedaimonioti” is mentioned (Mansi 11:674C). In the notitiae the bishopric of “Lakedeon” in the Peloponnesos (*Notitiae CP* 3.744) appears ca.800, and the later *Synodikon of Lakedaimon* begins probably ca.843 (R. Jenkins, C. Mango, *DOP* 15 [1961] 236).

The vita of the 10th-C. saint NIKON HO “METANOITE,” who lived in Lakedaimon, provides rich information about the city and its environs, including the existence of a Jewish community and pagan Slavs; it is, however, not certain whether the evidence of the vita can be taken at face value. At any rate, the identification of a church excavated in Sparta with one built by Nikon is probably incorrect (P. Vocotopoulos in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnesiakou spoudon* [Athens 1976] 273–85). The 12th-C. geographer al-IDRISĪ described the city as large and flourishing. A new bridge in the *kastron* of Lakedaimon is mentioned in an inscription of 1027 (D. Zakythenos, *Hellenika* 15 [1957] 99.4–5), a bath of the 11th–12th C. has been excavated in Sparta (Ch. Bouras, *ArchEph* [1982] 99–112), and coins of Constantine VII and polychrome ceramics have been found on the acropolis (A. Stauride, *Peloponnesiaka* 15 [1982–84] 186). Lakedaimon was elevated to the status of metropolis on or about 1 Jan. 1083 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 136–39).

In the early 13th C. the Franks took Lakedaimon, apparently without any difficulty, and it came under the control of the principality of ACHAIA; William II Villehardouin spent the winter of 1248–49 there and in 1249 began construction of the castle at MISTRA, west of the city. Lakedaimon remained the urban center until warfare beginning in 1263 caused the inhabitants to flee to the greater safety of Mistra. Lakonian frescoed churches include St. George at Longaniko, dated 1375 (A. Orlandos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 461–81), and St. Nicholas at Agoriane, built ca.1300 (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE*<sup>4</sup> 14 [1989] 107–50) and painted by Kyriakos Phrangopoulos (as attested by an inscription). According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Lakedaimonia was a large town with towers and a good city wall. Under the Franks there was a Catholic bishop, last attested in 1278, when he was forced to flee, just as the Orthodox bishop of Lakedaimon moved his residence to Mistra.

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 60, 68. P. Ch. Doukas, *He Sparte dia mesou ton aionon* (New York 1922) 433–599. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:478–82, 624f. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**LAKHMIDS**, the Arab dynasty that flourished in HĪRA on the lower Euphrates for three centuries before the rise of Islam. Through their clientship to Persia, the Lakhmids became involved in the Byz.-Persian wars and in those of the various Arab FOEDERATI who were clients of Byz. One of their 4th-C. kings, Imru' al-Qays, went over to Byz. and was installed in the province of Arabia; another, al-Nu'mān, visited St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder in Syria ca.413–20. His son, Mundhir, fought against Byz. in the Persian war of 421–22. Toward the end of the 5th C. al-Nu'mān's operations against Byz. served as a prelude to the Persian war (502–05) of Anastasios I. It was ALAMUNDARUS, however, who posed the greatest threat to Byz. for some 50 years (503–54); ca.530 Justinian I centralized federate GHASSĀNID power in the Orient to rival him. Alamundarus's successors sent embassies to Justin II and Tiberios I in Constantinople. Originally pagans, by the end of the 6th C. the Lakhmids had become Nestorians. The dynasty ended ca.600, and HĪra fell to Muslim arms in 633.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968). J.C. Trimmingham,

*Christianity among the Arabs in the Pre-Islamic Times* (London–New York 1979) 188–202. —I.A.Sh.

**LAKONIA**. See LAKEDAIMON.

**LAMB OF GOD**. Sheep and lambs figure among Christianity's earliest symbols. In 3rd-C. funerary art, they represent believers or believers' souls: pastoral images of Paradise inherited from antiquity and Christ's designation of his followers as sheep together served to make sheep a widespread image of the Christian's desire to be a lamb in Christ's celestial fold. Common symbols by the 4th C., sheep sometimes act out biblical scenes in works of the 4th–6th C. Because Christ himself had been likened by John the Baptist to the sacrificial “Lamb of God” that takes away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29) and was the Lamb of the Apocalypse (Rev 14–21), he, too, is shown as a lamb from the 4th C. onward. Signifying the eternal triumph achieved through his sacrifice, the image of Christ as the Lamb of God is first found below triumphal scenes like the TRADITIO LEGIS or Christ acclaimed by the Apostles; the Lamb stands on the mount of Paradise flanked by apostle-lambs, forming a symbolic, celestial counterpart to the figural scene above. Slightly later, as the focus of larger cycles, the Lamb of God appears enclosed in the wreath of eternal triumph. In Western art from the 5th C. onward, Christ as lamb is incorporated into Apocalyptic imagery. In Byz. art, the Lamb of God is rarer and adheres to the passage in John. It vanishes after the 7th C., presumably because the council in TRULLO explicitly proscribed it. (See also AMNOS.)

LIT. F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Vatican 1938) 29–174. F. Gerke, “Der Ursprung der Lämmerallegorien in der altchristlichen Plastik,” *ZNTW* 33 (1934) 160–96. —A.W.C.

**LAMBOUSA TREASURE**. See CYPRUS TREASURE.

**LAMIA** (Λάμια), ancient city in southern Thessaly, whose name still survives in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.42, ed. Pertusi, p.88). Some remains of the late antique city (a basilica, coins, and an inscription of the 4th C., a marble slab of the 7th C., etc.) were found on the acropo-

lis and in its vicinity; the remains of city walls on the acropolis are thought to be Justinianic. But already at that time Lamia was in decline, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* does not mention it. The bishopric of Lamia, suffragan of LARISSA, is known from 431 onward.

Occupied by the Slavs, Lamia reappears from the 9th C. under the name of Zetounion, probably of Slavic origin (from *žito*, “grain”: Vasmer, *Slaven* 105). Lamia-Zetounion was an important fortress guarding the approach to Thermopylai: Basil II chanced to observe there the traces of a bloody battle between Nikephoros OURANOS and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA (Skyl. 364.76–78). In the 12th C. Benjamin of Tudela counted 50 Jewish families in Zetounion. After 1204 the Templars temporarily held the city and rebuilt its ramparts. By 1259 it was again in Greek hands, but in 1318 the city was seized by the Catalans, who seem to have retained it until 1391. The ACCIAJUOLI dominated Zetounion for several years, but BAYEZID I demolished it in 1394. In 1403–26 the Byz. held the fortress, then the Turks recaptured it. A short chronicle (*Kleinchroniken* 1:251, no.49) says that in 1444 Constantine (XI) Palaiologos captured Thebes and attacked Zetounion.

LIT. *TIB* 1:283f. Abamea, *Thessalia* 141–43. —A.K.

**LAMPS**. Ceramic lamps of essentially ancient type are attested in considerable number from the 4th to 7th C. These were generally mold-made, of oval shape, with a filling hole for OIL in the center top and a wick hole at one end opposite the handle. The surfaces of the lamps were commonly decorated, normally with simple motifs, but occasionally with Christian symbols and scenes: crosses, Christograms, David and Goliath, or Christ trampling the beasts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 352, 471). Until the 7th or early 8th C. clay lamps represented the most common LIGHTING device (C. Mango, *JÖB* 32.1 [1982] 254f) in both private houses and cemeteries, where they have been found in abundance. Lamps were often left on TOMBS, either as part of the burial ceremony or as votives that were left burning. They were widely exported, above all from North Africa (A. Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie* [Paris 1976]). Lamps from Asia Minor, Attica, Palestine, and Sicily did not travel as far, but all were imitated by local workshops; molds, too, were exported and also





LAMPS. Lamp and lampstand; bronze, 6th or 7th C. Benaki Museum, Athens.

made from imported lamps. In addition to shapes, even the marks of foreign potters were reproduced (K.S. Garnett, *Hesperia* 44 [1975] 173–206).

In the 8th C. the ancient tradition of lamp-making died out and lamps of a different type became predominant. These were either hung by a cord or equipped with a stand, in which case the lamp was a simple open cup, pinched at one end for the wick, placed on a ceramic stand, usually conical or cylindrical, sometimes with a drip cup below; these lamps/lampstands were usually glazed.

Glass lamps were also popular but, being very fragile, have left little trace in the archaeological record. Lamps of bronze and silver were used in wealthy households and esp. in churches (see LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL).

LIT. O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* [Corinth 4.2] (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) 122–26, 292–96. J. Perlzweig, *The*

*Athenian Agora*, 7. *Lamps of the Roman Period, First to Seventh Century After Christ* (Princeton 1961). H. Williams, *The Lamps* [= *Kenchreai* 5] (Leiden 1981). N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, "Lamps paléochrétiennes de Samos," *BCH* 110 (1986) 583–610. —A.C., T.E.G.

**LAMPSAKOS** (Λάμψακος), ancient city on the eastern shore of the HELLESPONT facing KALLIPOLIS. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 4.29, ed. Pertusi, p.69) names it among the notable *poleis* of OPSIKION, but this is evidently anachronistic. Lampsakos was a bishopric suffragan to KYZIKOS and perhaps an emperor's EPI-SKEPSIS (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 198); it left no trace in secular history, however, until the 13th C., when John III Vatatzes, after reconquering this district from the Latins, constructed a harbor in Lampsakos. The Latins and the empire of Nicaea fought over the city, but in 1235 John III firmly established Greek authority there. The Turks seized it, but in 1359 the papal legate Peter Thomas destroyed the fortress of Lampsakos with Venetian and Rhodian galleys and Greek assistance.

A Latin survey of Lampsakos composed in 1218–19 gives a detailed description of the town, the categories of its inhabitants, and the taxes they paid to their Venetian lords. According to this survey there were 173 households in Lampsakos—60 urban and 113 peasant; the urban households paid only 24 percent of all land taxes; in addition they probably paid taxes for mills, salt pans, boats, and fishing nets. Nothing is known of manufacturing in Lampsakos; Islamic sources testify to its export of ceramics (Vryonis, *Decline* 13, n.60).

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Provincial'nyj vizantijskij gorod na rubeže XII–XIII vv.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 17–29. Angold, *Byz. Government* 110, 222f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:255f.

—A.K.

**LAMPSAKOS TREASURE**, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca.1847 at LAMPSAKOS on the Dardanelles. Now divided among museums in Istanbul, London, and Paris, it is composed of 25 silver objects and two pieces of gold jewelry. The formation of this treasure of domestic silver PLATE over the period of a century is indicated by the six objects dated by SILVER STAMPS: a lampstand (527–65) similar to one in the MYTILENE TREASURE, a *polykandelon* (577), and four bowls (613–30) akin to the set in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE.

The bowls bear the monogram of a certain Menas, probably a late owner of the treasure. The find included silver furniture revetments (table rim and stool, the latter similar to one in the CONCEȘTI TREASURE), a large niello-inlaid plate decorated with a personification usually said by scholars to be of India but probably that of Africa, and two sets of spoons: one with names of the Apostles and another, of elegant design, with quotations from Vergil inscribed in Latin as well as the "Sayings of the Seven Sages" and witticisms, in Greek.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, *British Museum: A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*<sup>2</sup> (London 1921) 175. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris 1924) nos. 2049–50. —M.M.M.

**LAND LEASE** (ἐκδοσις), agreement by which a lessor (a private individual, an institution, or the state), usually in return for RENT, conveyed immovable property to a lessee. H. Comfort collected data on 163 land leases from Egypt between 425 and 658, which dealt primarily with arable land. Among the documents that indicate conditions of the lease, 60 are of limited term, 25 at the lessor's pleasure, while only two are leases for life. Later documents on land lease are rare (e.g., *Xénoph.*, nos. 6 [a.1303] and 7 [a.1306]), though three examples are included in a collection of FORMULARIES (Sathas, *MB* 6:620–23). The usual terms are *ekdoterion engraphon*, *tes ekdoseos engraphon*, or *aktos ekdoseos*; the term *ekdosis*, however, could also designate a donation, as in *Xerop.*, no.9A.66–67 (a.1270–74), that reflects a confusion between a long-term lease and a complete alienation of property. The *Ecloga* 13:1 established that a land lease, whether oral or written, could not exceed 29 years. Byz. law preserved the Justinianic norms allowing the cancellation of the land lease if the lessee stopped paying rent for two years (three years in canon law—I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakes periousias* [Athens 1979] 199). The formularies recommend as rent for a vineyard 1/2 the wine produced, for a CHORAPHION 1/3 the harvest, and for a garden a cash payment at the end of each six-month period plus a weekly payment (*opsonia*) in vegetables. (See also MISTHOSIS.)

LIT. H. Comfort, *Studies in Late Byzantine Land-Leases* (Haverford, Pa., 1939). J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:107f. Ch. Maltezos, "Ho horos *metacherissi* stis agrotikes misthoseis

tes benetokratoumenes Kretes," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985–86) 1135–47. —M.B.

**LAND ROUTES.** Both Asia Minor and the Balkans were traversed by a number of major routes that formed a communications network used by the army, the *demotios* DROMOS (public post), traders, and travelers. Smaller ROADS led to the major routes. In the Balkans, there were two major routes, one from Belgrade to Niš (Naissos) and then either through Sofia and Philippopolis to Constantinople or through Skopje to Thessalonike. The other major route was the Via EGNATIA, running from Dyrrachion to Ohrid to Thessalonike and eventually to Constantinople. With minor variations, these were the routes taken by the Crusaders. According to al-IDRĪSĪ, it took six days to travel from Dyrrachion to Ohrid and seven days from Ohrid to Thessalonike. In the 10th C., a leisurely journey from Thessalonike to Belgrade took eight days (*De adm. imp.* 42.15–18).

The major Asia Minor routes ran from northwest to southeast, while secondary roads ran from north to south. The most important military road led from Nicaea to Malagina to Dorylaion to Sani-ana, where it divided into three branches, eventually leading to Tarsos, Nikopolis and Koloneia, Theodosioupolis, and Melitene. The second transverse road went from Malagina to Dorylaion to Ikonion to the Cilician Gates. While these routes were of great military importance, those leading from north to south were also significant for TRAVEL and COMMERCE. (See also SEA ROUTES and SILK ROUTE.)

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii xii vv.," *VizOč* 2 (1971) 174–76. Vryonis, *Decline* 30–33. Hendy, *Economy* 602–13. L. Dillemann, "La Carte Routière de la Cosmographie de Ravenne," *BjB* 175 (1975) 165–70. K. Gagova, "Pūtna sistema v Severna Trakija prez XIII–XIV v.," *IstPreg* 39.1 (1983) 89–100. P. Schreiner, "Städte und Wegenetz in Moesien, Dakien und Thrakien nach dem Zeugnis des Theophylaktos Simokates," in *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Kultur Bulgariens zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Vienna 1986) 25–35. Koder, *Lebensraum* 62–75. F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna 1977). D. Winfield, "The Northern Routes across Anatolia," *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 151–66. —A.L.

**LANDSCAPE AND BUCOLIC IMAGERY.** Compared to those of Roman wall paintings and FLOOR MOSAICS, early Byz. landscapes present fragmented images of reality. On silver PLATES of

the 6th and 7th C. the countryside is divided into discrete planes, while the GREAT PALACE pavement juxtaposes pastoral and urban scenes without division. From the 6th C. landscape no longer existed for its own sake, but as the context for sacred events; thereafter mountains are either terraced massifs or series of *coulisses*, and rivers are controlled by personifications or angels, as in the Miracle at CHONAI, but not by gravity. Conventional rocks and trees serve as framing devices, while serried ranks of improbable plants decorate rather than characterize a panorama. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II identical caves represent the grotto of the NATIVITY and that of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. Even in such secular MSS as the pseudo-OPPIAN in Venice, a quickly drawn tree and a serpentine groundline serve to indicate the setting of a hunt; vegetation tends to grow above or below but rarely out of the features of a landscape. The bucolic miniatures in illustrated copies of the homilies of JOHN OF EUBOEIA and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS likewise subscribe to these formulae and lack the paradisiacal connotations that such imagery had in the CATACOMBS or on sarcophagi. In late Byz. monumental and miniature painting, mountains become more precipitous and vegetation even more unearthly. Carrying such tendencies to the extreme, in the Pantanassa at MISTRA the human presence is dwarfed by landscapes, just as in ritual and domestic settings it is overwhelmed by fantastic architecture.

LIT. H. Brandenburg, "Überlegungen zum Ursprung der frühchristlichen Bildkunst," 9 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 (Vatican 1978) 331-60. P. Angiolini Martinelli, "Realtà e fantasia negli sfondi paesistici ed architettonici delle argenterie paleobizantine del Museo dell'Ermitage di Leningrado," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 49-62. D. Stutzinger, "... ambiguis fruiter veri falsique figuris. Maritime Landschaften in der spätantiken Kunst," *JbAChr* 30 (1987) 98-117. -A.C.

**LAND SURVEY** (γεωδαισία). In the late Roman period the measurement (*metresis*) of land was the basis for imperial tax assessment and for the determination of land ownership and yield capacity. Professional *geometrai*, chiefly from Egypt whence comes most of our preserved evidence, are abundantly attested in papyri and *ostraka* (e.g., SB I 5174.19 [dated 512] and SPP III 83.2). They sometimes worked at public expense (*demosios geometres*) and in tandem with the tax assessor (*gnos-*

*ter*: P.Cair. Pres. 8.3-4 [dated 323]); customary payments by surveyors to the tax collector (*pagarches*) are also attested (P.Ant. II 96.4-5). Surveyors measured with the same type of rope (*schoinion*) as had been noticed by Herodotus (bk.2, ch.6), and with a square quadruple-plumb-bob device, an example of which survives in the London Science Museum (O.A.W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors* [Newton Abbot 1971] 49). They apparently worked less according to the theoretical treatises of the *agrimensores* than by rules of thumb for adding up measured fractions of an area to give a total area (U. Wilken, *Griechische Ostraka* [Munich 1899; rp. Amsterdam 1970] 1:774-80). Results survive in two papyrus CADASTERS from the 4th C. and one from the 6th C. According to Justinianic law (*Nov.Just.* 128.4), the measurements (*demosiai apographai*) determined the amount of tax liability, which was transferable with the land.

The Byz. did not continue to use the Roman system of precise measurement of land: even though Heron's treatise on geodesy was known in Byz., the work of John PEDIASIMOS shows how poorly Heron was understood. To measure the borders of an allotment, the Byz. used either a rope (*schoinion*) made of hemp or a *kalamos*, an instrument of reed or wood. Neither had a standard size: the *schoinion* could be of 10 or 12 ORGYIAI, while the *kalamos* varied in length from 6 to 14 imperial SPITHAMAI. The application of different measures depended on local traditions and, in theory, on the character of the land under survey (arable land, vineyard, etc.). Lefort calculates, on the basis of the survey of RADOLIBOS in 1103, that correct estimates of the area of allotments occurred in only 16 percent of the cases. Two principal methods were used by ANAGRAPHEIS. In the first system, called *en katatomais*, the land was divided into a series of smaller parcels, each of approximately regular form. The sides of each were calculated in *schoinia*, and the result was calculated by the formula  $(a + c)(b + d)/8$  where *a* and *c* are upper and lower boundaries, called *kephale* (head) and *pous* (foot), respectively, and *b* and *d* side boundaries (*pleurai*). The individual results were then totaled, giving the area in modioi. Another method was *kata to hologyron*, in which the entire length of the boundary was measured, and 1/10 was subtracted from the total; the remainder was divided by 4, and the quotient

multiplied by itself. Lefort's observations show that only square parcels/allotments could be measured correctly.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 83-87. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 233-48. J. Lefort, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269-313. G. Litavrin, "Nalogovaja politika Vizantii v Bolgarii v 1018-1185 gg.," *VizVrem* 10 (1956) 101-03. -A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

**LANGUAGE.** The later Roman Empire was a multilingual society. LATIN was both the vernacular and the official language in the West, though pockets of non-Latin speech survived in the Pyrenees and elsewhere. In the East the situation was more complex. The imperial administration and the army used Latin. Greek was the vernacular tongue in most regions and was, in general, the language of culture and civic administration. In Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic were widely spoken, and in Egypt, apart from Alexandria, Coptic (see COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE) was spoken by most people. On the fringes of the empire other languages such as Armenian, Arabic, and Berber were spoken. Bilingualism was common. With the loss of most of the Western Empire to Germanic states in the 5th C., the role of Latin steadily diminished in the East, until by the early 7th C. Greek had replaced it as the imperial language. A generation later the Arab conquests removed most of the Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic speakers, and eventually the Latin speakers of North Africa, from Byz. control and left Greek as the dominant language in all domains of public and private life. Byz. society was never monoglot, however. In Constantinople and other cities Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Slavonic, and Arabic and, in the later period, Italian, French, and other western tongues were heard. Armenia, annexed in the 10th-11th C., retained its own language (see LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK).

Byz. Greek, like other languages of high culture, functioned at different levels. The language spoken by all classes in informal situations, and by the uneducated majority in all situations, was, like other spoken languages, subject to slow but continuous change. Many of the patterns of Modern Greek phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax were already established by the late 6th C., and most of them by the 10th. On the other hand, all official, public, or written com-

munication, including LITERATURE, was in an archaizing, imitative, and fossilized form of Greek, which owed its prestige to its classical and patristic models and was maintained by a highly conservative educational tradition. In principle literary Greek had two levels: one a version of the KOINE Greek of the Roman Empire, often used in technical writing, the other an imitation, successful to varying degrees, of either the language of Attic literature of the 5th/4th C. B.C. or of the ATTICISM of rhetoricians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC (the two models were not always clearly distinguished). A recent study (I. Ševčenko, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289-312) proposes a threefold classification of Byz. literary language. Ability to use archaizing Greek, esp. its atticizing variety, was a mark of both intellectual and social distinction. Clearly the uneducated only partly understood much of this Byz. literary Greek, often because of the content and style as well as the linguistic form. However, the communication gap must not be exaggerated. VERNACULAR and literary Greek were varieties of the same language, not different languages.

The principal changes in spoken Greek during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages may be divided among four main categories.

1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY: loss of many distinctions between vowel phonemes and of distinctions of vowel length; development of voiced and aspirate plosives into voiced and unvoiced fricatives; and supersession of tonal accent by stress accent. In addition traditional ORTHOGRAPHY, which ignored these changes, became historic rather than phonetic.
2. MORPHOLOGY: restructuring of consonant-stem noun paradigms as vowel-stem paradigms; restructuring of personal pronouns; fusion of middle and passive voices; loss of the optative mood and of the perfect and pluperfect tenses; replacement of the future tense by periphrastic constructions; some restructuring of personal endings of verbs; and loss of the dual number in nouns and verbs.
3. SYNTAX: replacement of the dependent infinitive by subordinate clauses; growth of parataxis as an alternative to subordination; construction of all prepositions with the accusative case; loss of the dative case; and development of a range of compound prepositions.
4. Vocabulary: development of new derivational



suffixes and obsolescence of many in earlier use; proliferation of new compound nouns, adjectives, and verbs, including types of compound infrequent or absent in earlier Greek; loss of many older vocabulary items; adoption of many loanwords, initially from Latin and later from Italian and French as well as occasional borrowings from Arabic, Slavic, etc.

The conservative purpose of Byz. language teaching by GRAMMATIKOS and rhetor emerges from treatises on orthography and prosody, from the extensive commentaries on the *Grammar* of DIONYSIOS THRAX, from the EPIMERISMS on Homer and on the Psalms, and from prescriptive LEXIKA of "Attic" words, as well as from the critical observations of Byz. writers. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* regularly censured writers who in his view were insufficiently "Attic." Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos criticized a work on court ceremony because the writer's knowledge of Greek was inadequate. Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON suppressed a Life of St. PARASKEVE, arguing that it was written "in vulgar language by some peasant." SYMEON METAPHRASTES organized the rewriting of many earlier saints' Lives in archaizing language for liturgical use. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS proclaimed imitation of ancient models—among which he included the works of the church fathers—as the only path to literary excellence. Writers who used a less than rigorously purist Greek often defended their choice on the ground that they were addressing uneducated readers, that their subject was not sufficiently elevated, that their work was for private use or that they themselves had not had a literary education. Examples are LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS in his Life of St. John Eleemon, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his *De administrando imperio*, Theophanes CHRYSOBALANTES in his medical encyclopedia, Michael PSELLOS in his introductory treatises in 15-syllable verse, KEKAUMENOS in his *Strategikon*, PHILIP MONOTROPOS in his *Dioptra*, and John KANANOS in his narrative of the siege of Constantinople in 1422.

From the 13th C. educators increasingly emphasized the importance of archaizing and imitative Greek. New textbooks and commentaries on classical authors and new prescriptive *lexika* were composed. A new and critical interest was displayed in the linguistic and literary heritage of ancient Greece. At the same time, however, some earlier literary texts, such as the *Mirror of Princes*

of ACAPETOS and the Histories of Anna KOMNENE and Niketas CHONIATES were paraphrased in a level of language closer to the spoken Greek of the period. More significantly, for the first time a body of literature, mostly anonymous, appeared in a language which eschewed ARCHAISM and reflected, though neither faithfully nor systematically, the speech of the urban society of the empire. It is mostly literature of entertainment—ROMANCES, pseudohistory, animal allegories, ANIMAL EPICS, popular moralizing and devotional works—and is almost exclusively in 15-syllable POLITICAL VERSE, for which no classical model existed. All serious literature and most prose was the preserve of the archaizing literary tongue. A reading—or listening—public that no longer valued archaism must have existed, however. These two apparently contradictory tendencies, purism and the use of the vernacular, were part of the reaction of Byz. intellectuals and Byz. society to the dismemberment, impoverishment, and humiliation of the empire after the Fourth Crusade. They represent a new emphasis on Hellenic identity and culture in the face of the growing power of Westerners and Turks (see HELLENISM).

Within the general framework of Byz. Greek diglossia, professional and other groups had their own special languages, sometimes marked by extensive lexical borrowing from other languages (see BORROWING, LINGUISTIC). Thus, long after serious knowledge of Latin had become rare, lawyers used many fossilized words and phrases of legal Latin. Sailors in the late Byz. period evidently took over many Italian maritime terms and so laid the foundation of the post-Byz. *lingua franca*. Medical writers of the 14th–15th C. often interlarded their texts with Arabic and Persian loan words, thus reflecting the growing prestige of Muslim medicine. Local DIALECTS existed, but little is known about them in the Byz. period.

In spite of the obsession with linguistic purism shown by teachers and writers from the 9th C. onward, inscriptions in churches and other public places and on the personal seals of lay and ecclesiastical officials, as well as both official and private documents, often display gross errors of orthography and grammar. Atticism was the concern of men of letters. Men of power could dispense with it.

LIT. R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*<sup>2</sup> (New York–Cambridge 1983). P.S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language, with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and*

*the Subsequent Stages* (Chicago 1936). Zilliacus, *Weltsprach*. Dagron, "Langue." C. Fabricius, "Der sprachliche Klassizismus der griechischen Kirchenväter," *JbAChr* 10 (1967) 187–99. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. Browning, "Language." E. Kriaras, "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance," 13 *CEB* (Oxford 1967) 283–99. H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. G. Matino, *Lingua e pubblico nel tardo antico: Ricerche sul greco letterario dei secoli IV–VI* (Naples 1986). —R.B.

**LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK**, were important in the polyethnic late Roman Empire. LATIN was not only spoken throughout the western Mediterranean but remained the language of bureaucracy in Constantinople until the 6th C. and of the army even later. Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian had their areas of indigenous population, and bilingualism remained a common phenomenon. In the 7th C., when the Syriac- and Coptic-speaking provinces were lost to the Arabs, and most Latin-speaking regions in the West passed from Byz. control, the use of Latin in administration was abandoned. At the same time Slavic settlers occupied most of the northern Balkans and much of mainland Greece. The Slavs in Greece were largely hellenized by the 10th C., but those further north retained their linguistic separateness even after these regions were reincorporated in the empire. Armenian immigration into Asia Minor and Constantinople became massive after the Arab conquest of Armenia in the mid-7th C. and continued for centuries. Yet the idea of the superiority of the Greek language remained dominant, and non-Greek languages were often treated as barbaric. Unlike western Europe, however, Byz. never embraced the concept of an exclusive language.

Literature in non-Greek languages was written in Byz. territory, and the Byz. church permitted the use of Slavonic, Georgian, Syriac, and other tongues in the liturgy. Certain ethnic and religious groups (Jews, Italians, and others) lived dispersed among the Greek populace but retained their languages within their communities. Knowledge of foreign languages by educated Greek speakers was more common in frontier zones, such as Cherson, Thessalonike, and Antioch, than in Constantinople; despite the boasting of John TZETZES, his knowledge of Latin, Persian (Turkish), Scythian (perhaps Cuman), Alan, Arabic, Slavic, and Hebrew was very poor. Some revival of the knowledge of foreign languages is evident

from the 11th C. Latin was studied in law schools and by diplomats. Several scholars studied and translated Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, and professional INTERPRETERS participated in embassies and in the receptions of foreign potentates at the court of Constantinople. (See also TRANSLATION: Other Languages into Greek.)

LIT. P. Charanis, *Studies in the Demography of the Byz. Empire* (London 1972). Mango, *Byzantium* 13–31. J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984) 135–50. Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:227–640. J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta* (Bonn 1983). —R.B., A.K.

**LANX.** See PLATES, DISPLAY.

**LAODIKEIA** (Λαοδίκεια), name of two cities in the eastern Mediterranean region, one in Anatolia, the other on the coast of Syria.

**LAODIKEIA IN PHRYGIA**, city at a strategic road junction near modern Denizli in Turkey, made capital of PHRYGIA Pacatiana in the early 4th C. Laodikeia was a major center of textile production and seat of a council in 380. Inscriptions and a sparse archaeological record suggest continuity through the late 6th C. Laodikeia, a city of the THRAKESION theme, was taken by the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. It became an important frontier post after its recapture by the Byz. in 1096 and was the goal of frequent, sometimes successful, Turkish attacks. John II Komnenos retook it in 1119 and built new walls; at the time of the Second Crusade in 1148 it was isolated in territory controlled by the Turks and administered by a *doux*. When Manuel I recaptured it in 1160, the city was not densely populated or well fortified, but spread out in villages (Nik.Chon. 124.13–15). The Third Crusade of 1190 found Laodikeia surrounded by the Turks; it was the last Byz. outpost on the road east or south. Laodikeia was apparently the capital of the ephemeral theme of Meander, mentioned in 1198 and 1203. In 1206 it was taken by Manuel MAUROZOMES, ally of the Seljuk sultan, and remained under Turkish control until 1256, when it was surrendered to Byz., which held it only a few years. Laodikeia was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Phrygia "Kapatiane" (Byz. form of Pacatiana).

LIT. Ramsay, *Cities* 1:15–25. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 484. —C.F.



**LAODIKEIA IN SYRIA** (Ar. al-Lādhiqīyah [or Lattakia]), seaport in northern Syria; Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.8) lists Laodikeia, Apameia, and Seleukeia as the most prosperous cities in Syria. It was famous for its linen industry, book production, and the skill of its charioteers. Justinian I separated Laodikeia from Syria I and made it the capital of the province of THEODORIAS. Bishops of Laodikeia are known from the 3rd C. onward; by the 5th C. it was an autocephalous metropolis, but even after Justinianic reform it remained under the ecclesiastical administration of Antioch. Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.9.31) mentions the city's Church of John the Baptist, rebuilt under Justinian.

Laodikeia was taken ca.640 (?) by a lieutenant of Abū 'Ubayda al-Jarrah, sent from Emesa (Donner, *Conquests* 154). The inhabitants had to pay a fixed tax and retained their church. In 718/19 a Byz. fleet attacked Laodikeia and burned it. Nikephoros II Phokas seized the city in 968. Basil II appointed a certain "Karamaruk" governor of Laodikeia in 980, but he was captured by the Muslims and beheaded in Cairo. Michael Bourtzes suppressed a Muslim revolt in the city. At the end of the 11th C. the Seljuks occupied Laodikeia, but in 1098 it fell to RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, who delivered it to Alexios I Komnenos (Ljubarskij, *VizVrem* 23 [1963] 49f). It changed hands several times thereafter; in the treaty of DEVOL (1108) TANCRED handed over Laodikeia to Byz. Throughout the 12th C. the city was the object of contention between Crusaders and Muslims. From 1197 to 1275 it remained in the hands of the Franks and then fell under Egyptian rule.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 715-18. N. Elisséeff, *ET* 5:589-93. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:381-84. G. Saadé, "Exploration archéologique de Lattaquié," *AnnArchSyr* 26 (1976) 9-36. J. Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Laodicée-sur-Mer," in *Mémorial J. Sauvaget*, vol. 1 (Damascus 1954) 101-45. -M.M.M.

**LAPARA** (Λάπαρα), a place in Cappadocia (identified [in *TIB* 2:224] as LYKANDOS). According to Skylitzes (Skyl. 319.89), it took its name from the Greek word "fertile" (*liparos*). Lapara was the site of a battle between the armies of BASIL II and the rebel Bardas SKLEROS late in 976. When Skleros revolted, the *strategos* Sachakios BRACHAMIOS took his side, headed toward Lapara, and seized it in three days. (N. Adontz improperly identified this

*strategos* with a Sachakios who was an official under John I [*Études* 149f].) The *stratopedarches* Peter, eunuch and former slave of a Phokas (cf. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:172f), besieged Lapara, and Skleros also moved his troops there. The latter employed a ruse to win victory: he pretended to arrange a meal for his army, so that Phokas also ordered his men to be fed. Unexpectedly Skleros attacked, routed the imperial army (Michael BOURTZES was the first to retreat), and took the adversary's camp. Peter fell in the battle. -A.K.

**LAPITHES, GEORGE**, Cypriot writer and opponent of Gregory PALAMAS; fl. ca.1340-49. Lapithes (Λαπίθης), whose name was said to derive from the river Lapithos, was a wealthy property owner who used some of his personal fortune to ransom Christian prisoners from the Turks. He knew Latin and, seeking to refute Catholic doctrine, engaged in theological debate at the court of Hugues IV de Lusignan (Greg. 3:27-38). He was a versatile writer, with interests in astronomy, theology, philosophy, and ethics. Among his few works that have survived is a lengthy poem in political verse on man's duty toward the state, society, and his family.

Although geographically separated from the protagonists in the Palamite controversy, Lapithes used the power of his pen to support Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and other anti-Palamites. He also corresponded with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA, to whom he addressed a series of philosophical questions or *aporai* (R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 43 [1981] 151-217).

ED. Poem—PG 149:1009-46.

LIT. E. Tsolakes, "Ho Georgios Lapithes kai he hesychastike erida," *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 84-96. A. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington, D.C., 1983) 376-87, 412-15. PLP, no.14479. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119, 165. Beck, *Kirche* 717, 722. -A.M.T.

**LARGESS** (λαργυρίων from Lat. *largitio*), the ceremonial distribution of gifts, esp. by the emperor. The term *largitio* designated every kind of generosity. A law of Constantine I of 321 (*Cod.Just.* V 16.24) mentions an object received by a wife due to the *largitio* of her husband. The term was expanded to imperial PHILANTHROPY in general, and a special department of largess was created under the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. This department dealt with the distribution of coins

among the populace, and special coins with the legend *liberalitas Augusti* (on a coin of Constantius II and one of Magnentius the legend reads *largitio*) were minted. On the occasion of the emperor's succession to the throne, birthday, or TRIUMPH, the emperor or his officials distributed coins (the ceremony of *sparsio*) to the public; sometimes largess was tossed from a chariot to people in the streets or in the Hippodrome. Special silver LARGITIO DISHES might also be handed out by the emperor on special occasions; they are attested from the 4th to 7th C. At the new year, consuls distributed SYNETHIAI of IVORY DIPTYCHS and silver vessels containing gold solidi. Gradually the church assumed the function of care for the needy, although some traces of state largess remained: thus, in the 11th C. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.30.23-26) proclaims that the bronze *phalara* on an eparch's horse reflect the generosity of the man who hands out bronze and gold among the poor. Imperial largess was confined primarily to the palace and its officials, however; the patriarch, clergy, senate, and army were granted presents at coronations and other feasts.

**Representation in Art.** Depictions of ceremonies of *largitio* and *sparsio* have a long tradition in Roman imperial art and continued to be used from the 4th to 6th C. On the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome, in one of the contemporary frieze scenes facing the Forum Romanum, the emperor is shown handing out coins to senators assembled around him. The people receive their allotment from government officials. There are also two gold solidi, one of Constantius II (ca.355) and the other of Valentinian I (364), that represent the *sparsio*: the emperor riding in a chariot scatters coins that are shown falling from his right hand. Consular distribution of largess to the populace is suggested by the sacks of gold coins shown on 5th-C. diptychs; on 6th-C. examples slaves pour such sacks into the arena where the consular games took place. Later Byz. art does not depict scenes of public largess but represents the emperors' gifts to God, that is, the church. On two mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, for example, the emperors Constantine IX Monomachos and John II Komnenos appear holding a money bag and offering it to Christ and the Virgin, respectively (for ill., see JOHN II KOMNENOS).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 835f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 228-30. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*

(New Haven 1963) 170-73. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 66-70. -A.K., I.K., A.C.

**LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER**, type of object manufactured by or for the state for distribution as LARGESS by the emperor on certain state occasions. By law, at imperial accessions, from at least 360 until 527, each soldier received five SOLIDI and one pound of silver, the latter being in the form of INGOTS or dishes, both of which could bear imperial SILVER STAMPS. *Largitio* dishes were decorated with the name and/or image of the emperor whose accession, anniversary, or victory was being celebrated. Surviving examples include several series of up to six identical plates or bowls made for Licinius in five different cities (see also MUNICH TREASURE) as well as various dishes issued by Constantius II, Valentinian I, and Theodosios I. Among the two bearing the image of this last emperor is the "Missorium" (dated 388), now in Madrid, which is thought to have been made in Thessalonike. While no imperial *largitio* dishes survive from the 5th-6th C., their distribution—like that of MEDALLIONS—continued, as

LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER. *Missorium* of Theodosios I (388); silver. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Theodosios is shown handing a codicil to an official. To the emperor's right sits his son Valentinian II, to his left his son Arkadios.



is witnessed by CORIPPUS (ed. Av. Cameron, 4.105–12, 142–47, 186–90) in connection with Justin II's consulship of 566. Silver plates celebrating the consulships of Flavius Eusebius (347 or 359) and Ardabur Aspar (434) (*PLRE* 1:308; 2:135; *DACL* 4.1, fig.3784 [cols. 1189–90]) have also been found. The sizes and, to a certain extent, weights of the DAVID PLATES correspond to those of *largitio* dishes, and they may have been distributed by Herakleios ca.630 to celebrate his victory over the Persians in 628.

LIT. Baratte, "Ateliers." Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 20–25, 104–12. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22. —M.M.M.

**LARISSA** (Λάρισα), administrative and ecclesiastical center of THESSALY, located on the right bank of the Peneios River, at the junction of major Thessalian routes. The city suffered from an attack by the Ostrogoths at the end of the 5th C. but was rebuilt under Justinian I. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 2.41, ed. Pertusi, p.88) lists Larissa as one of 17 *poleis* in the *eparchia* of Thessaly; in the 8th–9th C. it functioned as the metropolis of Hellas (*Notitiae CP* 2.40). In the 10th C. it fell victim to Bulgarian attacks; in 986 Samuel captured Larissa and carried away to Prespa the relics of St. Achilleios (allegedly the first bishop of Larissa). An inscription of 1006/7 mentions the *patrikios* Gregory, *strategos* of Macedonia and Larissa; G. Litavrin (in Kek. 415) thinks that Gregory administered Hellas and Macedonia, whereas Oikonomides (*Listes* 358) relates this evidence to another Larissa, a *tourma* of SEBASTEIA in Cappadocia. Larissa was involved in the rebellion of 1066; in 1082/3 Bohemund besieged Larissa but failed. After 1204 Boniface of Montferrat gave the city to the Lombards; a rebellion there in 1209 was quelled by Emp. Henry of Constantinople. After 1204 Larissa was seat of a Latin archbishop, but by 1222 a Greek, Kalospites by name, was elected Orthodox bishop; Patr. Manuel I Sarantenos, residing in Nicaea, did not acknowledge the election by the local clergy. In the 13th C. Larissa belonged to the despotate of Epiros, but by 1393 it had fallen to the Turks.

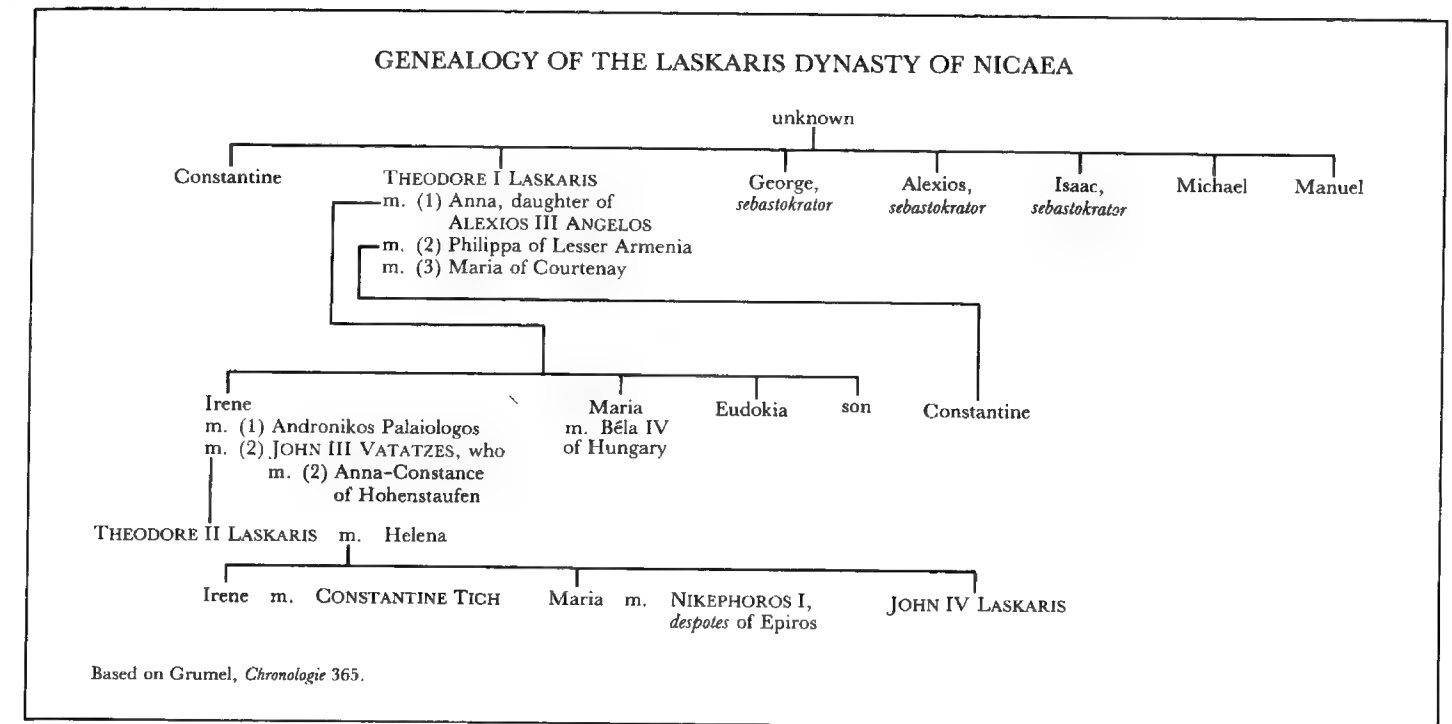
Larissa on the Peneios should be distinguished from Larissa Kremaste in Phthiotis, near the sea, which became an episcopal see named Gardikion. A Byz. castle has survived on the ancient acropo-

lis; nearby is Frankekklesia, with remains of a Latin church of the 13th C. (F. Stählin, *RE* 12 [1925] 840–45). (For Larissa in Syria, see SHAYZAR.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:198f. Abracea, *Thessalia* 191–95. —A.K.

**LASKARIS** (Λάσκαρις, fem. Λασκαρίνα), a family name known from the mid-11th C.; also called Tzamantouros (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:91.21). The most probable etymology of Laskaris is from a Persian word meaning "warrior" (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg 1895; rp. Hildesheim 1963] 183), but the first known members of the Laskaris family, mentioned in the will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059), were simple peasants. In 1180 Michael Laskaris was one of the most influential inhabitants of Thessalonike (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 215, no.8B.2); another Michael Laskaris, perhaps his descendant, conspired in 1246 in Thessalonike against DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS (Akrop. 1:79.26). The connection of these individuals, of both rural and urban background, with THEODORE I LASKARIS is unclear. The Laskarid dynasty reigned from 1208 to 1258 over the empire of Nicaea, but in fact JOHN III VATATZES was Theodore I's son-in-law, not a direct heir. Naturally, Theodore I's brothers played an important role: Constantine, who in 1204 was considered a candidate for the throne, probably perished in 1211; his brothers George, Alexios, and Isaac were granted the title of *sebastokrator* (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 171–74). Other brothers, Michael and Manuel, exiled by John III, regained their influence at the court of Theodore II; later the *protosebastos* Manuel was imprisoned by Michael VIII Palaiologos, but Michael Laskaris retained the new emperor's favor and even received the nominal title of *mezas doux* (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:548). In 1234 or 1249 a certain Constantine Laskaris was *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 145).

In the 14th–15th C. their role diminished, although Manuel was *domestikos* of the Western *scholae* ca.1320 and Alexios *mezas hetaireiarches* in 1369/70; more frequently members of the Laskaris family appear as local governors, imperial courtiers, and great landowners. Neither their role in ecclesiastical administration nor their cultural contribution was significant: John Pegonites Laskaris was a composer (see LASKARIS, JOHN);



the writers John Ryndakenos Laskaris and Constantine Laskaris were active in Italy in the second half of the 15th C. The funerary portrait of a late member of the family, Manuel Laskaris Chatzikis, is found in an arcosolium in the narthex of the Pantanassa at MISTRA, dated by inscription to 1445. He is shown full-length, wearing a SKIADION (G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* [Paris 1910] pl.152.4; idem, *BCH* 23 [1899] 138–40, no.XXXV). (See genealogical table; see also BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: Empire of Nicaea.)

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 14487–556. E. Trapp, "Downfall and Survival of the Laskaris Family," *Macedonian Studies* 1.2 (New Delhi 1983) 45–49. —A.K., A.C.

**LASKARIS, JOHN**, composer and musical theorist; fl. Crete first half 15th C. Venetian archives yield some biographical details about Laskaris: he was born possibly in Constantinople and trained there as a singer, but moved to Crete (probably between 1410 and 1420), where he maintained a school and taught singing to young boys. Laskaris also wrote a short theoretical treatise entitled *The Interpretation and Parallage of the Art of Music*, which discusses the Byz. modal system. Although he was not a prolific composer, his works were copied in MSS down to the 19th C.

LIT. M. Velimirović, "Two Composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. J. LaRue (New York 1966) 818–31. C.J. Bantas, "The Treatise on Music by John Laskaris," *SEC* 2 (1971) 21–27. *PLP*, no.14535. —D.E.C.

**LAST JUDGMENT** (κρίσις), the main event of the Second PAROUSIA or Second Coming of Christ. Although Byz. theology emphasized the THEOSIS (deification) of redeemed man rather than reward for ethical behavior, it elaborated—in polemics against STOICISM and Gnosticism and their concept of self-salvation—the idea of cosmic judgment at the end of time. This idea, however, created problems of correlation with individual judgment after death, esp. from the 7th C. onward: thus, ANDREW OF CRETE (PC 97:1289C) states that it is beyond our capacity to investigate the status of the soul after its separation from the body.

The Last Judgment presupposes the resurrection of all men in their body and their reward in accordance with their sins or virtues: those who have followed the divine way are united to God in their adopted sonship and will dwell in PARADISE, whereas sinners are doomed to HELL. Some Greek authors (ROMANOS THE MELODE, Gregory



the hagiographer of BASIL THE YOUNGER) depicted the second *parousia* as a *dies irae*, emphasizing the punishment and the suffering of sinners, whereas others expressed the expectation that God's mercy would forgive at least some of our sins: thus Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:1112–16) believed that a sincere and tearful repentance on the deathbed could redeem even a robber. Gregory of Nazianzos stressed that a man was condemned not by an external authority but by his own sins (PG 35:944D–945A). Christ will be the judge whose terrifying visage will urge all to tell the truth; apostles will assist him; the judgment is to take place in the valley of Josaphat, between the Temple and the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Manifold portents will precede the judgment and when the dead are resurrected the angelic trumpets will summon them to the tribunal. Based on the heavenly ledgers, the deeds of each person will be evaluated, and souls will be weighed on the balance scales. Then the sheep will be separated from the goats, and the righteous will enjoy eternal bliss while sinners are condemned to eternal suffering. The image of the Last Judgment is evidently derived from real judiciary proceedings; its resemblance to public trials was adduced, for example, by John Chrysostom (PG 58:554.53).

In patristic and Byz. literature the Last Judgment is sometimes represented as preceded by the PSYCHOMACHIA, the struggle between the demons and angels for the soul of the deceased. According to Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1073C–1076A), the soul passes five *teloneia* (tollhouses) and gives account for its sins to the *phorologoi* (tax-collectors), that is, demons; at the same time, angels are supplicating for the man's exemption from trial and condemnation (pseudo-Athanasios, PG 27:665C). Accordingly, Gregory of Nyssa buried his parents next to the tombs of the Forty Martyrs, hoping that these saints would intervene with God on their behalf on the day of resurrection (PG 46:784B).

The artistic representation of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment was considered instrumental for conversion, since it prompted in viewers a fear of eternal damnation (*TheophCont* 164.8–16). A variety of routes and dates have been proposed for the development of this iconography in art. Its evolution was essentially complete by the 11th C., when it appears in the Paris FRIEZE GOSPEL (B.N. gr. 74, fol. 51v) as well as in mosaic

and fresco decoration (PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, Thessalonike).

LIT. J. Rivière, *DTC* 8 (1925) 1765–1804. P. Adnès, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1577–80. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 28–103. D. Stiernon, "La vision d'Isaie de Nicomédie," *REB* 35 (1977) 30–36. B. Guerguiev, "Le Jugement dernier et le Triode du Carême," *Cahiers balkaniques* 6 (1984) 281–88. —G.P., A.C.

**LAST SUPPER.** See LORD'S SUPPER.

**LÁSZLÓ I**, also known as Ladislav (Βλαδίσλαβος in Kinn. 9.24), king of Hungary (from 1077); Catholic saint; born Poland 1046/7, died Nitra 29 July 1095; feastday 27 June. Having acquired military laurels as a duke under his brother King Géza I, László was elected king and soon thereafter had to deal with the insurrection of his young cousin, Salamon. The latter found support first in Germany and then with the Cumans; defeated and forced to resign, Salamon participated in a Pecheneg expedition against Byz. in the spring of 1087. László fought successfully against the Cumans and acquired a popular image that was, in many aspects, influenced by that of Byz. military saints. His annexation of old Croatia (down to the Adriatic Coast) in 1089, after the death of the Croatian king, brought László into contact with Byz. Dalmatia was temporarily rescued from Hungarian expansion because, in 1091, Alexios I urged the Cumans to invade Hungary, so that László had to return from the south. In that same year an attack of the Norman fleet, encouraged by Alexios I and under the command of Gottfried of Melf, occupied Cetina and Krk in Dalmatia. Synods held under László strengthened Roman observances in the Hungarian church. Kinnamos mistakenly speaks of Álmos and István II as László's sons—Álmos was the brother and István the son of Kálmán (Coloman), László's nephew and successor. Kinnamos also relates that László's daughter Piroska (Irene) married John II and praises her virtue. She was regarded as the founder of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople.

LIT. T. von Bogay, J. Bak, G. Silagi, *Die heiligen Könige* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1976) 122–65. Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator-monostor* (Budapest 1923). I. Kapitány, "König Ladislaus und Byzanz," in *Homonoia* (Budapest 1979) 73–96. —J.B., A.K.

**LATERAN SYNOD**, convened by Pope MARTIN I in Rome's Lateran Basilica in October 649 to denounce MONOTHELETISM. The synod's Latin acts bear the signatures of 106 bishops who condemned the EKTHESIS and the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II. Riedinger has shown, however, that the Latin acts were translated from the Greek original. This suggests the acts were essentially a fraud prepared in Rome, probably in the circle of the Greek-speaking pope Theodore I (642–49) and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR; the Latin acts were presumably presented to the synod for ratification by Theodore's successor Martin I as an attack on the patriarch of Constantinople and, indirectly, CONSTANS II.

ED. R. Riedinger, *ACO*<sup>2</sup> 1.

LIT. R. Riedinger, "Die Lateranakten von 649—ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximus Homologetes," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 517–34. —M.McC.

**LATERCULUS.** See POLEMIUS SILVIUS.

**LATIN** was in late antiquity the language of the army, law, and central administration throughout the Roman Empire as well as the vernacular in the western provinces and in the Balkans northwest of a line running from the Adriatic near Dyrrachion to the Danube delta. The foundation of Constantinople as the new capital brought many Latin speakers to the East and made the study of Latin for a time an attractive alternative to a Greek literary education and a path to an official career. THEODOSIOS II established public professorships of Latin in Constantinople. Refugees from Ostrogothic Italy and Vandal Africa strengthened the Latin element in Constantinople in the late 5th C. The grammarian and poet PRISCIAN, the historian MARCELLINUS COMES, and the poet CORIPPUS all belong to this Constantinopolitan Latinity.

As the Western world passed out of Byz. control, however, knowledge of Latin became less relevant and rarer in the East. Though the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and DIGEST were published in Latin, most of Justinian's NOVELS are in Greek, and Greek translations of the *Codex* and *Digesta* were made for teaching purposes in his lifetime. Herakleios in the early 7th C. abandoned Latin for Greek in the imperial titulature. Lawyers preserved some knowledge of Latin, often superficial,

from the 8th to 11th C., and Constantine IX's novel establishing a law school in Constantinople prescribes the teaching of Latin. From the 11th C. onward, closer, if sometimes hostile, contact with the West led to increasing knowledge of Latin in leading Byz. circles; Romanos III spoke Latin and PSELLOS claimed some knowledge of it. Still, cultural arrogance usually marked Byz. attitudes to the West and its language.

The Fourth Crusade and the division of the empire between Western powers strengthened Greek antipathy to Western culture. A few intellectuals and statesmen, however, began to see that Byz. had something to learn from the West. Maximus PLANOUDES translated works of Cicero, Ovid, Augustine, and Boethius, and Demetrios and Prochoros KYDONES in the later 14th C. translated the two summae of Thomas AQUINAS. Latin inscriptions occur widely in illuminated MSS of the 13th C., although the best known of these have been linked to a LECTONARY of 1298 rather than to the period of the Latin conquest of Constantinople as previously supposed. Latin incipits of the Gospels appear on codices held by Evangelists depicted in a number of 13th-C. books (Chatzinicolaou-Paschou, *CBMG* 2, no.5). Bilingual Gospel books and a richly illustrated psalter (C. Havice, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 [1984] 79–142) are also preserved. By the 15th C. some knowledge of Latin was common in Constantinople and widespread in regions under Western rule such as Crete, Cyprus, Chios, Attica, and the Ionian islands, but religious dissension and bitter historical memories precluded deeper understanding except among a limited group of Byz. intellectuals.

LIT. Zilliacus, *Weltsprach.* Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. Idem, "Decline and Survival of Western Prestige Languages," *Language* 55 (1979) 183–98. H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe* (Bucharest 1978). B. Baldwin, "Latin in Byzantium," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* (Prague 1985) 237–41. —R.B., A.C.

**LATIN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE.** See DOMINICANS; FRANCISCANS; LATIN EMPIRE; THOMAS MOROSINI.

**LATIN EMPIRE**, name conventionally applied to the political successor of the Byz. state founded at Constantinople on 13 Apr. 1204 by the LATINS



of the Fourth Crusade; it lasted until 25 July 1261. Contemporaries called it ROMANIA or Imperium Constantinopolitanum. The Latin Empire claimed sovereignty over all former Byz. territory. While it sought to control its vassal states established in Greece (the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS), it rarely exercised authority outside of Bithynia and eastern Thrace.

After the capture of Constantinople, a committee of 12 electors (six Venetian, six others) chose as emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; when he vanished into a Bulgarian prison (1205), his brother HENRY OF HAINAULT became regent, then (once Baldwin's death was known) emperor. The most capable of the Latin rulers, Henry secured the allegiance of Thessalonike, Athens, and Achaia and conciliated his Greek subjects. Upon his death (1216), the barons selected PETER OF COURTENAY, husband of Henry's sister YOLANDE, but Peter, captured (1217) by Theodore Komnenos Doukas, perished in an Epirote prison. Yolande ruled until her death in 1219. She was eventually succeeded by her son ROBERT OF COURTENAY (1221–28). His successor was his brother BALDWIN II; because Baldwin was too young to rule, JOHN OF BRIENNE became emperor (1231–37). As emperor, Baldwin II (1240–61) had to spend much of his time in western Europe in quest of assistance. (See table for a list of rulers of the Latin Empire.)

The Latin Empire retained many Byz. institutions. Wearing purple boots, the emperor was crowned in Hagia Sophia according to a modified Byz. ritual. He bestowed Latin versions of Byz. titles, such as *cesar*, *sevastocrator*, and *protovestiarius*, along with Western dignities such as seneschal and constable (B. Hendrickx, *Byzantina* 9 [1977] 187–217). In reality, the Latin Empire was a feudal state. Three documents formed a “constitution,” which each new emperor was required to uphold: a treaty between the Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders (Mar. 1204) that provided for election of a Latin emperor and division of the spoils; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (Sept./Oct. 1204); and a treaty (Oct. 1205) that regulated the Venetians' relations to the emperor. A council of Venetian and other barons had an effective veto over the emperor's actions.

To succeed, the Latin Empire needed to reconcile the Greek population to its rule. Constantinople and the smaller towns were for the most

part inhabited by Greeks, who initially welcomed the Crusaders. A few Byz. nobles joined the Latins: briefly, MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, before leaving to found his state in Epiros; permanently, Theodore BRANAS, influenced by his relationship with AGNES OF FRANCE. Emp. Henry won the affection of the Greeks. The fairness of his decisions was celebrated. He appointed Branas ruler of Didymoteichon and Adrianople and tolerated Orthodoxy. His Greek subjects even fought for him against Byz. armies. Later emperors ignored the Greeks; Baldwin II vigorously repudiated the charge of having any Greek members in his council. The emperors relied on their Western vassals—chiefly French, who owed military service for their holdings—and on mercenaries.

Within the Latin Empire, VENICE occupied a special position. Although entitled to extensive territories, Venice concentrated its rule on the islands and principal ports. A substantial portion of Constantinople belonged to Venice, which regained all the rights and exemptions it had enjoyed under Byz. Thus, the Venetians paid no commercial taxes, although those who held fiefs were obligated to the usual feudal duties. The Venetians were governed in Constantinople by a podestà and council who, with the leading barons, formed the emperor's council. The Venetians' power to veto imperial actions was reinforced by their near-monopoly of commerce and their control of the only fleet that could provide naval support for the Latin emperors. The podestà was closely controlled by the government of Venice.

Under the preconquest agreement of Mar. 1204, whichever party, Venetian or non-Venetian, did not gain the office of emperor was entitled to choose the patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, in 1204 the Venetians designated their own clerics to form a cathedral chapter for Hagia Sophia; the clerics then elected THOMAS MOROSINI as patriarch. Pope INNOCENT III presently approved this election and granted papal recognition (previously denied) to Constantinople as a patriarchate. He and his successors sought to loosen Venetian control over the church in the Latin Empire, and until 1261 most later patriarchs were designated by the pope. Although the higher clergy was Latin, the parish priests largely remained Greek. Many refused to recognize the Latin patriarch but turned to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople re-established at Nicaea. The FRANCISCANS and DO-

MINICANS won some converts and sponsored some church decoration, notably a cycle of the life of St. Francis at KALENDERHANE CAMII.

In its early decades, the principal foes of the Latin Empire were to its west. When the Bulgarian KALOJAN offered alliance to the victorious Crusaders, the Latins arrogantly rejected him. Kalojan defeated and captured Baldwin I, then killed Boniface of Montferrat in battle. Kalojan's death allowed Emp. Henry to maneuver among the rival Bulgarian claimants BORIL, Slav, and Strez; Henry married his illegitimate daughter to Slav and ca.1213 or 1214 himself married a daughter of Boril. The Greek rulers of Epiros were usually rivals, sometimes allies, of the Latin Empire. In 1224 Theodore Komnenos Doukas took Thessalonike, only to fall victim to the revived Bulgaria of JOHN ASEN II. The latter appropriated most of the Latin Empire's European territories and boasted in an inscription at Turnovo that the empire survived only by his permission.

Initially, the Crusaders despised the Byz. state re-created at Nicaea; they repeatedly defeated Theodore I Laskaris. But after John Asen's death (1241), John III Vatatzes acquired the territory the Bulgarians had taken from the Latin Empire; his domains enveloped the Latins to the east and west. Only transfusions of funds from western Europe, papal support, and the Venetian fleet preserved Constantinople. Unable to hire sufficient knights, the Latin Empire became so debilitated that even Pope INNOCENT IV was prepared to accept a Byz. recovery of Constantinople if Vatatzes would acknowledge papal supremacy. When in July 1261 the Venetian fleet departed for an expedition in the Black Sea, the army of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS was admitted to Constantinople by the citizens. Constantinople again became the Byz. capital, and Baldwin II fled to the West, where the empty title of Latin Emperor lingered through most of the 14th C.

LIT. A. Carile, *Per una storia dell' Impero latino di Costantinopoli*<sup>2</sup> (Bologna 1978). J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris 1949). Gerland, *Geschichte*, vol. 1. B. Hendrickx, “Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261),” *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 85–154. Idem, “The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261),” *RBPH* 52 (1974) 787–99. Idem, “Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272),” *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 7–221. R.L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London 1976). —C.M.B., A.C.

Rulers of the Latin Empire

Ruler	Reign Dates
BALDWIN OF FLANDERS	1204–1205
HENRY OF HAINAULT	1206–1216
PETER OF COURTENAY	1217 (–1219?)
YOLANDE	1217–1219
ROBERT OF COURTENAY	1221–1228
JOHN OF BRIENNE	1231–1237
BALDWIN II	1240–1261

**LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM**, established by the Crusaders in 1099 because the Orthodox patriarch Symeon II had fled. Westerners regarded the patriarch as the primate of the kingdom, subject to the pope's supervision, rather than as an independent patriarch in the Eastern tradition (Y. Katzir in *Crusade and Settlement* [Cardiff 1985] 169–75). A line of Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem continued at Constantinople. Orthodox monasteries, notably St. SABAS, survived in Palestine. By ca.1164, as a result of Manuel I's alliance with the kingdom of JERUSALEM, Orthodox clerics reappeared at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre beside the Latin canons (H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* [Stuttgart 1977] 406f). That they outlasted Manuel's death is doubtful. After the Third Crusade, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem resided at Acre.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London 1983) pt.VI (1978), 188–92. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London 1980). —C.M.B.

**LATIN RITE**, conventional denomination of the religious usages, liturgical, canonical, monastic, etc., of the Roman Catholic churches, fully Latin only when the gradual shift from Greek to Latin was completed in Rome in the second half of the 4th C. Rome had a more pluralistic liturgical policy than the Byz. church, and there were several Latin rites besides the Roman, which originally prevailed only in the area around Rome, in southern Italy, and the islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica). The rest of Italy had distinct local uses, not only in metropolitan sees like Milan (the Ambrosian rite) and Aquileia but also in over 40 other

centers. Roman uses gradually came to predominate throughout Europe in the 8th–9th C. under the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors.

Within the territory of the Byz. Empire the Latin church predominated in Byz. Italy (except for the very south), in North Africa west of Cyrenaica up to the Arab conquest, and in Pannonia, Illyricum, and Thrace. There were Latin churches in Constantinople and environs, Latin monasteries in Jerusalem, even an Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos. The Latin rite continued in peaceful coexistence with the BYZANTINE RITE until the 11th C., when the Norman descent into Byz. Italy and the Crusades, esp. the imposition of a LATIN EMPIRE and church at Constantinople in 1204–61, made the Latin rite a threat to the Byz. (C.A. Frazee, *BalkSt* 19 [1978] 33–49). But even in times of tension, Latin churches had usually remained open at Constantinople and Catholics and Orthodox were admitted to communion in each others' churches right through the 12th C. Eastern clergy in Palestine, Italy, and Cyprus submitted to Latin jurisdiction, and Latin priests could be ordained by Greek bishops even after 1204 (PG 119:959–64).

The Byz., more concerned with ritual uniformity than the Westerners, first impugned Armenian and Roman uses at the council in Trullo: for example, Saturday FASTING (par. 55—Mansi 11:969 AB). The dispute over the FILIOQUE arose in the 9th C., but more acrimonious still was the controversy over AZYMES in the time of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Michael induced Bp. LEO OF OHRID to write a letter to Bp. John of Trani fiercely attacking such Latin practices as Saturday fasting, azymes, and not singing alleluia in Lent (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.862). In a letter to Patr. Peter of Antioch, Keroularios expanded the list of accusations: the Latins shave, they eat strangled things, their monks eat meat, they sing the Great DOXOLOGY wrongly, they add the *filioque* to the Creed, they allow two brothers to marry two sisters, they put salt in the candidate's mouth at baptism, they impose clerical celibacy, their bishops wear rings, etc. (ibid., no.866). To all this one can add the dispute over whether salt should be used in baking the eucharistic bread (Latins yes, Byz. no [PG 120:837BC; 126:233D, 236A; 155:265]). The azyme dispute remained alive until the end of Byz., providing a large corpus of Byz. polemical writings (J.M. Hanssens, *Institutiones Liturgicae de*

*Ritibus Orientalibus*, vol. 2 [Rome 1930] 141–56).

In the 14th C. a new dispute arose, over whether the formula of the eucharistic consecration in the ANAPHORA was the Words of Institution ("This is my body, this is my blood") or the EPICLESIS. Though a far graver issue, this dispute provoked much less polemical writing than had the azyme controversy. It was dealt with by Mark Eugenikos (PO 17:426–34), Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:733–40), and, most masterfully and objectively, by Nicholas KABASILAS in *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, chs. 29–31. But in spite of the polemics, contacts between the two rites were frequent, and Latins studied, translated, and even adopted Byz. liturgical texts for their own use (S. Gero, *GOrThR* 23 [1978] 81f).

Actually, the differences between the rites were more those of language, form, and ethos; more of ceremonial and its mystagogic interpretation than of substance. Both rites had Eucharist—but the Latin rite anaphora had no consecratory epiclesis to the Holy Spirit, and the Latins used azymes, did not add ZEON to the chalice, from the 12th C. refused the chalice to the laity, and then gradually abandoned giving communion to infants. Both rites celebrated the other SACRAMENTS—but the Latins admitted baptism by aspersion and pouring, whereas the Byz. required triple immersion. The Latin rite also separated confirmation from baptism, did not marry by crowning, did not have seven priests to celebrate UNCTION, ordained to more minor orders, etc. Both had the full cycle of hours, but the Latin rite office had a monastic stamp, centered on the recitation of the PSALMODY, where the Byz. hours had received a massive infusion of liturgical poetry in the period after the first phase of Iconoclasm. The Latin rite is viewed as extremely sober and conservative (cf. E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica* [Oxford 1918] 1–19); the Byz. rite underwent far more development and change. Whereas the Byz. rite had undergone theological enrichment as a result of the early dogmatic controversies over the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit and had a decided Trinitarian thrust (L. Gillet, *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 9 [1924] 81–90), the Latin rite remained more Christological in its orientation.

LIT. T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (London 1969). C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1986). —R.F.T.

**LATINS** (Λατῖνοι, *Latini*). *Latini* was a term originally describing ethnic origin (the inhabitants of Latium) that was adopted by Roman law to designate certain groups of people with restricted legal rights; thus Junian *Latini* were manumitted slaves who were free during their lifetime but reverted to slavery at death, so that their property went to their patrons as PECULIUM. Justinian I abolished the status of *Latini* in 531 (A. Steinwenter, *RE* 12 [1925] 922).

The Greek term *Latinos*—in a different meaning—reappears in Byz. sources from the 11th to 12th C.: absent from Theophanes or Skylitzes, it is found frequently in Anna Komnene, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates. A patriarchal decision of July 1054 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.869) normally uses the phrases "Italian language" and "Italian characters," and only in a section translated from Latin does the term *Latinos* appear. *Latinoi* became a generic appellation for Western peoples. The introduction of the term in Byz. Greek reflects a new Byz. perception of the unity of the Western world that had been treated in earlier centuries as a conglomeration of *ethne*, tribes, each having its place within the empire. The granting of Byz. court titles (see DIGNITIES AND TITLES) to foreign princes (Western, Slavic, Caucasian, etc.) symbolized this worldview. The assumption of the imperial title by CHARLEMAGNE in 800 signaled the first crack in the concept of the universal Roman Empire; first the emperors of the Franks, then the rulers neighboring the Byz. (Germans, Bulgarians) came to rival the *basileus*, and the popes asserted their PRIMACY over the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Late Roman ideology cherished the image of a united MEDITERRANEAN, even though an economic and cultural breach began to develop as early as the 4th C., and by the 7th C. the linguistic unity was totally disrupted. Contacts between East and West continued in the form of embassies and pilgrimage, whereas commercial, literary, and artistic exchange became sporadic. Only in a few regions (primarily in Italy) did the two cultures meet on a regular basis.

In the 11th and 12th C. the interconnections between Byz. and the "Latin" world intensified. The colonies of Italian merchants on Byz. soil became sizable. Eustathios of Thessalonike counted 60,000 Latins in Constantinople (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 34.2–3); they received concessions more

significant than those the Rus' had enjoyed in the 10th C. Western MERCENARIES occupied an important position in the Byz. army, and the NORMANS (as well as the English and Germans) replaced contingents from Rus'. Matrimonial connections between the Byz. and Latins became more frequent: the genealogical tables published by Grumel (*Chronologie* 363f), although incomplete, demonstrate a drastic difference between the matrimonial policy of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) and that of the Komnenoi (1081–1185). In the first table only two foreign marriages are recorded—with a Bulgarian and a Kievan ruler. The second table has 15 foreign marriages, of which only one (the earliest) is with an eastern princess (from the Caucasus). The others are with Latins: six with nobles from the Crusader states, three with France (and Montferrat and Montpellier; the two marriages of AGNES OF FRANCE are counted as one), three from Hungary, one each from Germany and Austria. Cultural exchange also became regular, esp. in the sphere of theology that contributed so much to the definition of "national" identity. Literary interchange is less evident: however, the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS was known in the West, and the mutual influence of Western and Byz. erotic ROMANCES is plausible. In the realm of art, Byz. impact on the West intensified from the 10th C. on, esp. in the period of the Crusades (see ART AND THE WEST).

After the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade (the Norman invasion of 1185 prepared the way), the era of a peaceful, if unstable, balance of power ended. The Latins came to be viewed as oppressors of the Byz. From the Latin viewpoint, Byz., which in the 12th C. had seemed to be a country of great wealth, was perceived from the 14th C. onward as impoverished and unable to pay its debts. Byz. was an easy prey for bold invaders or even discontented mercenaries such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY. The divergency in religious belief and practice, focusing more and more on questions of rite, increased. A *modus vivendi* with the Latins could not be reached despite individual attempts to relieve tensions; the cohabitation of Greeks and Latins and emergence of mixed population groups (e.g., GASMOULOI) in areas such as the MOREA; the active literary interaction that resulted in such works as the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, and Greek chivalric romances; and an urgent



need for Western military assistance against the Ottoman invasion.

The stereotype of the Latins as it was established by 1204 included such features as religious divergence (esp. with regard to the FILIOQUE and AZYMES but also differences in vestments and haircut of the clergy, fastdays, etc.), arrogance and greed, military prowess, and disdain for literacy. A few Byz., however, were sufficiently enlightened to distinguish the "good" Latins from the "bad" ones, and in the 14th C. a strong current of pro-Latin sentiment developed in some cultural circles (e.g., around the KYDONES brothers).

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *RB* 1:126–69. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt 1964). P. Lamma, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Padua 1968). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 167–96. K. Setton, *Europe and the Levant* (London 1974), pt.II (1966), 388–430. J. Koder, "Zum Bild des 'Westens' bei den Byzantinern in der frühen Komnenenzeit," in *Deus qui mutat tempora*, ed. E.-D. Hehl et al. (Sigmaringen 1987) 191–201. —A.K.

**LATOMOU MONASTERY.** See HOSIOS DAVID.

**LATRINES** (sing. ἀφεδρών). The building of latrines, together with the installation of PLUMBING, such as sewers, gutters, and water pipes, was subjected to strict regulations that were introduced to ensure public and private amenities. The legend of ARIUS described his death in a latrine (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 105–11), in some versions in a public toilet. John MOSCHOS (PG 87.3:2897) relates that the archbishop of Thessalonike, Thalelaïos, also died in a latrine, and his partisans found him with his head down the hole (*solen*). The legend of the building activity in Constantinople of the architect EUPHRATAS portrayed him as concerned with sewage systems. According to a vita of Constantine I (AB 77 [1959] 87.30–36), a system of sewers was built in Constantinople through which was channeled "the waste from latrines and slaughterhouses."

Legal texts give evidence that in private homes latrines were built in the courtyard and each was provided with drain pipes and gutters. Harmenopoulos in the *Hexabiblos* (Harm. 2:4.78), repeating the building regulations of JULIAN OF ASKALON (cf. Ja. Sjuzumov, *ADSV* 1 [1960] 3–34), described two types of cesspool (*koprodocheion*): one with thick stone walls; the other simply dug out

of the earth. The first type had to be at least 3 ells (PECHEIS) distant from a neighbor's wall; the second no less than 6.5 ells. Washing facilities (*christeria*) could be constructed in a courtyard, provided they caused no harm to neighbors (Harm. 2.4.79). In crowded apartment houses sanitary conditions were poorer. The law (Harm. 2:4.71) forbade throwing human waste from upper floors, yet John TZETZES, who was living on the second floor of a three-story building, complained that the 12 children and the pigs of a deacon who lived upstairs "urinated so much that they produced navigable rivers" (ep.18, p.33.5–16). For chamber pots the Byz. used special vessels (*amis*, etc.) made of clay, glass, and even silver and gold (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:76). Dreams about latrines occupy an important place in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (pp. 30.11–28, 62.3–63.21): images of urinating or evacuating one's bowels in various places were interpreted as portents of good or bad fortune.

**Archaeological Evidence.** The large public latrines of Roman and late Roman date continued in use until the 6th–7th C., but apparently not beyond (Scranton, *Architecture* 68). At Corinth a private house of the 6th–7th C. had a latrine located immediately off the main room (ibid. 19–21), while simple unlined pits, probably in courtyards or behind houses, have been identified as Byz. latrines. Latrines are frequently found in towers and under stairs of fortifications, and elaborate arrangements were often made for them in CRUSADER CASTLES (e.g., at Saranda Kolones in PAPHOS).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, "Peri apopaton, bothron kai hypnomon," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 335–52. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:309–11. —Ap.K., A.K., T.E.G.

**LATROCINIUM.** See EPHEBUS, COUNCILS OF: "Robber" Council.

**LATROS** (Λάτρος), anc. Latmos, monastic center in Caria, northeast of Miletos. Its numerous forts, fortified monasteries, and hermits' caves were located on islands in the lake of Herakleia (Bafa) and immediately to the east on the slopes of Mt. Latros (Beşparmak); most remain anonymous. The early history of Latros is obscure. According to local tradition, Latros was settled in the 7th C. by monks fleeing the Arab invasion of the Sinai. The

*hegoumenos* Isidore attended the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. When the monk Paul, later called PAUL OF LATROS, came to the region in the early 10th C., three monasteries already existed there: Kellibara, the Savior, and Karya. Paul founded the Stylos (named probably in honor of the apostle Paul, the "pillar" of the church), which was dedicated to the Theotokos. Leo VI granted the monastery a *proasteion* and other lands (MM 4:324.11–15). A fragment of the Latros cartulary containing about 15 documents from 987 to the mid-13th C. has survived (MM 4:290–329; B. Pančenko, *IRAIK* 9 [1904] 142–45). These acts deal with the monastery's land holdings; especially important is the case of the peasants of the village of Sampson (MM 4:290–95, a.1217—see *Reg* 3, no.1693), which sheds some light on the institution of MORTE.

In the 11th C. CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS was *hegoumenos* of Stylos as well as PROTOS of Latros's monastic confederation. Latros flourished during the empire of Nicaea; in 1222, 11 monasteries were under the authority of its *kathegoumenos* and ARCHIMANDRITE (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1231), a title disputed between the superiors of Stylos and Kellibara. By the end of the 13th C., however, Latros was in decline as a result of Turkish encroachment; Kellibara with only nine monks was merged with Michael VIII's new foundation of St. Demetrios in Constantinople. By the 14th C. Latros disappears from the sources.

Restle (*Wall Painting* 3, pls. 542–43) has assigned a mid-9th-C. date to the wall paintings in the so-called Pantokrator Cave. Painted Gospel cycles in a cave chapel at Yediler—probably to be identified with Kellibara—and in the Stylos have been variously dated in the 11th–13th C. The Stylos also contains scenes of the funeral of Paul and other scenes from the saint's life.

LIT. T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin 1913). P.A. Vokotopoulos, "Latros," *EEBS* 35 (1966–67) 69–106. Janin, *Églises centres* 216–40, 441–54. Restle, *Wall Painting* 1:78–81; 3, figs. 542–51. G. Schiemenz, "Die Malereien der Paulus-Höhle auf dem Latmos," *Pantheon* 29 (1971) 46–53. —A.M.T., A.J.W.

**LAUGHTER** (γέλως) was defined by MELETIOS THE MONK (PG 64:1137B) as "agitated movement of the facial muscles or a broadening of [the same] muscles caused by the motion of internal organs." While antiquity accepted laughter as a positive

EMOTION and considered it a proper quality of Homeric gods, the church fathers, esp. JEROME and BASIL THE GREAT, rejected laughter. Laughter, for Jerome, was a sign of ungodliness and would be punished on the Day of Judgment. According to Basil (PG 31:961C), it was incompatible with a Christian vocation—Christ, he said, never laughed. More tolerant of laughter was JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who distinguished between permissible and excessive laughter. Monastic communities were particularly hostile to laughter. The church fathers, however, accepted laughter as an expression of spiritual joy and as derision of the pagan world and of mundane objects.

Despite all these invectives against laughter by the ecclesiastical establishment, the Byz. enjoyed a good laugh at their banquets (with professional MIMES as entertainers) and elaborated such genres of HUMOR AS SATIRE, PARODY, and PUNS. They believed that laughter possessed magic power; for example, late Byz. vernacular literature depicted the dance of laughter as a magical means against death. Thomas Magistros includes the expression "broad laughter" (i.e., not thundering) in his *Lexicon* (*Ecloga vocum atticarum* [Hildesheim–New York 1970] 293.4).

LIT. N. Adkin, "The Fathers on Laughter," *Orpheus* 6 (1985) 149–52. F. Dölger, "Lachen wider den Tod," *Pisciculi* (Münster in Westfalen 1939) 80–85. —A.K.

**LAUSIAC HISTORY.** See PALLADIOS.

**LAUSIAKOS** (Λαυσιακός), a hall (*triklinos*) in the GREAT PALACE constructed under Justinian II. It was located near the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN and the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS and was connected by a bronze gate with the kitchen, situated probably under the private chambers of the emperor. The *aristeterion*, the emperor's private dining room, was also located nearby. The connection of the Lausiakos with the banquet-kitchen area suggests that the OIKEIAKOI of Lausiakos were involved in the organization of banquets. The Lausiakos played a role in the palace ceremonies as a place through which various processions passed. Some emperors (Leo V, Theophilos) used it for administrative meetings and theological discussions. Manuel I is said to have restored and adorned the Lausiakos.

LIT. Guiland, *Topographie* 1:154–60.

—A.K.



**LAVRA** (λαύρα), a type of MONASTERY. The word originally meant a narrow lane or an alley in a city (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:764B); Eustathios of Thessalonike, who was often critical of monasticism, adds that the word *spodesilavra* (lit. "streetwalker") meant a whore (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 152). EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 1:21, ed. Bidez-Parmentier, 29.24–25) defines a *lavra* as a monastery in which everyday life (*diaita*) is individual, but social life (*politeia*) is directed to the common purpose of loving God.

In a *lavra* a group of dispersed monastic cells (KELLIA) was associated with a central complex containing a church, refectory, common hall, and various outbuildings (storerooms, stables, bakery). The monks lived as solitaries during the week, occupied with prayer and manual labor, but owed obedience to a *hegoumenos* and assembled on weekends at the *lavra* to attend services together and to obtain food and materials for their handwork. A *lavra* thus represented a compromise between eremitic and cenobitic monasticism.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, when describing Palestinian monasticism, usually contrasts the *lavra* and the KOINOBION, although he sometimes notes the transformation of a *lavra* into a *koinobion* "in accordance with God's will" (p.58.29). By the 8th C., however, the difference between the terms seems to have disappeared. In later centuries, on Mt. ATHOS, the term *lavra* was applied to the larger monasteries (Great Lavra, Iveron, and Vatopedi) and to Karyes. *Lavrai* were almost invariably established in remote rural locations, but on rare occasions the sources refer to urban and suburban monasteries as *lavrai*, e.g., the *lavra* of Kaisarios in 9th-C. Rome (AASS Nov. 4:662F) and the monastery of St. Michael at Anaplous, referred to as *he tes lavras tou archistrategou mone* (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:203.6).

LIT. D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 166–80. Meester, *De monachico statu* 7, 72, 100. J.M. Sansterre, "Une lauré à Rome au IXème siècle," *Byzantion* 44 (1974–75) 514–17. —A.M.T., A.K.

**LAVRA, GREAT** (ἡ μεγίστη Λαύρα), also called the Lavra of Athanasios, monastery located near the southeastern tip of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS. It was founded by ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS in 963, with the financial assistance of the general and future emperor Nikephoros (II) Phokas, who intended to retire to the Holy Mountain. Although

called a LAVRA, the monastery was really a KOINOBION with which a limited number of hesychasts were associated. Athanasios's *typikon* permitted only five monks to live in KELLIA outside the Lavra. As soon as the *ktetor* Nikephoros became emperor, in July 963, the Lavra obtained the status of an imperial monastery. In 964 Nikephoros issued three chrysobulls on behalf of Lavra, guaranteeing its independence from ecclesiastical authorities, limiting the number of monks to 80, and providing it with an annual grant (SOLEMNION) of 244 gold pieces and a quantity of wheat. Athanasios supervised the construction of a large monastic complex, including a Church of the Theotokos, cells, a kitchen, refectory, hostel, and waterworks.

The number of monks soon increased to 120, and by mid-11th C. reached 700. In 1045 the *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos specified that the *hegoumenos* of Lavra had precedence over all other *hegoumenoi*, even the *protos*; Lavra retained this primacy in perpetuity. Lavra remained an imperial monastery: in 1052 the monks of Lavra asked Constantine IX to appoint an influential patron to the monastery in order to protect it from any new fiscal burdens (*kainotomia*, EPE-REIAI) that might be imposed by local *archontes* (*Lavra* 1, no.31.24–25). In response the emperor sent a *praipositos*, the chief of the *koiton*, and the *kanikleios* John to carry out the mission.

The increase in Lavra's estates, which were significant in the 11th–12th C., came to a halt under Latin rule. After the mid-13th C., however, the monastery continued to acquire further property: in 1259 Michael VIII confirmed all the properties of Lavra and added the village of Toxompous; Andronikos II was even more generous to the monks. At the same time Patr. Athanasios I attempted to put Lavra under the control of the patriarchate. Lavra was evidently involved in the political and religious conflicts of the second quarter of the 14th C., having as its *hegoumenoi* such luminaries as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and Gregory PALAMAS. On the other hand, some dissident elements penetrated into the monastery, although the information about their activity is obscure: thus Andrew Palaiologos, one of the Zealot leaders, ceded a portion of his property to Lavra; the Latinophile Prochoros KYDONES was connected with the monastery; and in the 1360s the case of a certain Moses Phakrases (a favorite of Philotheos Kokkinos) shook the community

and required the patriarch's intervention; unfortunately, we do not know the basis of the charges against him. The internal problems were aggravated by military threats: the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY were followed by the Serbian occupation of Mt. Athos, and then the brief establishment of Ottoman authority in 1387. In the early 15th C. Manuel II still had some prerogatives over Lavra and levied a third of the *charatzion* (the Turkish tax *harac*). In 1430, Thessalonike and all of Mt. Athos were finally conquered by the Ottomans.

The rich library of Lavra contains over 2,000 MSS, of which about 800 are of Byz. date. The archives of Lavra are also a precious resource for the Byzantinist, since they contain 172 acts dating before 1453.

SOURCES. P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, 4 vols. (Paris 1970–82). Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 101–40. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).

LIT. P. Dumont, "L'higoumène dans la règle de Saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:121–34. Spyridon Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), with add. by Panteleemon Lauriotes, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 87–203. —A.M.T., A.K.

**Architecture of the Lavra.** The KATHOLIKON of the Lavra, begun in 962/3, consists of a cross-domed core enlarged into a triconch by the addition of apses to the cross-arms. The naos is covered by a dome on piers. Two PAREKKLESIA flank a deep narthex that, in 1814, replaced the original inner and outer narthexes. The church's bronze doors were made in Constantinople ca.1002 (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 229–50). The exterior of the church is rather austere with little embellishment. Directly in front of the church and sharing its axis is a PHIALE and, further away but still on the same axis, the refectory or TRAPEZA. The CHURCH PLAN TYPE used here for the first time, and called the Athonite type by some scholars, was emulated in later monastic churches in northern Greece and the Balkans.

LIT. F.W. Hasluck, *Mount Athos* (London 1924) 180–85. P.M. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont-Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *CahArch* 32 (1984) 89–112. Idem, "La trapéza de la Grand Laura au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. —M.J.

**Art Treasures of the Lavra.** The Lavra possesses the richest collection (about 30) of icons of Byz. date on the peninsula: outstanding are panels of St. Panteleemon of the first half of the 12th C.

and an early 14th-C. mosaic icon of John the Evangelist (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.18). A double-sided icon of the Anastasis and Pentecost is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.473). The monastery's collection dates back at least to the early 11th C., when Kosmas, a former *ekklesiarches* of the Lavra, ordered a portrait of St. Athanasios from the Constantinopolitan painter PANTOLEON. The treasury also contains a silver cross supposedly donated by Nikephoros II Phokas (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99–125), the so-called Phokas lectionary (K. Weitzmann, *SemKond* 8 [1936] 83–98), and a gold paten of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. The luxurious late 11th-C. *evangelion* in the Lavra treasury or *skeuophylakion* (K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* [London 1980] pt.XI [1936], 83–98) has full-page miniatures of three of the Great Feasts within wide ornamental borders. It may have been an imperial gift, though not, as tradition has it, from Nikephoros II Phokas. The Lavra library includes many other illustrated Gospel books and *evangelia* of the 11th and 12th C.

LIT. *Treasures* 3:12–117, 217–61. M. Chatzidakis, "Anciennes icônes de Lavra d'après un texte géorgien," in *Rayonnement grec* 425–29. Idem, "Chronologemene byzantine eikona ste mone Megistes Lavras," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:225–41. —A.C., N.P.Š.

**LAVRATON.** See PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE: Imperial Portraits.

**LAW, CANON.** See CANON LAW.

**LAW, CIVIL,** the totality of the laws and rules of the empire; it comprised private law (the law of persons, things, succession, obligations) as well as criminal law and public law. Justinian I (*Institutes* 1:2.1) distinguishes *jus civile*, as a system of laws established in a particular state, from the *jus naturale* that is common for all mankind; the idea of natural law was not disregarded by the Byz., but their major categories were civil law and CANON LAW.

The foundation of Byz. civil law was the Justinianic CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, which summarized the achievements of Roman jurisprudence. Written mostly in Latin, the *Corpus* was paraphrased in Greek by the ANTECESSORES, and their translations were used in the later legislative books EPANAGOGÉ, PROCHIRON, and BASILIKA. Another set of legislative works diverged to some extent

from the *Corpus*—thus the *Ecloga* introduced a new approach to the laws of marriage and to criminal law, and the *NOVELS OF LEO VI* tried to change regulations that were obsolete and contradicted contemporary reality. The legislators of the 10th C. (Romanos I through Basil II) tackled problems arising from the contemporary situation in the countryside. Later emperors dealt with new issues, such as the marriage of slaves (Alexios I), or tried to reorganize legal procedure.

The works of jurists stayed mostly within the framework of the *Corpus*: they produced indices (*synopseis*) to the *Basilika* (e.g., TIPOUKETOS), excerpts, treatises on specific questions (e.g., DE PECULIIS, DE ACTIONIBUS), and general surveys (HARMENOPOULOS). Some jurists, however, illustrated the general principles of the *Basilika* with examples drawn from their own practice (PEIRA) or described their cases at length (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, John APOKAUKOS).

Unlike Western countries, Byz. had very few texts devoted to customary law (see CUSTOM): to this category belonged the *FARMER'S LAW* and the *BOOK OF THE EPARCH* as well as miscellaneous texts regulating fiscal and administrative activity (treatises on TAXATION, TAKTIKA). Byz. customary law is reflected primarily in documents, such as CONTRACTS and purchase deeds, in monastic TYPIKA, in WILLS, in the decrees of emperors and their officials, in patriarchal charters, etc. The scarcity of available information means that literary sources, such as patristic texts, later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 189–221), or hagiography (G. Bourdara, *To dikaiia sta hagiologika keimena* [Athens 1987]), assume a considerable importance.

The study of Byz. civil law has hitherto focused on the Justinianic *Corpus*; later legal texts are used primarily to fill in gaps in the *Corpus* tradition or to clarify difficult passages. The analysis of Byz. civil law as actually practiced is still rudimentary, and the legal significance of surviving documents has been appreciated only for the papyri and the acts from Byz. Italy (M. Amelotti in *SBNG* [Galatina 1983] 184). The general assumption, then, has been that the Byz. regulated their lives by the norms of Roman law, an assumption that is supported by the tendency of the Byz. themselves to treat both the *Basilika* and the *Corpus* as valid legislative collections. However, under the cover of Roman law some more or less substantial changes were taking place in the following areas:

1. Emphasis was put on the decisive role of the state and the emperor as its representative. The emperor was proclaimed not only “the living law” (as early as Justinian I) but also the sole source of all administrative authority (thus the scholion to *Basil.* ser. B, 9:3833, abrogating *Basil.* 60:46.1). He acquired supreme right to the land so that any parcel that he entered could be declared imperial property (PG 114:1156A).

2. The principles of public law prevailed over those of private law. Thus, ownership came to be treated as an accessory to the tax payment, and freedom interpreted as exemption from taxation.

3. The role of the church increased. Its rules became moral obligations, esp. as civil law began to converge with canon law. Its right to succession was confirmed, and the church was granted—like the state—a third of an intestate inheritance (ABIOTIKION). The *Epanagoge* even suggested the concept of two equal powers, that of emperor and patriarch; at any rate, the patriarchal court was given the right of appeal over civil court decisions.

4. The bonds of MARRIAGE were strengthened, and the formality of MARRIAGE RITES increased.

5. SLAVERY was moderated: not only did the church encourage MANUMISSIONS, but the family of a slave was given legal status.

6. The rights of neighbors were developed—both as PROTIMESIS and as a responsibility for the taxes of the neighboring allotments; the Roman principle *superficies solo cedit* ceased to exist. At the same time various forms of PARTNERSHIP were encouraged.

7. Elements of semifederal law were introduced—in the division of property (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION) and in the status of the dependent peasantry (PAROIKOI).

8. The written form of contract tended to replace the oral form; STIPULATIONS degenerated into a vague kind of written guarantee; the number of WITNESSES deemed necessary increased.

9. Legal procedure lost its flexibility, and rigid lists of PENALTIES were introduced.

10. Many subtleties of Roman law were forgotten, and its strict terminological distinctions obscured; jurists repeated traditional Roman legal terms often without understanding their significance.

The history of Byz. civil law can be tentatively divided into several periods: from the 4th to the early 7th C. Roman law dominated; in the 7th to

early 9th C., the period of the *Ecloga* and the *Farmer's Law*, there were attempts to attach some customary, biblical, and Near Eastern rules to the remnants of Roman law; the mid-9th–10th C. was the period of encyclopedism and “accumulation”—“pure” Roman law was restored in the *Basilika* and similar legislative books, and numerous treatises were issued to regulate court life, military organization, trade activity, and the fiscal system; during the 11th–13th C. there was a revival of legal activity in the form of commentaries on normative texts—the most independent legal minds of the period were Eustathios RHOMAIOS, BALSAMON, and CHOMATENOS—and the need for scrutinizing practical cases was appreciated. In the final period, the tendency toward systematization again prevailed.

LIT. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:341–480. Van der Wal-Lokin, *Historiae*. S. Troianos, *Hoi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens 1986). Idem, “He metabase apo to romaiko sto byzantino dikaiou,” 17 *CEB*, *Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 211–35. Zachariä, *Geschichte*. B. Biondi, *Il diritto Romano cristiano*, 3 vols. (Milan 1952). D. Simon, “Die Epochen der byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte,” *Ius Commune* 15 (1988) 73–106. —A.K.

**LAW, PUBLIC.** The 6th-C. principle, “public law is that which concerns the affairs of the Roman state, private law that which concerns the interests of individuals” (*Digest* 1.1.1.2 = *Basil.* 2.1.1), was a distinction made in the law schools with few theoretical or practical implications; nor can a requirement for a legal-theoretical clarification of the relationship of public law and private law that is of any significance be established for the following period. The lack of such reflection is explicable from the circumstance that the precise demarcation of public law from the entire mass of norms is only considerable when consequences are connected with it, that is, with regard to legislative competence, jurisdiction, justiciability, and the friction of private law and public law. As long as every legal norm drew its legitimacy from the emperor, and he was not restricted with regard to the composition and execution of norms—as was the case in the entire Byz. period—then any division of Byz. law into public and private law was artificial. A consideration of Byz. law with regard to the existence of public law can therefore make use of no concepts that are specific to the Byz. period but can employ only the terminology in use since modern times. The latter understands

by public law: (1) the law of state organization, that is, the distribution of the areas of supreme command (taxation, police, army, jurisdiction, economic control, etc.) among certain “organs” of the state; (2) administrative law, that is, the rules governing the execution of laws through these designated organs.

If the fundamental principles of both these areas are laid down in law, this definition is called a “constitution.” In these areas the late Roman period up to and including Justinian I was legislatively the most productive. Book 1, titles 14–57, and books 10–12 of the *CODEX JUSTINIANUS*, as well as approximately half the *NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I*, are concerned with the subject of public law. This legalization of political measures, which is based on the motto (*armis et*) *legibus gubernare* and relies on the efficiency of the administrative apparatus executing the law, did not persist in Byz.: the emperors increasingly renounced the legislative regulation of state organization and administration. Notable legislative undertakings are represented by the *BOOK OF THE EPARCH* and titles 2–11 of the *EPANAGOGUE* (which remained an experiment). For the rest, apart from sporadic legislative attempts in the area of public law, only jurisdiction remains of lasting interest.

The diminishing legislative activity in the area of public law does not mean that Byz. had no normative notions concerning good state government and state administration. Such concepts are rather to be reconstructed from sources such as the *MIRRORS OF PRINCES*, the *NOTITIA DIGNITATUM* and the *TAKTIKA*, the *DE CEREMONIIS* and *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO* as well as the admittedly rare deliberations of jurists such as Chomatianos. Whether the normative concepts transmitted in this matter should be entitled an (unwritten) “constitution” is still under discussion.

LIT. P. Pieler, “Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates,” 16 *CEB* (Vienna 1981) 213–31. D. Simon, “Princeps legibus solutus,” in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* (Frankfurt am Main 1984) 449–92. Beck, *Jahrtausend* 33–86. —M.Th.F.

**LAW, ROMAN**, heavily oriented toward practice, was determined and developed first by professional jurists and later increasingly by the legal statements of the imperial chancery. By the order of Justinian I this law was made definitive in the so-called *CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS*. Both this *Corpus*



and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I make claim—at least in the sphere of private law—to reproducing a uniform law of the empire that is firmly bound to Roman tradition and that in principle recognizes neither regional nor time-specific peculiarities. This conservative and exceedingly reverent attitude toward Roman law was assumed by later Byz. emperors in their legislation and by jurists in their composition of law books. In spite of certain deviations from the Roman tradition—sometimes conscious, sometimes involuntary (e.g., the regulation of CUSTOMS by Leo VI or the creation of really new law through the agrarian legislation of the 10th C.)—there never ensued any fundamental criticism of Roman law. On the contrary, efforts can be observed to reappropriate this temporarily (esp. in the 7th and 8th C.) forgotten or neglected law.

The discrepancy between “official” Byz.-Roman law and the law as practiced is most obvious during the last two centuries of Byz. The charters reveal that fundamental concepts of Roman law had over the course of time either become virtually meaningless (e.g., SERVITUS) or were misunderstood or reinterpreted (e.g., OWNERSHIP, POSSESSION). Roman law lived on as a theoretical claim and in its terminology, but with the changed conditions of life and the disappearance of a highly professional class of jurists, the original meaning of its terminology and the specifically juristic thinking in these categories was largely lost.

**Reception of Roman Law.** The reception of Roman law is an expression that designates the discovery and revision of Roman law—in the form of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—in the states of western Europe from the 12th C. onward, as a result of which Roman law became the basis of their legal system. There was no comparable reception of Roman law in this sense in Byz., where it had never been entirely lost and was assumed to be continuously present and valid. Nevertheless, a kind of “reappropriation” of Roman law, which had been translated into Greek in the 6th C., did take place, in two significant steps: first, through the *anakatharsis ton palaion nomon* (Schminck, *Rechtsbüchern* 33–38, 65f), that is, the preparation of the complete text in the BASILIKA; and second, through a substantial reworking of the content, particularly in the 11th C. The latter was achieved through a decision-making practice reflecting Roman legal dogma (PEIRA); through reinforced use

of the oldest available law texts, namely the writings of the ANTECESSORES, which were inserted as scholia to the *Basilika* text; through the transmission of the Latin juristic language in teaching (PSELLOS) and in Latin-Greek legal *lexika* (GLOS-SAE—*Lexica juridica byzantina*, ed. L. Burgmann et al. [= FM 8 (1990)]); as well as through the systematic presentation of the rules of Roman law in treatises (DE PECULIIS, MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS, TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS).

LIT. F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1953). W. Kunkel, *Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1973). H.F. Jolowicz, J.K.B.M. Nicholas, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*<sup>3</sup> (Cambridge 1972). Buckland, *Roman Law*. Kaser, *Privatrecht*. —M.Th.F.

**LAW, VULGAR**, an expression coined by the legal historian E. Levy to characterize the law of the late Roman Empire in the West. The expression refers not only to the formal elements of a legal principle (its outward, linguistic form) but also to its substance (the consistency and precision of the regulation). It derives its notional content as a “low level of style” from a notional opposition to a “higher level of style,” initially that of classical Roman law. The expression has been extensively adopted by legal/historical scholarship and serves to characterize varying phenomena. Thus, it is used to contrast rural provincial phenomena of a linguistic or material kind from the legal standard of the capital (“provincial law”: e.g., the law of the Byz. provinces in Italy); to designate special ethnic law (“folk law”: forms of law of the Slavs and Armenians living on Byz. territory) as opposed to state and imperial law; to contrast simply structured reflections on law with the complex works of more exacting, educated men (e.g., the SYNOPSIS MINOR versus the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM); and to compare different levels of legal culture (e.g., the ECLOGA versus the law of Justinian I). Since the term *vulgar* is both vague and, as a rule, used in a perjorative sense, its application should be accompanied by a statement of the criterion for evaluation and an exact description of the related phenomena.

LIT. D. Simon, “Marginalien zur Vulgarismuskussion,” in *Festschrift für Franz Wieacker zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 1978) 154–74. Idem, “Provinzialrecht.” M. Talamanca, “L’esperienza giuridica romana nel tardo-antico fra volgarismo e classicismo,” *La trasformazione della cultura nella tarda antichità* (Rome 1985) 27–70. —D.S.

**LAW IN ITALY, BYZANTINE.** With the SANC-TIO PRAGMATICA of the year 554 (Appendix 7 to the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I [= CIC 3:799–802]), the validity of the Roman-Byz. law contained in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS was extended to the reconquered Italian regions. In the course of the later history of southern Italy and Sicily the continued existence of Byz. law is documented in various types of sources. The Byz. origin of the material is most evident in the PROCHIRON LEGUM, which was produced on Italian soil. Whether other law books, esp. the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata*, also originated in Italy is disputed. Nevertheless, that many Byz. legal texts were at least known in medieval Italy is attested by the large number of legal MSS of southern Italian provenance. The use of Byz. law by the Greek-speaking population of southern Italy is indicated by the fact that the documents share a set of institutions (e.g., HYPOBOLON, THEORETRON, PROTIMESIS) with the law of the Byz. Empire. Other institutions used both in Byz. and in southern Italy and Sicily may merely have a common basis in Roman LAW. As for Norman-Staufen legislation, both the Assises of Ariano of 1140 (L. Burgmann, FM 5 [1982] 179–92) and the constitutions of Melfi of 1231 (cf. T. von der Lieck-Buyken, *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II.* [Cologne-Vienna 1978]) are based on Roman law, but the latter esp. shows clear traces of post-Justinianic Byz. law (e.g., nose-cutting as punishment for adultery; the prohibition against the acquisition of land by monasteries; formal regulations for marriage).

LIT. M. Amelotti, “Per lo studio del diritto bizantino in Italia,” *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983) 183–99. A. d’Emilia, “Il diritto bizantino nell’Italia meridionale,” in *L’Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Rome 1964) 343–78. G. Cavallo, “La circolazione di testi giuridici in lingua greca nel mezzogiorno medievale,” *Scuole, diritto e società nel mezzogiorno medievale d’Italia*, vol. 2 (Catania 1988) 87–136. D. Liebs, *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien 260–640 n.Chr.* (Berlin 1987) 124–26, 195–282. —M.Th.F.

**LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE.** Byz. law was introduced into Slavic lands along with Orthodox dogma and liturgy in the wake of Byz. missionary work in the area. In Great Moravia part of the SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES was translated into Slavonic by METHODIOS himself. The ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUEDEM may date from the same time, even if its place of origin remains controversial. Bulgaria and later the Slavic mon-

asteries on Mt. Athos must have played a large role as centers for the translation of legal literature. From the 11th C. onward, most texts were reaching Rus’, where they were assembled in collections such as the KORMČAJA KNIGA and supplemented in time by additional translations. The Byz. legal literature available there ultimately included the commentaries of the canonists of the 12th C., the *Pandektai* of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, numerous novels, synodal acts and treatises (esp. on marriage law), the so-called MOSAIC LAW, and, from the sphere of secular law, the ECLOGA, the PROCHIRON (*Zakon gradskij*), and the FARMER’S LAW (*Zemledel’českij zakon*). Under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, who proclaimed himself “Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks,” Byz. legislation was imitated in Serbia and translations were made of the *Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES as well as of the short compilation of civil law known as the “law of Justinian.”

LIT. A. Soloviev, “Der Einfluss des byzantinischen Rechts auf die Völker Osteuropas,” *ZSavRom* 76 (1959) 432–79. M. Andreev, “La reception du droit byzantin dans le droit des peuples balkaniques,” *Actes du IIe Congrès international des études du sud-est Européen* (Athens 1981) 299–309. M. Andreev, Gh. Cronț, *Loi du jugement: Compilation attribuée aux empereurs Constantin et Justinien* (Bucharest 1971). Ja.N. Ščapov, “Le droit romain oriental en Russie jusqu’au XVI<sup>e</sup> s.,” *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986) 487–95. —L.B.

**LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE.** A part of early Byz. CANON LAW survived among the Eastern churches after their separation from the church of Constantinople in the 5th C. But with the exception of Georgia, where an adaptation of the NOMOKANON OF THE FOURTEEN TITLES was made in the 12th C., the new post-Chalcedonian canons were received in the East only with great reservation. The oldest Syriac translations of Byz. secular law texts likewise stem primarily from pre-Justinianic sources, namely the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK and the *Sententiae Syriacae*, two collections of Roman provincial law of Eastern origin dating from the 5th C.; the Greek originals are lost. The Syro-Roman lawbook was widely disseminated in the Christian East in several languages. Moreover, Byz. legal texts of secular content were received almost everywhere. At the end of the 12th C., NERSĒS OF LAMBRON made an Armenian translation of the ECLOGA with its Appendix as well as the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS and the so-called MO-



SAIC LAW. Coptic ecclesiastical law collections of the 13th and 14th C. contained, among other things, the *Ecloga* with Appendix and the PROCHIRON; the date of composition of the Arabic translations is uncertain, as is the possibility that they were transmitted via the MELCHITES.

LIT. C.A. Nallino, "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei sec. XII–XIII," *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 1 (1925) 101–65. H. Kaufhold, "Zur Übernahme byzantinischer Rechtsbücher durch die Armenier," *HA* 90 (1976) 591–614. —L.B.

**LAW SCHOOLS.** The system of private EDUCATION in law typical of the early Roman Empire was replaced, during the late Roman Empire, by a system of state universities. Theodosios II, in the constitution of 27 Feb. 425, prohibited legal education "within private walls" and organized a law school in Constantinople supported by the state. There was another reputable law school in BERYTUS. Some professors of these law schools are known by name: THEOPHILOS, DOROTHEOS, THALELAIOS, and so on. The program of legal education, as prescribed by Justinian I, included a year for the study of the INSTITUTES, three years more for the DIGEST, and the fifth year for the CODEX JUSTINIANUS. Since knowledge of Latin was declining in Constantinople, the teachers (ANTECESSORES) suggested the *Indices*—Greek adaptations—and translations of these texts provided with *protheoriai* (examples or digressions); *paraphrai*, or notes; and finally interpretation of "the books themselves," paraphrased in Greek. The method of EROTAPOKRISEIS was widely used.

From the 7th C. onward, this elaborate system was abandoned, even though some scholars (e.g., W. Wolska-Conus, *TM* 8 [1981] 531–41) claim uninterrupted continuity of legal education. The *Book of the Eparch* refers to NOMIKOI and teachers within the framework of a corporation of notaries. While knowledge of law was often claimed to be something every Rhomaïos had to possess, and professional LAWYERS are known at least in the 11th and 12th C., jurisprudence remained an element of general (primarily urban) culture rather than professional erudition. The state-sponsored schools in Constantinople (those of JOHN [VIII] XIPHILINOS and Michael PSELLOS in the mid-11th C.), probably parts of the so-called UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, appear to have been short-lived,

connected with an individual scholar, rather than with an institution.

LIT. Scheltema, *L'enseignement*. I. Medvedev, "Pravovoe obrazovanie v Vizantii kak komponent gorodskoj kul'tury," in *Gorodskaja kul'tura*, ed. V. Rutenburg (Leningrad 1986) 8–26. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 223–43. P.I. Zepos, "He byzantine nomike paideia kata ton 7' aiona," in *Festschrift Stralos* 2:735–49. —A.K.

**LAWYER** (συνήγορος, Lat. *advocatus*). *Advocati* (sometimes called SCHOLASTIKOI) acted as legal advisers, while NOMIKOI drew up contracts. In the late Roman Empire, *advocati* formed associations in major cities (Constantinople, Alexandria, etc.). The membership in these colleges was limited; thus, Leo I decreed (*Cod. Just.* II 7.17) that the prefecture of Illyricum should have 150 lawyers. Their honorarium was fixed in Diocletian's PRICE EDICT as 250–1,000 denarii. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote an angry tirade against *advocati* who "sow the seeds" for all sorts of quarrels and "sharpen their venal tongues to attack the truth" (Amm. Marc. 30.4.9–19), underscoring not only the rivalry between lawyers but their clashes with JUDGES. It has been conjectured (by R. Taubenschlag in *Festschrift Fritz Schulz* [Weimar 1951] 192) that the role of lawyers was reduced as that of judges grew.

From the 11th C. onward, however, Greek texts again often mention lawyers. Constantine IX's novel on the law school in Constantinople prescribes the formation of two categories of jurists—NOTARIES (*taboularioi*) and *synegoroi*; Balsamon states that *synegoroi* are organized into a college led by a *primikerios* and receive their salary (*siteresia demosiaka*) from the state (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:160.15–21). A novel of Manuel I expresses indignation at the endless speeches in court of *synegoroi*, which delay the proceedings (R. Macrides, "Justice" 126.54–59); the same novel calls for *synegoroi* to be assigned to the courts (138.217–26, 180, n.208). Sometimes there was rivalry between lawyers and canonists (M.T. Fögen in *Cupido legum* 65). The term *nomotriboumenoi* in Chomatenos apparently refers to those who are experts in legal knowledge.

LIT. D. Simon, "Nomotriboumenoi," in *Satura Roberto Feenstra oblata* (Freiburg 1985) 273–83. T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (London 1981), rev. F. Millar, *JRS* 76 (1986) 272–80. —A.K.

**LAZAR**, prince of Serbia (from 1371); born Priepac near Novo Brdo ca. 1329, died Kosovo Polje 15 June 1389. Son of Pribac Hrebeljanović, *logothetes* of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, Lazar married Milica, a descendant of Stefan Nemanja's son Vukan, and gained control over northern Serbia following the death of STEFAN UROŠ V. Using diplomacy, dynastic marriage, and military force (in alliance with the Bosnian *ban* Tvrtko), Lazar expanded his principality to Braničevo, Niš, Kruševac, and Novo Brdo, gaining control also over the mines of Rudnik. These victories, however, made him a vassal of Hungary. In 1375 reconciliation with the Byz. church in Constantinople was achieved over the matter of the separate Serbian patriarchate, which had been proclaimed at PEĆ in 1346. Lazar refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Hungary in 1382 and attacked and plundered Belgrade, which was under Hungarian control. He had, however, to avoid a confrontation with Sigismund of Hungary when the Ottoman threat to Serbia worsened. Murad I invaded Serbia and defeated Lazar in 1389 at the battle of Kosovo POLJE, in which both rulers lost their lives. As a result the Ottomans gained suzerainty over Serbia.

The cult of Lazar as martyr commenced shortly after his death. In Serbian popular tradition, the historical prince Lazar and the legendary martyr of Kosovo are intertwined. The Kosovo cycle glorifying the victory of the heavenly over the earthly kingdom is the finest of epic poetry. Lazar built St. Stephen's church (Lazarica) at Kruševac (ca. 1375) and the Ravanica monastery (1381) as his mausoleum. His best preserved portrait is in the Ljubostinja monastery, the foundation of his wife.

LIT. *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skupni Kruševcu 1971* (Belgrade 1975). D.J. Trifunović, *Srpski srednjovekovni spisi o knezu Lazaru i Kosovskom boju* (Kruševac 1968). R. Mihaljčić, *Lazar Hrebeljanović, istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade 1984). Fine, *Late Balkans* 387–89. —J.S.A.

**LAZAR OF P'ARPI** or Łazar P'arpec'i, Armenian historian; born in P'arpi below Mt. Aragats, fl. second half of the 5th C. Brought up with Vahan MAMIKONEAN in Georgia after the suppression of the Armenian revolt of 450/1, Łazar later wrote a *History of Armenia* dedicated to Vahan, who in 485 was appointed governor (*marzpan*) of Armenia by the shah of Iran, Balāsh.

Łazar presents his work as the "third" history of Armenia, following those of AGATHANGELOS and pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND. It falls into three sections: the life and work of MESROP MAŠTOC', a version of the war against Persia parallel to the account of ERIŠE, and the career of Vahan Mamikonean from the Armenian defeat of 451 to his appointment as *marzpan* in 485—the prime source for this period.

The original version is extant only in fragments, the complete surviving text being a revision of uncertain date. A letter addressed to Vahan (of uncertain authenticity) describes Łazar's Greek education.

ED. Hayoc' ew T'ult' ar Vahan Mamikonean, ed. G. Ter-Mkrč'ean, S. Malxasean (Tbilisi 1904; rp. Delmar, N.Y., 1985). *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, tr. V. Langlois, vol. 2 (Paris 1869) 253–368.

LIT. K.N. Juzbašjan, "Lazar Parpeci," *IFŽ* (1983) no. 4, 179–93. G. Garitte, "La Vision de S. Sahak en grec," *Muséon* 71 (1958) 255–78. C. Sanspeur, "Trois sources byzantines de l'Histoire des Arméniens de Lazare de P'arpi," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 440–48. Idem, "Note sur l'édition du fragment de l'Histoire de Lazare de P'arpi, découvert dans le MS. A 82 de Leningrad," *HA* 94 (1980) 13–22. —R.T.

**LAZAROS**, painter, a Khazar according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib. pont.* 147); saint; died Rome after 28 Sept. 865, although Janin (*infra*) questions this date; feastday 17 Nov. The entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax. CP* 231–34) describes Lazaros as a monk and painter from an early age; a defender of images, he became a victim of Iconoclast persecution when he was punished by having his hands burned. Released at the behest of Empress THEODORA, he fled to the monastery of the Prodomos tou Phoberou where he painted an icon of John the Baptist. After Theophilos's death he painted the icon of CHRIST CHALKITES, according to Theophanes Continuatus (*Theoph. Cont.* 103.19–21). A supporter of Patr. IGNATIUS, Lazaros played the role of diplomat: he participated in a mission to Pope Benedict III (855–58). According to the *Synaxarion*, he died during a second mission to Rome. J. Raasted (*Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 37 [1981] 124–38) identified him with a certain Lazaros, who sent a letter (after 858) to his "spiritual lord master." The attribution by M. Ščepkina (*Miniatjura* 297–99) to Lazaros of the illustrations in the Khludov PSALTER lacks any documentary support.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP* 19 (1965) 144f. R. Janin in *Bibl.Sanct.* 7:1152f. —A.C., A.K.

**LAZAROS**, patriarch of Jerusalem; died after Apr. 1368. Soon after his election to the patriarchate (date unknown), Lazaros left for Constantinople to have his appointment confirmed by ANDRONIKOS III. In his absence, however, the monk Gerasimos slandered him and succeeded in having himself elected patriarch. When Andronikos died, the matter had not yet been decided. Nevertheless, during the Civil War of 1341–47 that followed, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS recognized Gerasimos. For his part, Lazaros favored Kalekas's opponent, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and was responsible for crowning him emperor (21 May 1346) in Adrianople (Kantak. 2:564.10–18). After Kantakouzenos's victory, Lazaros was recognized (sometime between May and Aug. 1347) as the lawful incumbent. Still, only in the second half of 1349, when Gerasimos was expelled from Jerusalem, was Lazaros able to take possession of his see.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 425–34. P. Wirth, "Miszellen zu den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Jerusalem," *JÖB* 9 (1960) 47–50. Idem, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," *BZ* 54 (1961) 319–23. —A.P.

**LAZAROS OF MOUNT GALESIOS**, saint; baptismal name Leo; born near Magnesia on the Meander, died Mt. GALESIOS 7 Nov. 1053. His birthdate, usually calculated as ca.972, is questionable: MS Moscow, Hist. Mus. 369/353, fol.220, indicates that Lazaros died at age 72 and thus would have been born ca.981. Lazaros was born to a peasant family; after completing his elementary education, he fled to Attaleia, where he took the monastic habit, and then to the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. After his return he founded three monasteries at Mt. Galesios near Ephesus, where he lived atop a pillar. His community was based on individualistic principles, with the cell being the center of monastic activity; monk-craftsmen were allowed to earn a private income (AASS Nov. 3:566A–D).

Lazaros's disciple, the *kellarites* Gregory, recorded his biography; it has few supernatural miracles but many vignettes rich in everyday details: the young Lazaros escaped sexual seduction

in the house of a girl whom he accompanied to Chonae; Lazaros's corpse, with the help of the monk Cyril, signed the *diatyposis* for the monks; many thefts and quarrels, travels, and visits are described. Gregory focuses on local events, while Constantinople is depicted as a remote city teeming with danger. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS reworked the vita.

SOURCE. AASS Nov. 3:508–606.

LIT. BHG 979–980e. I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.VI (1979–80), 723–26. O. Lampsides, "Anekdoton keimenon peri tou hagiou Lazarou Galesiotou," *Theologia* 53 (1982) 158–77. E. Malamut, "A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse," *REB* 43 (1985) 243–51. —A.K.

**LAZARUS SATURDAY**, a FEAST celebrated on the Saturday before PALM SUNDAY in commemoration of the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1–45). Together with Palm Sunday, Lazarus Saturday separates LENT from HOLY WEEK. EGERIA describes a procession on this day leading from Jerusalem to Bethany with two stations: one at a church on the road, where the bishop's procession is met by the monks and people, and the second at Lazarus's tomb in Bethany. Surprisingly, neither the lections at these stations nor Egeria herself make reference to the actual raising of Lazarus. Talley (*Liturgical Year* 176–89, 203–14, 234) argues convincingly that this theme on Lazarus Saturday in Constantinople cannot be traced to Jerusalem, but probably originated in Alexandria instead.

On Lazarus Saturday, the emperor and his court went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where the emperor gave out palms and silver crosses (*De cer.* 170f). In the 14th C. he celebrated the feast at the monastery of St. Lazarus instead (pseudo-Kod. 246:13–20). Teachers in the Patriarchal School of the 12th C. delivered *enkomia* of the patriarch on this day.

One of four occasions for BAPTISM in Constantinople, Lazarus Saturday was characterized by a complete baptismal liturgy performed in Hagia Sophia (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:62–65). At the conclusion of *orthros* the reading of Acts began and the patriarch descended to the baptistery where he baptized the candidates and anointed them with chrism. Then a psalmist intoned Psalm 31 and led the neophytes into the church to the chant of the psalmody, for the continuation of which he mounted the ambo. At a signal from the deacon

the psalmody was broken off and the reading resumed with Acts 8:26, after which the liturgy began with the ANTIPHONS.

**Representation in Art.** The standard Byz. composition of the Raising of Lazarus first emerged in the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1r): with Lazarus's sisters Mary and Martha at his feet and disciples behind him, Christ is shown gesturing toward the shrouded corpse of Lazarus, which stands at the mouth of a cave or small building (*aedicula*) at the right, surrounded by onlookers. One, holding his nose against the stench, supports Lazarus while another holds the sarcophagus lid. This composition displaces an earlier one—showing a youthful Christ waving a thaumaturgic wand toward a shrouded corpse in an *aedicula*—that recurs more than 100 times in funerary art of the 3rd to 5th C. The Byz. composition underwent some modifications: 11th- through 12th-C. versions may show an embroidered hood over Lazarus's head or a sarcophagus at Lazarus's feet, and the noseholder may be shown unwrapping Lazarus; some 13th-C. examples show Lazarus sitting or lying in the sarcophagus; and 14th-C. renditions combine Lazarus in his sarcophagus with cave and *aedicula*. In some 11th- through 12th-C. MSS and mural paintings, Lazarus appears as a bishop, reflecting the legend that he became bishop of Kition in Cyprus (C. Walter, *REB* 27 [1969] 197–208). The *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH* of Constantinople calls Lazarus "friend of Christ," and homilies present him as proof of the rewards to be had from friendship judiciously conferred.

LIT. T.J. Talley, "The Origin of Lent in Alexandria," *StP* 17.2 (1982) 594–612. Millet, *Recherches* 232–54. M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966) 22–27. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

**LAZIKA** (Λαζική), at first the southwest region of ancient Colchis lying along the east shore of the Black Sea and including the mouth of the PHASIS River; Lazika hence has often been confused with Tzanika. In the 4th C., the Lazs extended their suzerainty northward toward ABCHASIA and Svaneti (SUANIA) to form a kingdom, with Archaiopolis as capital, which commanded some of the Caucasian passes. Lazika then came to the attention of Byz. and trade was initiated; the Laz kings received their regalia (see INSIGNIA) from Byz. even though they paid no tribute (Pro-

kopios, *Wars* 2.15.2). Increasing Byz. interference in the region and the building of the fortress of Petra on the coast of Lazika provoked the Persians to invade the country in 542 and capture Petra. The protracted Lazic war (549–56) ended with the reestablishment of Byz. control in the area under the terms of the Peace of 562 (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6.1, ed. Blockley, 80.474); the Laz tribes gradually moved southwestward, however, so that the toponym Lazika was increasingly identified with the southeast shore of the Black Sea as far as TREBIZOND. Byz. maintained control of Lazika until the revolt of the *patrikios* Sergios in 697 opened the way for the Arab invasion of Lazika early in the 8th C., their capture of Archaiopolis, and the islamization of the previously Christian Lazs. The diocese of Trebizond was officially named that of "entire Lazika" through the 14th C. (*Notitiae CP* no.20.33).

LIT. A. Bryer, "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan," *BK* 21–22 (1966) 174–95; 23–24 (1967) 161–68. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 191–98. Bury, *LRE* 2:113–23. —N.G.G.

**LEAD** (μόλυβδος), probably from Trebizond, Macedonia, and northern regions of the Balkans, was broadly employed in Byz. In a list of craftsmen supplementing Constantine I's law of 337 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, *Cod.Just.* X 66.1) are mentioned workers in lead (*plumbarii*) that in the Greek translation is rendered *molybdourgoi*, even though *ploumarioi* (*sic*) are named as well (*Basil.* 54.6.8). Lead was added to copper alloys to improve their casting properties (B. Iatrides, *Archaiologia* 1 [Nov. 1981] 73f). The metal's low melting temperature also allowed simple lead objects to be produced domestically: thus in Cherson in the 9th and 10th C. fishermen made weights for their nets at home, and lead blanks were found in several other houses (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovijskij Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 322–25). The softness of lead made it a perfect material for SEALS, and its weight lent itself to carpenter's plummets. Scribes used it to make RULING PATTERNS on MSS.

Lead was used for ROOFING to protect domes and vaults (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 59.33–34) from rain and for manufacturing water pipes. It strengthened the piers of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.53). Lead sarcophagi with Christian motifs were produced in Syria/Palestine from the 4th C. onward, continu-



ing an older industry based in Sidon. Lead was used by goldsmiths in repoussé work and for the production of cheap AMULETS and CROSSES (Harrison, *Saracane*, nos. 621–23) as well as for pilgrimage AMPULLAE (Ch. Bakirtzes, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 523–28).

LIT. K.B. Hofmann, *Das Blei bei den Völkern des Altertums* (Berlin 1885). R.J. Forbes, "Silver and Lead in Antiquity," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'* 7 (1940) 489–524. Idem, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 8 (Leiden 1964) 193–245. —M.M.M., L.Ph.B., A.C.

**LEARNING.** Erudition was divided in Byz. into two categories: "our" *paideia*, that is, Christian doctrine; and "outside" (*exo, thyrathen*) *sophia*, the classical (pagan, Hellenic) erudition. Attitudes toward EDUCATION were ambivalent. On the one hand, church fathers and authors of saints' vitae in high style disparaged secular wisdom, and writers such as Symeon the Theologian contrasted the knowledge attained through reading with the revelation granted by God, and were suspicious even of knowledge of the Holy Writ (Kazhdan, "Symeon" 37). Knowledge was not included among the four basic virtues that should adorn the ideal emperor, according to the BASILIKOS LOGOS; its place was taken by good sense (*phronesis*). On the other hand, the same ecclesiastics who criticized secular wisdom tried to show their familiarity with that wisdom; learning also formed an essential part of the system of secular values, and higher education was often a prerequisite for an administrative career.

The Byz. CURRICULUM encompassed primarily the classical language (grammar), eloquence (rhetoric), and philosophy or logic; the QUADRIVIUM included the complementary disciplines of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:352.6–10) claimed to have studied every science (*mathema*), that is, rhetoric, geometry, music, rhythmic, arithmetic, stereometry (*sphairike*), law, the sacred science (*hieratike*), theology. Prodrornos, however, in the vita of MELETIOS THE YOUNGER of Myoupolis (ed. Vasil'evskij 42.16–21), contrasted the study (*paideia*) of Holy Scripture with "unnecessary" disciplines—the "outside" philosophy, rhetoric, physics, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS distinguished between two major divisions of secular knowledge, logic and physics (PG 142:381A).

—A.K., I.Š.

**LEASE.** See MISTHOSIS.

**LEATHER.** The processing of leather does not seem to have attained much importance in antiquity. Not only are terms for leatherworkers in Egyptian papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 29f) infrequent and of uncertain meaning, but most of the artisans listed by Fikhman as working with leather are in fact furriers, saddlers, and shieldmakers. In Rome of the late 3rd to early 4th C. only a few inscriptions mention the guild of TANNERS—*corarii* (E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 [1901] 458).

In Byz., on the other hand, leather processing and the manufacture of leather products became one of the most widespread artisan professions. Leather was used not only for footgear but also for certain types of cloaks, harnesses, tents and shields (for the army), and PARCHMENT. New words for leatherworkers, such as *skytergates* (PG 92:1377A) and *skytoergos* (PG 37:1235A) appear in the vocabulary of 4th–7th-C. authors. The division of labor was relatively elaborate, comparable only to the complexity of silk production. The Stoudios monastery in the 9th C. had TANNERS (*byrseis*), leather processors (*dermatopoiountes*), SHOEMAKERS (*skyteis* and similar terms), *hypodematorrhaphoi* (sandalmakers?), dyers of footgear (*skytoeusopoiountes*), and makers of parchment (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412f). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* strictly distinguishes between harnessmakers (LOROTOMOI), tanners, and *malakatarioi* ("softeners"), but omits shoemakers.

In the Palaiologan period Constantinopolitan Jews played a major role in leather processing. Italian merchants brought hides and furs to Constantinople for processing, and leather goods were produced for export. In the 14th C. Constantinopolitan leatherworkers were allowed to work in Dubrovnik, one of the main centers of trade in cattle and sheep (B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik [Raguse] et le Levant au Moyen-Age* [Paris 1961] 217).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 232f. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96f.

—A.K.

**LEBOUNION, MOUNT**, site of a battle on 29 Apr. 1091. Lebounion (Λεβούνιον) was a hill located near the mouth of the Marica (HEBROS) River; the plain at its base was the scene of a decisive victory of ALEXIOS I over the PECHENEGS. The CUMANS supported Alexios. When he de-

layed battle, awaiting the arrival of Western reinforcements, the Cumans insisted on immediate engagement; since Alexios feared a Pecheneg-Cuman alliance, he was forced to fight. The Byz. and Cumans advanced at dawn in a crescent against the Pechenegs, who sheltered themselves and their families behind their covered wagons. At the outset the Pechenegs were weakened by desertion to the Cumans. The conflict lasted much of the day; neighboring peasants brought water to relieve the thirst of the Byz. soldiers. The struggle ended, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:142f), in a terrible massacre, including women and children, although some prisoners were taken. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:74of) records that the surviving Pechenegs were settled in the MOGLENA theme. Pecheneg power was broken; Anna Komnene reports a fragment of a popular song: "For lack of one day, the Scyths missed seeing May."

LIT. M. Gyóni, "Le nom de Vlachoï dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène," *BZ* 44 (1951) 241–52.

—C.M.B.

**LECHAION.** See CORINTH.

**LECTIONARY**, a general term for various LITURGICAL BOOKS containing LECTIONS intended for reading in liturgical services. Most have lists appended indicating the feasts, both fixed and mobile, of the church CALENDAR, with their proper lections. A true lectionary gives the full text of the lections, not just *incipit-desinit* tables (tables of beginning and concluding phrases).

The earliest complete lectionary covering the entire liturgical YEAR is that of Jerusalem, transmitted through the 5th-C. Early Syriac lectionary (F.C. Burkitt, *ProcBrAc* 10 [1921–23] 301–39), the 5th-C. Armenian lectionary (A. Renoux, *PO* 35–36), the 5th–8th-C. Georgian redactions (M. Tarnichsvili, *CSCO* 188–89), and the 6th-C. Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the Old Testament and Epistle lections (A.S. Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* [London 1897]). This Jerusalem lectionary is of major importance for the history of Byz. FEASTS, calendar, and lectionaries. The Byz. calendar, fixed probably before 700, gave rise to a new disposition of lections based largely on the Jerusalem system, rather than the earlier lection system of Antioch (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:25–35).

The oldest Byz. lectionary MSS are from the 9th C. The two major types of lectionary were the EVANGELION, which contains Gospel passages, and the PRAXAPOSTOLOS for the other New Testament passages. Other lectionaries were the PROPHETOLOGION for the Old Testament lections; the *apostolo-evangelion*, containing both Epistles and Gospel readings; and the *anagnostikon*, a rare book containing all the Old and New Testament lections, found in Philotheou 6, an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Lampros, *Athos* 1:151, no.1769).

LIT. Y. Burns, "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 119–27. A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Münster 1921). A. Rahlfs, "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, vol. 1.5 (Berlin 1915) 119–230. Y. Burns, "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople," *StP* 15 (1984) 515–20.

—R.F.T.

**LECTIONS** (ἀναγνώσματα), liturgical readings, drawn exclusively from the Bible for the Eucharist, for other services drawn occasionally also from hagiographical (see SYNAXARION of Constantinople) or patristic writings and conciliar decrees. Lections, collected into various types of LECTIONARIES, are a major component of liturgy, esp. of VIGILS. Byz. HOURS had no daily scripture lections; the lections were added on feasts in accordance with Palestinian practice.

Developed lection systems first appear in the 5th-C. lectionary of Jerusalem. The Byz. system, based originally on that of Antioch, later underwent Jerusalem influence. This synthesis took place probably before 700. At first there were lections only for Saturdays and Sundays. Weekday readings were added as Eucharist was extended to weekdays, not earlier than the 7th C., and then only in monastic usage. The TYPICON OF THE GREAT CHURCH still lacks these weekday lessons, and the earliest Byz. lectionaries (9th C.) have no weekday lessons outside the Easter season.

Lections were either "select," that is, chosen for their suitability to the feast—this system was used esp. for the fixed feasts, the MENAION cycle—or "continuous," that is, lessons read day after day more or less in the order in which they occur in the Bible text. This latter system was used for most of the mobile cycle of the church CALENDAR.

In cathedral services, the Gospel was usually



read by the deacon, other lections by the ANAGNOSTES; though on some more solemn occasions (Easter and other solemn vigils; sometimes at LITE), the patriarch or bishop or, in his absence, the priest, proclaimed the Gospel. At monastic hours, readings were done by the monks themselves, most of whom were not ordained.

LIT. P.-M. Gy, "La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 251-61. I.M. de Vries, "The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Byzantine Liturgical Year," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 10 (1953-54) 41-49, 85-95, 137-49, 192-95. R. Zeffass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraoffizium Jerusalems* (Münster 1968). —R.F.T.

**LECTOR.** See ANAGNOSTES.

**LEGAL SCIENCE.** In order to speak of Byz. legal science one must allow to be considered as science the production of texts that have as their subject the meaning of legal norms and their relation to each other. There was a legal science of this kind among those individuals attached to LAW SCHOOLS and to the judiciary. Excluded from legal science, on the other hand, are the producers of norms (legislation), the collectors of norms (authors of law books), or the producers of normative models (production of *formulae*: the NOTARIES). Legal science pursued either a pedagogical purpose (teaching) or served the decision-making process (judgments, legal statements). For all the periods of the empire in which such a legal science can be demonstrated (4th-6th and 10th-13th C.), it is characterized by the following methodological features: stringent "philological" commitment to the basic text; a marked use of "juristic logic," that is, deductions that can be reconstructed by formal logic, whose premises are not secured and are susceptible to rhetoric (e.g., analogy and inverted deduction); the use of hermeneutic techniques (etymology, explanation according to significance and object of the norm); and the use of rhetorical figures of speech and models of presentation. Since the legal scholars were also familiar with juristic dogma—understood as the sum of the transmitted and accepted legal statements both legislative and judicial in origin—the differences between these and today's European or Anglo-Saxon juristic techniques are minor.

—D.S.

**LEGATARIOS** (ληγατάριος), subaltern official in several departments both civil and military; neither TAKTIKA nor the *De ceremoniis* define his functions. More is known about the *legatarios* of the EPARCH OF THE CITY who had to oversee the foreign merchants in Constantinople. The attempts to identify the latter *legatarios* with either the SYMPONOS or the LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU (e.g., M. Ja. Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 249) are not correct; these two officials were the emperor's appointees, while the *legatarios* was appointed by the eparch (Oikonomides, *Listes* 314, n.156). The *legatarios* is known also in the *sekretion* of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU and under some military commanders.

LIT. Stöckle, *Ziinfte* 90-92.

—A.K.

**LEGATON** (λεγάτον), in contrast to the appointment of an HEIR, was the separate donation of single pieces or portions of the deceased's estate, with the consequence that the heir (or heirs) was charged with the distribution of the legacy. Any heir, including the church and pious institutions as well as such *incertae personae* as "the poor," could be the recipient of a *legaton*. The *legaton* was executed by the legatee at the expense of the heirs by means of a lawsuit. The heirs were protected by the LEX FALCIDIA against the overburdening of the estate with *legata*. In the post-Justinianic period, esp. in practice, exact distinctions were often no longer made between the appointment of an heir and the apportioning of a *legaton*, so that the question of who was to be considered the heir and who the legatee cannot always be clearly answered. A further consequence is that the *Lex Falcidia* and the legal expedients that safeguarded against exclusion from a WILL (the right to a legitimate portion) merge with one another to a great extent. The process of this development has not yet been the subject of detailed research. The term *legaton* also acquired the specific connotation in Byz. of a gift given to manumitted slaves (e.g., *Lavra*, no.1.22 [a.897]) and as such appears in several saints' lives that describe pious acts of MANUMISSION.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:555-62 (§298).

—A.K.

**LEGES FISCALES**, conventional name for a collection of regulations concerning taxes and the rights of holders of adjacent properties. Compiled

from the Greek versions of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, it was divided into five titles, with 233 chapters in all. Apart from the PROCHIRON and the collection of novels by Theodore of Hermoupolis (end of the 6th C.), its immediate sources are uncertain; the *Basilika* were probably not used. The *intitulatio*, which mentions Leo VI and his brother Alexander, offers a trustworthy basis for the dating of the collection to the early 10th C. but does not prove it was an official promulgation.

ED. L. Burgmann, D. Simon, "Ein unbekanntes Rechtsbuch," *FM* 1 (1976) 73-101.

—L.B.

**LEGES MILITARES.** See NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS.

**LEGITIMACY, POLITICAL.** Roman constitutional vagueness encouraged Byz. inventiveness in justifying the possession of political power, the main themes of which permeate imperial PROPAGANDA. Despite their stability, the weight accorded to each theme changed, reflecting ideology and the POLITICAL STRUCTURE. Six forms of legitimacy proved most enduring.

1. **Legitimacy based on military success** (e.g., TRIUMPHS), reckoned as revealing divine approval, was fostered by political survival and the emperor's original connection with military command.

2. **Civic legitimacy** came from the emperor's political civility (e.g., the ostentatious refusal of minor perquisites of absolute power), as long as Roman republican traditions still carried weight. This legitimacy was transformed in the emperor's role as lawgiver and benefactor, for example, in his PHILANTHROPY.

3. **Historical legitimacy** derived from the Roman character of Byz., combined with the Byz. mentality's attachment to the old and to TAXIS.

4. **Dynastic legitimacy** emerged as aristocratic lineages coalesced. It explains the epithet PORPHYROGENNETOS, commemorative coinage of the Isaurians (*DOC* 3.1:9) or Anna of Savoy, and the use by John III Vatatzes of the DOUKAS surname and his treatment of Andronikos I as his grandfather.

5. **The unique status of Constantinople** made into a source of legitimacy the possession of the capital itself and all that went with it in terms of resources and the legitimizing power of the CEREMONY. For example, failure to take Constantinople doomed

the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV, and Kekaumenos (Kek. 268.8-13) insisted victory belonged to the emperor who controlled the capital.

6. **Religious legitimacy** was indispensable. Divine election justified USURPATION or its repression, and the emperor's personal piety and ORTHODOXY confirmed and allowed his Christomimetic rulership. This development peaked in late Byz. with, for example, the appearance of ANOINTING at the CORONATION.

Components of legitimacy often converged: for example, lineage, Romanness, and religion combined when emperors claimed genealogical descent from St. Constantine (e.g., BASIL I) or ancient Roman nobility (e.g., the Doukai, anonymous preface to Bryen. 67.21-69.4).

LIT. F. Dölger, "Johannes VI. Kantakuzenus als dynastischer Legitimist," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 19-30. Av. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 106-36.

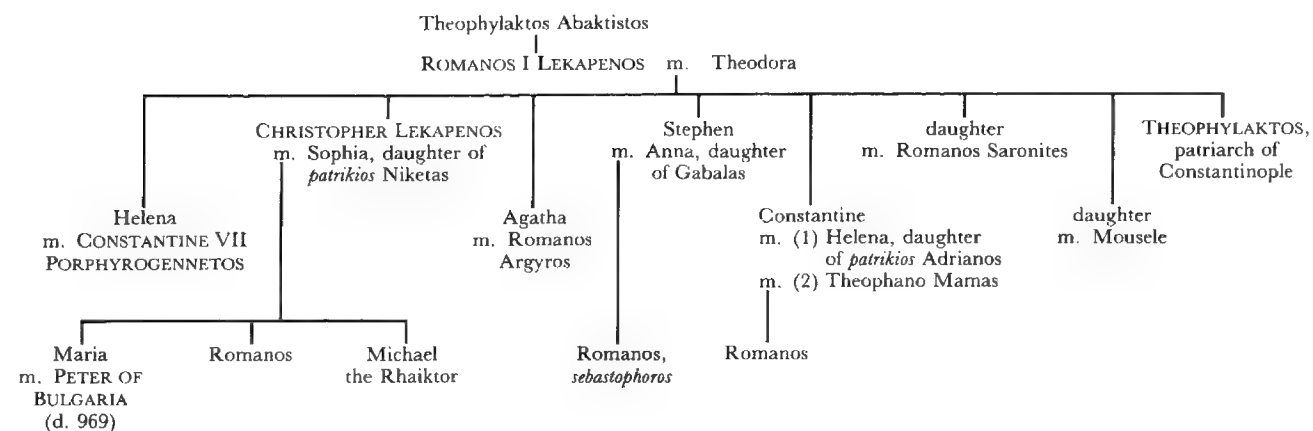
—M.McC.

**LEISURE** (σχολή), as a form of philosophical behavior, designated in antiquity both scholarly discussion and scholarly speculation on nature and "origin." Church fathers renounced the ancient concept of philosophical leisure: Basil the Great (PG 29:429A) condemned "the evil leisure of the Athenians" that was still being imitated by his contemporaries, who were trying to invent new concepts and thus fell within the embraces of "dirty and evil spirits." He contrasted this leisure to "a good and beneficial *scholē*," which was, in the words of Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 27:216D), "the cognizance of God." *Scholē* was thus transformed into an emphasis on contemplation, which became an important part of ascetic exercises.

—A.K.

**LEKAPENOS** (Λεκαπηνός, fcm. Λεκαπηνή), or Lakapenos, a family of Armenian stock. Its founder, Theophylaktos Abaktistos or Abastaktos, rescued Basil I in a battle in 872 and was rewarded with a piece of imperial land, perhaps in the region of Lakape that gave the family its new name. Theophylaktos's son became Emp. ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, his sons were proclaimed co-emperors, and the youngest, THEOPHYLAKTOS, was appointed patriarch. The oldest brother, CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS, died in Aug. 931; on 16

## GENEALOGY OF THE LEKAPENOS FAMILY IN THE TENTH CENTURY



Adapted from S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanos Lekapenos and His Reign* (rp. Cambridge 1988), app. IV.

Dec. 944 Stephen and Constantine deposed their father, but they were in turn arrested on 15 June 945, exiled, and eventually murdered. For several decades the Lekapenoi maintained a leading position: Romanos I's illegitimate son BASIL THE NOTHOS, the *parakoimomenos*, administered the empire during Basil II's youth, and Christopher's son, Michael the Raiktor, gained the high title of *magistros*. Thereafter their role declined: from the 11th C. only a single family member is known—Constantine, whose seal mentions neither his title nor office (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.446). In the 14th C. George LAKAPENOS was a writer, landowner, teacher, and official of a mediocre rank. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Runciman, *Romanos* 63f, 77–79, 232–37. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 11–13. J. L. van Dieten, *RB* 1:1f. —A.K.

**LEKAPENOS, GEORGE.** See LAKAPENOS, GEORGE.

**LEMBIOTISSA** (Λεμβιώτισσα), or Lembos, a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, located halfway between Smyrna and Nymphaion. It existed by 787 when Theodore, *hegoumenos* of Lembos, signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea; its history thereafter until the 13th C. is obscure. Restored and richly endowed by John III Vatatzes, it flourished until 1307, when it was apparently attacked by the Turks and burned.

A KODIX or cartulary of Lembiotissa survives in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, hist. gr. 125) that preserves copies of about 200 private and official acts dating from 1192 to 1294 (Dölger, *infra* 295) or probably even from as early as 1133 (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 128). This collection permits the establishment of the list of Lembiotissa's *hegoumenoi* between 1223 and 1293 (Dölger, *infra* 302–06) and contains data concerning the topography and administration of the SMYRNA region, the activity of the episcopal chancery, and esp. the structure of the village-estate. The possessions of Lembiotissa were located in Smyrna and in several villages. In no case was Lembiotissa the sole owner of these villages. In the villages can be found properties of various secular and ecclesiastical landowners, independent and dependent peasants (e.g., a *paroikos* who had two masters simultaneously, peasants under *pronoia*); some allotments were tiny (1–3 *modioi*), and many owners held property in several different villages. The *kodix* also provides data about the price of fields and vineyards, taxes, and rent, esp. the EPITELEIA.

SOURCE. MM 4:1–289.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 27 (1927) 291–320. A. Fontrier, "Le monastère de Lembos près de Smyrne," *BCH* 16 (1892) 379–410. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 24–27, 56–60, 98–100. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 236–44. D. Angelov, "Prinos kŭm pozemlenite otnošenija vŭv Vizantija prez XIII vek," *GSU FIF* 2 (1952) 3–103.

—A.M.T., A.K.

**LEMMA** (λήμμα), designation (occasionally attested already in antiquity) of the title usually placed at the head of a work or a chapter. It is often written in characters different from those of the text (i.e., in MINUSCULE MSS the lemmata are often written in UNCIAL, and vice versa) and also in INK of a different color (usually red). Sometimes a scribe forgot to add the lemma (and initial letters) to a text so that the work remained without title (*anepigraphos*) until a later copyist invented a new one.

Normally the lemma contains the author's name (sometimes, however, only in the formula *tou autou*, "by the same," which can be misleading) and details about contents, occasion, and (esp. in the case of letters) the addressee. Sometimes the lemma provides the only information at our disposal about the writer and the historical context of the work, Byz. texts being mostly tacit in this respect. On the other hand the reliability of the lemma is always relative, because it is not formulated by the author himself, except in the case of autographs. Cases of pseudepigraphy occur time and again; they are often due to the attempt to gain a higher price for the MS by means of an attractive author attribution.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22. H. Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert," in *PGEB* 201–20. —W.H.

**LEMNOS** (Λήμνος), island in the northern Aegean Sea that controlled the passage between Constantinople and Thessalonike; its capital was Hephaisteia. In late antiquity it was listed among the cities of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.1); by the 9th C. it was part of the theme of the AEGEAN SEA. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 127, n.6) hypothesized that in the 10th C. Lemnos was under the command of the *strategos* of Thessalonike, but her reference to Skyl. 368.78 does not support this view. Neither do we have any proof that Lemnos was an important shipyard: a donation of 1016 (*Lavra* 1, no.20.79) only mentions a certain Andrew, a homeowner or former EPEIKTES of the island, and a purchase deed of 993 identifies the *protospatharios* and *exartistes* ("rigger") Michael as a friend of Athanasios of Athos (*Lavra* 1, no.10.23–25)—his whereabouts are not indicated.

The island was sacked by the Saracens in 902 and remained for several years a focus of anti-

Arab naval operations. After 1204 Lemnos was placed under the authority of the Latin Empire but was reconquered by Michael VIII (Greg. 1:98.16). The loss of Asia Minor made Lemnos important as a source of food (monasteries of Mt. Athos had properties on Lemnos), as a political force (the inhabitants of Lemnos supported Andronikos III against Andronikos II—Kantak. 1:150f), and as a prize in the struggle for power (John VI Kantakouzenos gave it first to his brother Manuel, then to his son Matthew Kantakouzenos—Kantak. 3:312.1–8). The island was demanded by Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–1458) as the price of his aid for Constantinople, and offered by Constantine XI to GIUSTINIANI LONGO if he would help to repulse the Turks. After 1453 Lemnos was given briefly to the Gattilusi of Lesbos, then granted as part of an appanage by Mehmed II in 1460 to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. It was finally conquered by the Ottomans in 1479.

The bishop of Hephaisteia attended the Council of Nicaea in 325. A part of Eastern Illyricum, the island was under the jurisdiction of Rome until the 8th C. Lemnos became an archbishopric in the 9th C. and metropolis during the Civil War of 1341–47. The Latin conquest seems not to have affected the position of the Greek bishops of the island.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Lemnos," *MDAI AA* 31 (1906) 246f, 249f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:657f, 3:161f. J.F. Haldon, "Lemnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: Ca. 1261–1453," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986) 161–215.

—T.E.G.

**LENT** (τεσσαρακοστή, lit. "fortieth [day]"), a period, ideally 40 days in duration, of PENANCE and FASTING in preparation for Easter. This period is also called "Great Lent" to distinguish it from the three lesser Byz. lents, those preceding the NATIVITY of Christ, the DORMITION of the Virgin Mary, and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul on 29 June (the last Lent extends from the Monday following the Sunday after Pentecost until the vigil of the Apostles' feast).

The first sure evidence of Lent occurs in Festal Letter II of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, from 330. By the end of the 4th C. a prepaschal Lent was in practice almost everywhere, an outgrowth of the preparation for BAPTISM at Easter. Lent later

became also a penitential preparation for the reconciliation of penitents during Holy Week. But growth was not uniform, as evidence from Jerusalem, Rome, and Egypt shows: Egypt, for instance, once had a six-week post-Epiphany fast in imitation of Jesus' postbaptismal fast.

The duration of Lent and the ways of calculating it have also varied. Originally the whole period lasted six weeks. Where Saturdays and Sundays were not fast days (except for Holy Saturday), this amounted to only 36 days of fasting in Lent plus Holy Week; thus these days were called "the tithe of the year." Soon literalism and the desire to have 40 actual fast days led in the 6th–7th C. in Constantinople to the addition of another, pre-Lenten *tyrine*, or "Cheesefare Week" of fasting that, with the six weeks of Lent plus Holy Week, makes a total of eight weeks, each with five fast days, 40 in all.

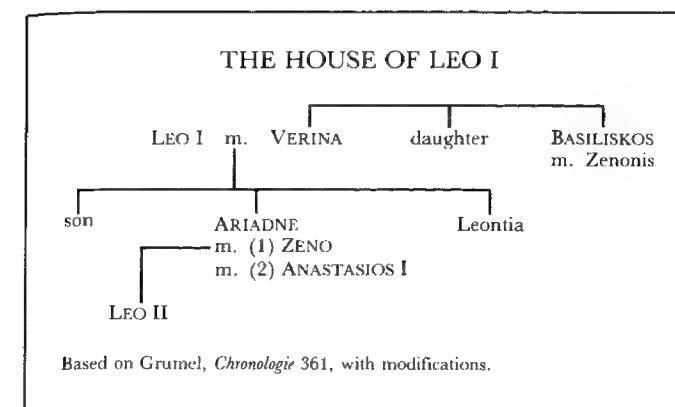
Lenten liturgical legislation first appears in canons 45 and 49–52 of the Council of Laodikeia in 380 (Mansi 2:571CE), and Lenten liturgy is already highly developed in Jerusalem by 384, as the diary of EGERIA reveals; other evidence is provided by the contemporary homilies of CYRIL of Jerusalem and by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIO-NARY. Byz. Lenten liturgy, later codified in the liturgical book called the TRIODION, is seen in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, in later monastic TYPIKA as well as in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and other ceremonial books (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 28–30; pseudo-Kod. 221–24). Many Lenten sermons have survived: the preacher usually used the season of Lent to expose the vices of his flock and to suggest ways for moral improvement.

LIT. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aussätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1928) 155–203. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 163–230. —R.F.T.

**LEO** (Λέων, lit. "lion"), personal name. Although well known in antiquity (W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> [Braunschweig 1863–70] 793f), it was apparently rare in the 4th C.: *PLRE* 1:498 cites only two Leos alongside 24 Leontioi. It became more popular in the 5th C.: in *PLRE* 2:661–66 there are about 12 Leos, but still fewer than Leontioi (30). The relative frequency changed by the time of Theophanes the Confessor, who lists 18 Leos and only two Leontioi. The name reached its peak in Skylitzes, who has 38 Leos,

more than THEODORE and BASIL; in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Leo is numerous (26), even though here the name is a little behind Theodore (30) and Basil (29); in *Iviron*, vol. 1 (10th–11th C.), Leo (11) is ahead of Theodore (9), but behind Basil (20). In the later period the name lost popularity: in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), Leo is in twelfth place with 31 instances, fewer than Athanasios (35) and Kyriakos (34), and far fewer than fashionable names like JOHN (350) and others of its ilk. The frequency of the name in the acts of Docheiariou is higher: Leo is more frequent than Athanasios or Kyriakos, but far behind Theodore. As an imperial name Leo was popular between the 5th and 10th C. Since the name Leo was borne by several Iconoclast emperors (Leo III–V), their adversaries used the expression "wild beast" to designate a "heretic" emperor; on the other hand, the lion as a royal animal could serve as a symbol or epithet of a "pious" Leo. —A.K.

**LEO I**, called the "Butcher" (Μακέλλης) or the "Great" (probably not because of his piety but to distinguish him from Leo II, the "Little," his grandson), emperor (from 7 Feb. 457); of Bessian origin, born in Illyrian Dacia ca.400, died 18 Jan. 474. A low-ranking officer commanding a garrison in Selymbria and a personal servant (*kourator*) of ASPAR and his son, he was chosen by Aspar as emperor upon Marcian's death. Aspar saw Leo as a compliant tool through whom he could exercise power. Leo was crowned by Patr. Anatolios (449–58)—the first case of imperial coronation by a patriarch. Leo's reign witnessed natural disasters (a fire in Constantinople in 465, earthquakes) and religious conflicts (TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS in Alexandria, the attempt of PETER THE FULLER to seize the see of Antioch). He was forced to lower taxes and curb official abuses. Aspar defeated the Huns in 468, and the Danubian provinces enjoyed relative prosperity; the situation in the East was quiet. Attempts to control Italy led to military coups when the army, commanded by RICIMER, proclaimed as augusti MAJORIAN, ANTHEMIOS (both Leo's nominees), and Glycerius (whom Leo refused to recognize and replaced with JULIUS NEPOS). The maritime expedition of 468 against the Vandals failed due to the incompetence of its commander BASILISKOS.



By 468 Leo started to liberate himself from the control of Aspar and the Goths, using the Isaurians under ZENO as a counterweight to them. Leo married his daughter ARIADNE to Zeno. In 471 Aspar and his son ARDABOURIOS were murdered. Orthodox tradition depicts Leo and his wife VERINA as pious sovereigns devoted to the cult of the Virgin. Thus, in a 10th-C. MS (ed. A. Wenger, *REB* 10 [1952] 54f), they are said to have ordered a gold  *Soros* for a relic of the Virgin's clothing (here *peribole*; see MAPHORION), placing above it an image of Mary enthroned and adored by members of their family. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:314–23. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 1947–61. Kaegi, *Decline* 31–48. A. Kozlov, "Osnovnye napravleniya politicheskoy oppozitsii pravitel'stvu Vizantii v 50–načale 70–ch gg. V v.," *ADSV* 20 (1983) 29–39.

—T.E.G., A.C.

**LEO I THE GREAT**, pope (from 29 Sept. 440) and saint; born end of 4th C.? in Volterra? Tuscany, died Rome 10 Nov. 461; Greek feastday 18 Feb. Leo contended with barbarian assaults on Italy: in 452 he participated in an embassy to ATTLA and persuaded him to withdraw from Italy; in 455, while PETRONIUS MAXIMUS tried to flee from besieged Rome, Leo negotiated with the Vandal GAISERIC and convinced him to spare the city from fire. Another problem was the growing power of the Eastern churches—Leo joined Constantinople against Alexandria. He opposed NESTORIANISM and in an epistle to Patr. FLAVIAN of Constantinople defended the thesis of the two natures of Christ. The main problem he faced, however, was the relationship of the church to the state: Leo propagated the idea of close collaboration between the two authorities and emphasized the divine principles of the imperial power.

He developed the concept that authority and obedience were dialectically interwoven and that the emperor, while obedient to God, was to be the master of his subjects (H. Arens, *Die christologische Sprache Leos des Grossen* [Freiburg im Br. 1982] 698f).

Loyal to Valentinian III, Leo sought the support of Constantinople, where he established his *apocrisarius* as intermediary between Rome and the emperor. Leo did not approve of the idea of convening the Council of CHALCEDON, but he submitted to the emperor's will and worked supportively; he only required unconditionally that his legates should preside over the council (M. Wojtowysch, *Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I.* [Stuttgart 1981] 331f). Leo developed the idea of PRIMACY but supported canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon. The ICONOPHILES respected Leo, and in the 9th C. THEODORE GRAPROS composed a *kanon* in his honor (E. Bouvy, *EO* 1 [1897–98] 172). His Greek vita, vague in its contents (C. Van den Vorst, *AB* 29 [1910] 400–408), was probably compiled on the basis of a poem in political verse (R. Goossens, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 427–32). Leo's lengthy letter dated 11 June 453 to THEODORET OF CYPRUS where the pope vouchsafes the orthodoxy of Theodoret's views is, probably, a mid-6th-C. forgery produced in the vein of Western reaction to the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS, or a revision of the authentic text (R. Schieffer in *Antidoron. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard* [Wetteren 1984] 81–87).

LIT. T. Jalland, *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London 1941). P. Stockmeier, *Leo I. des Grossen. Beurteilung der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik* (Munich 1959). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna* (Rome 1967) 311–22. W. Ullmann, "Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy," *JThSt* n.s. 11 (1960) 25–51. —A.K.

**LEO II**, "the Little" (ὁ μικρός), emperor (473–74); born ca.467, died Constantinople 17 Nov. 474. Since LEO I had no sons, he of necessity looked to his grandson Leo, the child of his daughter ARIADNE and her husband ZENO, to continue his line. In the fall of 473, shortly before Leo I died, he proclaimed his six-year-old grandson as caesar and then augustus. Early the next year, immediately after the death of Leo I, the child emperor crowned his father Zeno in the Hippodrome, with the approval of the senate (Feb. 474); the boy died a few months later. Latin



writers (Victor Tonnensis, Isidore of Seville) accuse Zeno of murdering his son. In any case, after the boy's death a conspiracy developed against Zeno in which Leo I's widow, VERINA, played an active role; she then changed her mind, however, and warned Zeno about the plot.

LIT. A. Lippold, *RE* 2.R. 10 (1972) 157-60. *PLRE* 2:664f. —A.K.

**LEO II/I** (Arm. Lewon), successor of his brother Ruben III as RUBENID prince Leo II (1187-1198/9), then first king of Armenian CILICIA as Leo I (1198/9-1219). Leo successfully fought the Turkomans and the Seljuks and allied himself with the Crusaders through his successive marriages to Isabel of Jerusalem and Sybil of Cyprus. The consolidation of his principality and the failure of ecclesiastical discussions with Byz. after the death of Emp. Manuel I led him to turn for recognition to the Holy Roman Empire. Although the death of Frederick I Barbarossa and cautious negotiations with Rome toward a union of churches were setbacks, Leo was crowned king at Tarsos on 6 Jan. 1198/9 (the date is still disputed) in the presence of both the local Byz. metropolitan and the archbishop of Mainz; from the latter he received the royal insignia in the name of Emp. HENRY VI of Germany. This investiture was apparently approved by Alexios III Angelos who also sent Leo a crown.

The reign of Leo marked the political apogee of the Cilician kingdom, as he gained the support of the HOSPITALERS and the Teutonic knights to whom he granted extensive domains. He likewise encouraged Western traders, who enriched the country. Relations with the Crusader states deteriorated, however, as a result of his protracted and vain attempts to secure the principedom of ANTIOCH for his half-Latin grandnephew Raymond-Ruben. Soon after Leo died, the resentful Armenian nobles murdered his Latin son-in-law and forced Leo's daughter Zabel to marry Het'um I, which initiated the new HET'UMID dynasty in 1226.

LIT. L. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arménie-Cilicie* (Venice 1888). Boase, *Cilician Armenia* 15-22. —N.G.G.

**LEO III**, emperor (717-41); founder of the ISAU-RIAN DYNASTY; born Germanikeia ca.685, died Constantinople 18 June 741. His baptismal name

was perhaps Kónon. Some scholars accept Byz. reports that place Leo III's early career in the East, but most believe Theophanes the Confessor's account (Theoph. 391.5-11) that Leo was reared in Mesembria, where his family had been resettled under Justinian II. Theophanes also reports that in 705 he was entitled *spatharios* after donating 500 sheep to Justinian and that he followed Justinian to Constantinople and rose to prominence, being sent to the Caucasus to secure the Alans against the Arab-backed Abchasians (M. Canard, *REArm* 8 [1971] 353-57). Leo was named *strategos* of the Anatolikon by Anastasios II, after whose deposition he joined forces with ARTABASDOS to force the abdication of Theodosios III. Leo entered Constantinople on 25 Mar. 717 and secured his throne by resisting the siege of MASLAMA and suppressing revolts by the Sicilian *strategos* (718) and Anastasios (719).

Throughout his reign, Leo was concerned with the defense, organization, and unity of the empire. He raised taxes to repair the land walls of Constantinople (Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 53, 82, 100). He campaigned against the Arabs in alliance with the KHAZARS and Georgians; his victory at AKROINON in 740 ended their advance in Asia Minor. Leo's administrative actions included the creation of the THRAKESION and KIBYRRHAIOTAI themes, and the droungariate of the AEGEAN SEA; he may also have raised CRETE to the status of theme. His ECLOGA was an important revision of Justinianic law. Possibly raised as a Monophysite, Leo as emperor insisted on Chalcedonian religious uniformity, persecuting Montanists and Jews to the point of forcible conversion. In 726 he inaugurated imperial support for ICONOCLASM (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 5-41) and in 730 convoked a *silention* to ratify an edict condemning icons. This provoked Patr. GERMANOS I, whom Leo deposed. It also brought conflict with popes GREGORY II (see EUTYCHIOS, exarch of Ravenna) and GREGORY III. The origins of Leo's Iconoclasm are obscure. There is no evidence that Muslim actions (see YAZID II) or Jewish circles stimulated these views, as hostile Byz. writers charged. He had the support of some high clerics, esp. in Asia Minor, but their degree of influence is unknown. He himself referred to biblical prohibitions against images.

Leo increased taxes in Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum in 732/3; he may have transferred these territories from papal to Byz. jurisdiction (M. An-

astos, *SBN* 9 [1957] 14-31), although this more likely occurred under Constantine V (Ostrogorsky, *History* 170, n.1). He also had to subdue a revolt from HELLAS and the Cyclades (Th. Korres, *Byzantiaka* 1 [1981] 37-49). He crowned his wife Maria in 718 and their son Constantine (V) in 720.

LIT. S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (Louvain 1973). K. Schenk, *Kaiser Leon III* (Halle 1880). —P.A.H.

**LEO III**, pope (26/7 Dec. 795-12 June 816); probably of humble origin. Beck refutes the theory that Leo's father Atzupios was a Greek (*Ideen*, pt.VII [1969], 131-37), suggesting the man's Arab origin. Leo scrupulously respected Frankish sovereignty over Italy: he immediately notified CHARLEMAGNE—not the Byz. emperor—of his election and, no later than 798, went beyond HADRIAN I by adding the Frankish ruler's regnal years to his own in dating documents. On 25 Apr. 799 a faction including Hadrian's relatives attacked Leo, who escaped to Charlemagne at Paderborn. Restored by the Franks, Leo crowned Charlemagne *imperator* in St. Peter's on 25 Dec. 800; his action, which perhaps reflected Frankish rejection of Empress IRENE's legitimacy, resulted in the creation of a rival empire in the West with lasting political implications. The ensuing controversy with Constantinople was settled only in 812 when the envoys of Emp. Nikephoros I accepted a new treaty issued jointly by Charlemagne in Aachen and Leo in Rome, and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I was finally allowed to send Leo the customary SYNODIKA. Leo did not act on the suggestion of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS that he convene a council with regard to the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, but Theodore's biographers credit the pope with a role in its resolution. When ca.807 a dispute about the FILIOQUE arose in Jerusalem between Frankish and Greek monks and Charlemagne's court backed the Franks, Leo accepted the Greek view and sought theological support from the patriarch of Jerusalem. MICHAEL SYNKELLOS was sent to Leo ca.813 by Patr. Thomas of Jerusalem, but the embassy was detained in Constantinople.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf 1965) 1:537-608. M. Borgolte, "Papst Leo III., Karl der Grosse und die Filioque-Streit von Jerusalem," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 401-27. W. Mohr, "Karl der Grosse, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von

799," *Bulletin du Cange* 30 (1960) 39-98. V. Peri, "Il 'filioque' nel magistero di Adriano I e di Leone III," *RivStChIt* 41 (1987) 5-25. —M.McC., A.K.

**LEO IV THE KHAZAR**, emperor (775-80); born Constantinople 25 Jan. 750, died Strongylon 8 Sept. 780. He was the son of Constantine V and his Khazar wife, Irene, and was thus nicknamed "the Khazar." Crowned co-emperor in 751, Leo was married to IRENE in Dec. 769. Soon after his accession Leo crowned their son Constantine VI as co-emperor, prompting a conspiracy in favor of his five half-brothers (including Caesar NIKEPHOROS), which he easily suppressed. Little is known of Leo's reign. He was active against the Arabs, sending campaigns into Syria in 776 and 778 under the command of Michael LACHANODRAKON but could not prevent major incursions into Asia Minor in 776, 779, and 780 (the last by HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD). Leo supported ICONOCLASM but actively persecuted ICONOPHILES only in Aug. 780, when he had a number of court officials beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned. He died of a fever while campaigning against the Bulgarians.

LIT. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978) 1:53-103, 2:423-92. Ostrogorsky, *History* 175-77. W. Treadgold, "An Indirectly Preserved Source for the Reign of Leo IV," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 69-76. —P.A.H.

**LEO V THE ARMENIAN**, emperor (813-20); died Constantinople 25 Dec. 820. He was the son of the *patrikios* Bardas (Genes. 26.75), who was of Armenian descent (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 151). Raised in the Anatolikon theme, Leo served in 803 under *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS, possibly as *protostrator*. He deserted Bardanes for Nikephoros I, who named him commander of the FOEDERATI and gave him two palaces in Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 137, 331f). Nikephoros later exiled him, perhaps because Leo had enriched himself illegally or perhaps because Leo sympathized with the rebel ARSABER, whose daughter Theodosia Leo had married. Michael I recalled Leo and named him *hypostrategos* of the Armeniakon theme, then *strategos* and *patrikios*.

Leo was acclaimed emperor after the battle of VERSINIKIA and crowned by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I on 22 July in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The accession of the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG and the death of the 'Abbāsid caliph HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD permitted Leo to rebuild towns and defenses in Thrace. He restored ICONOCLASM by appointing

a preparatory commission under JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS, deposing Patr. Nikephoros, and convoking, in 815, a local council in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) that renounced the Council in Trullo and rehabilitated the Council of HIERIA (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66). Because of his Iconoclasm, Byz. sources are hostile to Leo, accusing him, among other things, of stoning the recently restored image of Christ at the CHALKE and thus of emulating Leo III. He was, however, an excellent general and enjoyed a reputation for fairness and honesty. He made competent military appointments, including Michael (II), THOMAS THE SLAV, and MANUEL. He also fortified Constantinople's walls at Blachernai. Leo was assassinated in church on Christmas Day by supporters of Michael II;

his body was publicly exposed in the Hippodrome before being buried on Prote.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 196–225. V. Grumel, "Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Arménien," *REB* 18 (1960) 19–44. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 125–47. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 159–83. Bury, *ERE* 43–76. —P.A.H., A.C.

**LEO VI**, co-emperor (from 6 Jan. 870), emperor (30 July 886–912); born Constantinople? 19 Sept. 866 (V. Grumel, *EO* 35 [1936] 331–33), died Constantinople 11 May 912. Second son of BASIL I, Leo was called the Wise or Philosopher (Dölger, *Byzanz* 201, n.13). An educated man who dabbled in literature, he was perceived by the next generation as a prophet and a sage. The officialdom of the capital supported him, his major counselors

LEO VI. Emp. Leo VI the Wise on his deathbed. Miniature from the illustrated manuscript of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes in Madrid (Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26-2, fol.116v); 12th C. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.



being ZAOUTZES, the eunuch SAMONAS, and the eunuch Constantine; Leo sought the support of aristocratic families such as PHOKAS and DOUKAS, but also tried to keep them at bay, thus provoking serious conflicts (e.g., the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS). His ecclesiastical policy was parallel: Leo was supported by patriarchs such as his brother Stephen (886–93), Zaoutzes' nominee ANTONY II KAULEAS (893–901), and Leo's spiritual father EUTHYMOS, whereas he deposed PHOTIOS and was in conflict with NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, esp. over his fourth marriage. Leo hoped for political reconciliation: he delivered a speech praising his father but at the same time arranged a solemn translation of the body of MICHAEL III to Constantinople. Leo's administration was active in codification and in establishing political "order"; the BASILIKA, the NOVELS OF LEO VI, the BOOK OF THE EPARCH, and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS were published; and under Leo's name a book on military tactics, the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI, was produced. The lack of a male heir and the premature death of his first three wives, THEOPHANO, Zoe (daughter of Zaoutzes), and Eudokia Baiane, undermined Leo's search for stabilization. When finally his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA gave birth to CONSTANTINE VII, instead of stabilization a severe struggle over the TETRAGAMY of Leo resulted.

Leo's international policy was more or less unsuccessful: in 896 SYMEON OF BULGARIA defeated the Byz.; in 902 Taormina was lost and in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI sacked Thessalonike; the Rus' prince OLEG attacked Constantinople in 907; and in 912 the fleet of HIMERIOS was annihilated. Leo did not trust aristocratic generals and preferred to negotiate with his neighbors by sending envoys such as LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES. He was compelled to accept the papacy's intervention into domestic church affairs.

The Madrid SKYLITZES MS richly illustrates the events of Leo's reign (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skytitzes*, nos. 242–72). In the Paris Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XVI), Leo is portrayed as a youth of about 15 with his mother EUDOKIA INGERINA and brother ALEXANDER. The best known and most controversial image of Leo is over the central door of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, where he appears in PROSKYNESIS at Christ's feet. N. Oikonomides has argued that this mosaic is an image of penitence,

set up at the order of Nicholas Mystikos following the council of 920, which posthumously pardoned Leo's tetragamy (*DOP* 30 [1976] 151–72).

ED. PG 107:1–298 (see Ch.Astruc, *AB* 100 [1982] 463–68). A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile Ier par son fils Léon le Sage* (Rome 1932; corr. Adontz, *Études* 111–23).

LIT. N. Popov, *Imperator Lev VI Mudryj* (Moscow 1892). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2:115–216. Vogt, "Léon VI". C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 59–93. J. Irmscher, "Die Gestalt Leons VI. des Weisen in Volkssage und Historiographie," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.-11. Jahrhundert* (Prague 1978) 205–24. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 97f, 256f, fig.63. R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 138–41. —A.K., A.C.

**LEO IX** (Bruno of Egisheim), pope (from 2 Dec. 1048, crowned in Rome 2 Feb. 1049); born Alsace 21 June 1002, died Rome 19 Apr. 1054. Leo strove to create a strong and independent papacy based on a reformed clergy; among his advisers were Hildebrand (later Pope GREGORY VII), HUMBERT (later cardinal of Silva Candida), and Peter Damiani. A relative of the imperial house, Leo was nominated as pope by Henry III of Germany, but it is unclear how long this collaboration continued; at any rate, Germany did not help Leo against the Normans, and Leo had no choice but to seek the support of Byzantium and the Byz. governor in South Italy, ARGYROS, son of Melo (D. Nicol, *infra* 8). In May 1053 Leo himself led a small expedition against the Normans, but before Argyros could join him the pope was defeated at Civitate (18 June) and captured; the Normans kept him prisoner for 9 months. While in captivity in Benevento, Leo corresponded with Emp. Constantine IX and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, and in Jan. 1054 a Roman embassy left for Constantinople in an attempt to create an anti-Norman coalition. The history of this embassy is obscure and the nature of related Latin documents, including the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE and their Greek translations, is questionable (H.-G. Krause in *Aus Kirche und Reiche: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, ed. H. Mordek [Sigmaringen 1983] 131–58). The mission failed despite Constantine IX's desire to reach an agreement; it is probable that Argyros played a treacherous role by inciting the Byz. authorities against the pope. Leo returned to Rome on 12 Mar. 1054 a broken man, and died before the abrupt end of negotiations (see SCHISM). The



question of whether his vita was written by Humbert (H. Tritz, *StGreg* 4 [1952] 246–72) or not (H.-G. Krause, *DA* 32 [1976] 49–85) is under discussion.

LIT. A. Garreau, *Saint Léon IX, pape alsacien* (Paris 1965). L. Sittler, P. Stintzi, *Saint Léon IX, le pape alsacien* (Colmar 1950). Gay, *Italie* 477–500. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 733–831. D. Nicol, "Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century," *JEH* 13 (1962) 1–20. H. Houben, "Il papato, i Normanni e la nuova organizzazione ecclesiastica della Puglia e della Basilicata," *ASiCal* 53 (1986) 15–32. —A.K.

**LEO GRAMMATIKOS.** See SYMEON LOGOTHETE.

**LEONARD OF CHIOS**, Dominican eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople; born Chios 1395/6, died probably Genoa, 1459. After studies in Italy, Leonard became archbishop of Mytilene (1 July 1444), where he enjoyed close relations with the GATTILUSIO lords of Lesbos, as reflected in his *De vera nobilitate* (On True Nobility [Avellino 1657]). He joined ISIDORE OF KIEV and a papal delegation at Chios and arrived with them at Constantinople on 26 Oct. 1452 to realize ecclesiastical union. Although captured by the Turks in the conquest, he managed to escape to Chios, whence he dispatched a report to Pope Nicholas V (16 Aug. 1453) that describes the conquest in a fashion hostile to the Byz. and Venetians but favorable to the Genoese. It survives in the Latin original and a Venetian (G. Lanuschi, *Excidio e presa di Costantinopoli*, ed. G.M. Thomas, *SBAW* 2 [1868] 1–38) as well as a vernacular Greek translation (ed. G.Th. Zoras, *Chronikon peri ton Tourkon Soultanon* [Athens 1958] 79.17–94.3; cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 44 [1951] 428–36). Leonard returned to Italy ca. 1458 to work for a counteroffensive against the Turks and probably died there.

ED. L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera* (Genoa 1888) 233–57. PG 159:923–41. Excerpts with Ital. tr.—Pertusi, *Cadula* 1:125–71. Tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 11–41. —M.McC.

**LEONTIOS**, (Λεόντιος), Eastern usurper; born Dalisandos, Isauria, died at the fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. A military commander (*magister militum*), whom Emp. Zeno sent to oppose the rebellion of ILLOS in 484, he was persuaded to join the rebels. Leontios was crowned at Tarsos on 19 July 484 by the empress VERINA, who claimed

the right to nominate the emperor. The rebels were defeated by Zeno's troops at Antioch in Sept. 484 and were besieged at the fort of Papyrios. After a four-year siege they were betrayed and executed.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:397f. *PLRF* 2:670f. —T.E.G.

**LEONTIOS**, presbyter of Constantinople and homilist; fl. 5th or 6th C. He is to be distinguished from the 6th-C. theologian LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as well as from Leontios the monk who lived sometime between the 6th and 8th C. and wrote a homily on the birth of John the Baptist (C. Datema, P. Allen, *Byzantion* 58 [1988] 188–229). Nothing is known of the biography of Leontios the presbyter, although Datema and Allen lean towards placing him in the mid-6th C. In the MS tradition 11 homilies are attributed to him; the editors assign another three to his pen on the basis of stylistic and lexical arguments. His homilies were written for specific feast days, on such topics as Job, the birth of John the Baptist, Palm Sunday, and Pentecost. He wrote in a vivid style, making use of monologues and dialogues; his vocabulary is rich and varied, including numerous rare or unattested words. His works are distinguished more by their rhetorical skill than for their theological subtlety.

ED. *Homiliae*, ed. C. Datema, P. Allen (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).

LIT. L. Perrone, *DPAC* 2:1931. —A.M.T.

**LEONTIOS**, emperor (695–98); died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. A *patrikios* of Isaurian origin, Leontios was appointed *strategos* of Anatolikon, apparently by Constantine IV. In 686 Justinian II sent him against the Arabs in Armenia and Georgia, where he campaigned effectively but with great cruelty. In 692 Justinian imprisoned him in Constantinople, perhaps as punishment for Arab victories in Asia Minor. In 695 he was released and appointed *strategos* of Hellas but, aided by the Blue FACTION, whose extermination Justinian was rumored to be plotting, and Patr. Kallinikos I (693–705), he seized the throne. Byz. sources call him Leontios but his coinage and references in Western sources indicate that he ruled officially as Leo. Little is known of his activities as emperor. When the Arabs cap-

tured Carthage in 697, he dispatched a fleet under JOHN PATRIKIOS to recapture North Africa. He was clearing Constantinople's Neorion harbor of debris in 698 when the bubonic plague struck. He was overthrown that year by TIBERIOS II, who mutilated his nose and imprisoned him in the DALMATOU monastery. After retaking Constantinople in 705, Justinian II paraded Leontios through the city and beheaded him in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:24–26, 69–87. —P.A.H.

**LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM**, theologian; died ca. 543. Establishing his biography depends on a series of identifications: one of them, as LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, is now rejected; another, as a collaborator of St. SABAS who traveled with his teacher to Constantinople in 531 and from whom Sabas separated when he learned of Leontios's Origenist inclinations, is strongly supported by Evans (*infra*). Scholars differ in their judgment of the doctrine of Leontios: traditional opinion is that Leontios was a staunch supporter of the Chalcedonian creed, whereas Evans views Leontios as a follower of ORIGEN and esp. EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. The focal point of Leontios's theology was the search for a solution to the problem of the two natures and two hypostases in the incarnate Christ: in his book *Against the Nestorians and Eutychians*, Leontios rejected both the Nestorian and the Monophysite concepts. Even though his search for a philosophical definition of relation and substance harked back to Origen and Plato (A. de Halleux, *RHE* 66 [1971] 983–85), Leontios's perception of Christ differs from that of Evagrius: in Evagrius the intellect is not united with flesh in essence, in Leontios the person is the ontological principle of union of both natures (S. Otto, *BZ* 66 [1973] 97). Leontios frequently used the term *enhypostatos*, "existing in an hypostasis," to characterize the status of the natures of Christ, saying, "There is no nature that is not hypostatized." For Leontios the being-in-hypostasis is not a relation (as in Evagrius) but a reality.

Leontios also wrote two treatises, *Solution of the Arguments of Severos* and *Thirty Chapters*, which attack SEVEROS of Antioch. A pamphlet entitled *Against the Forgeries of the Apollinarians* is of disputed authenticity. The tract *On Sects*, ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, has also been attributed

to THEODORE OF RAI THOU and to THEODORE ABU-QURRA.

ED. PG 86:1185–2016.

LIT. D.B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Washington, D.C., 1970). S. Rees, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 229–42. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). M. van Esbroeck, "La date et l'auteur du *De Sectis* attribué à Léonce de Byzance," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History* (Louvain 1985) 415–24. —B.B., A.K.

**LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM**, ecclesiastical writer; born ca. 485, died ca. 543. Leontios used to be confounded with his contemporary, LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM, but is now generally recognized as a separate person. It is probable that this Leontios, a moderate Chalcedonian monk, attended as spokesman for his fellow Palestinian brethren the meeting convoked at Constantinople ca. 532 by Justinian I in search of reconciliation with SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also present in the same capacity at the council of 536 in the capital that anathematized Severos, Anthimos, and other Monophysite leaders. He is now acknowledged to be the author of two tracts, *Against the Nestorians* and *Against the Monophysites*; these are the works of a neo-Chalcedonian whose Christology was frequently expressed in the language of CYRIL of Alexandria and also of moderate Monophysites.

ED. PG 86.1–2:1399–1901.

LIT. C. Moeller, "Textes 'monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951) 467–82. Richard, *Opera minora* 3: no. 59, 35–88. K.P. Wesche, "The Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedonian?" *SVThQ* 31 (1987) 65–95. —B.B.

**LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS** (on Cyprus), bishop; 7th-C. hagiographer. His dates of birth and death are unknown. Leontios penned both a Life of St. JOHN ELEMEN (in 641–42), based on materials collected by John MOSCHOS and SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, and one of St. SYMEON OF EMESA; another biography, that of the Cypriot saint Spyridon, is lost. A conflated text of the Lives of John by Moschos-Sophronios and Leontios was used by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. Leontios's professed intention in the Life of John was to stress items omitted by Moschos and Sophronios, also to provide an account in a Greek style plain enough for



uneducated readers to understand. Some notice is taken of secular events of the time, although Mango (*infra*) warns against using it as a historical source. The chief importance and pleasure of the *Life* is its information on everyday life in Egypt in the 7th C. Also preserved are some fragments of his *Speech Against the Jews* (PG 93:1597–1609), in which veneration of icons is shrewdly upheld by appeal to Old Testament texts against Jewish objections (L. Barnard in *Iconoclasm* 8, 11).

ED. *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. *Life of John*—Eng. tr. in Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 199–262.

LIT. C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41. H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Leipzig 1907) 1–56. L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala 1970). —B.B.

**LEONTIOS SCHOLASTIKOS**, 6th-C. author of about 24 epigrams (some individual ascriptions are uncertain) in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY via the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. There has been much speculation over the precise identity and career of Leontios (Λεόντιος), rendered largely fruitless by the plethora of Leontioi in the period; a sample possibility is to equate him with the lawyer Leontios who helped TRIBONIAN in the compilation of Justinian's *Digest*. His short poems (six lines at most), unremarkable in language and meter, mirror various aspects of Byz. society, esp. what have been called the permitted pleasures of BATHS, CHARIOTEERS, and MIMES; only one epigram is erotic. His descriptions of works of art include important testimony on PORTRAITS of officials, for example, an EPARCH of Constantinople and a KOU-BIKOULARIOS (bk.16, nos. 32–33). Al. and Av. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 15) take the Peter of one poem (bk.7, no.579) to be PETER PATRIKIOS; if this identification is correct, Leontios provides an account of that dignity's death from a fatal fall in the theater.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Leontius Scholasticus and his Poetry," *BS* 40 (1979) 1–12. R.C. McCail, "The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *JHS* 89 (1969) 91f.

—B.B., A.C.

**LEO OF CATANIA**, bishop and saint; born Ravenna; feastday 21 Feb. The dates of his life are unclear; one version of his *vita* makes him contemporary with the joint rule of Constantine IV

and Justinian II (681–85), another with Leo IV and Constantine VI (775–80). Leo's *vita* must have been written before the 10th C., when a summary of it was included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The *vita*, which is preserved in several versions, is a unique text in Byz. hagiography. Its core is not the pious exploits of Leo, but the story of his antihero, a certain Heliodoros, who with the help of a Jewish magician sold his soul to the Devil and became a mighty sorcerer. He instantaneously transported an official to Constantinople from a bathhouse in Catania; he transformed stone and wood into gold and silver; he used a staff to draw a "ship" on the sandy beach and then traveled on this contraption to the capital. Finally, Leo used his *omophorion* to tie up Heliodoros, thus depriving him of his magic power; when Leo stepped with him into a fire, the sorcerer burned to a cinder while the bishop remained unharmed. This legendary story was rewritten in verse (preserved in a MS of 1307).

ED. V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 12–28. D. Raffin, "La vita metrica anonima su Leone di Catania," *BollBadGr* 16 (1962) 33–48.

LIT. BHG 981–981e. A. Amore, *Bibl.Sanct.* 7 (1966) 1223–25. Beck, *Kirche* 799. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 205–08. K.G. Kaster, *LCL* 7:390f.

—A.K.

**LEO OF CHALCEDON**, a prelate who, between 1081 and 1091, opposed the secularization and the melting down of church treasures by Alexios I Komnenos. Leo's opposition forced the emperor to back down temporarily (1082). The resumption of confiscations and the leniency of the patriarch and other bishops toward imperial policies led Leo to break communion with the patriarchate (1084). In 1086 the synod indicted and deposed him. The emperor published a decree (*semeioma*) justifying the secularization (*Reg.* vol. 2, no.1130). Eventually, Leo was reconciled with the church at the local council of Constantinople of 1094, held at Blachernai (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

The debates of the case involved the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) about "worship" (*latreia*) due to God alone, and the "relative veneration" (*proskynesis schetike*) due to images. This "veneration" was seen as ultimately directed to the "prototypes," not the materials out of which

images were made. Leo maintained, however, that a secular use of the material was equivalent to blasphemous disrespect for the image, and therefore the prototype. By assuming a body, the Logos had assumed a "form," represented materially on an icon. The "form" was thus integrated in his divine person. Leo finally accepted the position that since "worship" was not addressed to the material image, the urgent needs of the state could be met at the expense of church treasures.

ED. Letters—ed. Alexander Lavriotes, *EkAl* 24 (1900) 403–07, 414–16, 445–47, 455f.

LIT. A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* (Thessalonike 1972). *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 940–41, 955, 967–68. P. Stephanou, "Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine," *OrChrP* 9 (1943) 5–64. Idem, "La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 177–99.

—J.M.

**LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE, APOCALYPSE OF**, text written in the tradition of DANIEL and preserved in late MSS (from the 14th C. onward). One MS (Venice, Marc. gr. II,101) identifies the author as Patr. Leo Stypes (1134–43), whereas another calls him the priest Leo. The *Apocalypse of Leo* reflects the views of a monastic milieu—the monks are the only social group that as a whole will enter paradise. Maisano (*infra*) distinguishes two versions of the *Apocalypse*: one of the 9th C., another of the 12th C. (he denies the authorship of Leo Stypes). The first version is anti-Iconoclastic, but at the same time very critical of Empress Irene, whose pious successor Constantine was not her son but a newcomer from Arabia. The second version contains some anti-Bogomil polemic (e.g., the rejection of their view of Enoch and Elijah as emanations of the Old Testament God). It remains questionable whether the first version was in fact a 9th-C. work.

ED. and LIT. R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples 1975), rev. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 231–33.

—A.K., J.I.

**LEO OF OHRID**, 11th-C. polemicist. A former *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, he became autocephalous archbishop of OHRID after 1025. He was the spokesman of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS in debates between Byz. and Latin clergy in southern Italy, giving the controversies a universal dimension. In a letter

(1053) sent to the Italian bishop John of Trani, but addressed "to all the bishops of the Franks and to the most respected pope," Leo for the first time shifted the religious estrangement between East and West toward liturgical and disciplinary issues, basing his attack either on Scripture (the Latins were eating strangled meat, with blood, contrary to Acts 15:20), or on the canons of the Council in TRULLO (fasting on Saturdays), or on simple differences of usage (chanting Alleluia during Lent). His major argument, however, was directed at the Latin use of AZYMES in the Eucharist. Two other letters of Leo expand on the same issues. Transmitted to Rome, the first letter of Leo provoked a sharp answer, written by Cardinal HUMBERT, initiating a whole series of exchanges, including the fateful mission of Humbert to Constantinople, and mutual anathemas (1054).

ED. *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. C. Will (Leipzig-Marburg 1861; rp. Frankfurt 1963) 52–64. *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv Latinjan*, ed. A. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 146–51. *EkAl* 9 (1886) 421–27; 10 (1886–87) 150–62.

LIT. L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental du XIe siècle* (Paris 1899) 93–102, 118f, 151–53. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 2 (Paderborn 1930) 123–37, 282–94. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Cambridge 1955) 41f, 46f. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 751–69.

—J.M.

**LEO OF SYNADA**, metropolitan, *synkellos*, diplomat, and writer; born ca.940. His biography is known only from his letters. These are addressed to the emperor (Basil II), whom Leo calls the Scythian and "antarctic" (ep.54.12), alluding to his Bulgarian campaigns, and also to various church and secular officials (ep.13 is addressed to the *kanikleios* who is at the same time *strategos*, i.e., to Nikephoros OURANOS). Darrouzès dates the letters to the 990s, but if his identification of the addressee of Letter 25 with CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE is valid, then some of the letters must be later. Mild humor and sarcasm fill the letters and esp. Leo's will, written at the age of 66 (in which he calculates the number of his sins at 48,180). The most important part of Leo's correspondence describes his embassy in 996–98, together with a certain Kalokyros, to Rome, where in his own view Leo acted boldly in support of the antipope (whom Leo calls Philagathos), although he despised him personally. In his letter to Patr. Sisinnios (996–98), he boasts that Rome is now in the

hands of the "great emperor" (ep. 11.18–19). Leo mentions also his mission to "Frankia" (Aachen, according to Schramm) to negotiate a political marriage. One letter to the emperor (ep. 43) is valuable for his description of agriculture in the SYNADA region, where neither olive trees nor grapes grew, and instead of wheat the soil produced barley.

ED. *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, ed. M.P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), with Eng. tr. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 165–210.

LIT. P.E. Schramm, "Neun Briefe des byzantinischen Gesandten Leo von seiner Reise zu Otto III. aus den Jahren 997–998," *BZ* 25 (1925) 89–105. —A.K.

**LEO OF TRIPOLI** (Arabic names Rasiq al-Wardāmi and Ghulām Zurāfa), probably a MARDAITE from Attaleia, who was taken captive by the Arabs, converted to Islam, and became a commander of the Arab fleet. In 904 Leo set off against Constantinople. The suggestion that he captured Attaleia en route to Constantinople is an error arising from Arab sources' confusion of Thessalonike and Attaleia. After taking Abydos, Leo diverted from his original goal and led his fleet toward Thessalonike; after a three-day siege in July (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 71 [1978] 302), he sacked and pillaged the city. In 912 Leo and another Arab admiral, Damian, annihilated the fleet of HIMERIOS; in 921/2 Leo headed again for the Aegean Sea and devastated Lemnos, but was defeated by John Radenos, *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:163–81, 214, 249. H. Grégoire, "Le communiqué arabe sur la prise de Thessalonique (904)," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 373–78. —A.K.

**LEO SAKELLARIOS**, addressee of two letters from the Anonymous TEACHER (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 161f) whose student he was; died before 943<sup>?</sup>. Browning (*Studies*, pt. IX [1954], 434) suggests that the last datable letter in the collection is of 931, but C. Mango (*infra*) dates the letters to Leo shortly after 940. Mango identifies him as Leo, *patrikios*, *praipositos*, and *sakellarios*, the patron of the illuminated BIBLE in the Vatican (Vat. Reg. gr. 1). The MS is a very large (41.0 × 27.0 cm) codex with 18 full-page miniatures intended as frontispieces to the books of



LEO SAKELLARIOS. Leo Sakellarios offering a Bible to the Virgin Mary. Prefatory miniature in the Leo Bible (Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 2v). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Genesis through Psalms; some are, however, misplaced, and Canart (*infra*) has stressed the lack of overall planning and the uneven relationship between the miniatures, illuminated initials, and text. Each of the miniatures is enclosed in a border containing epigrams referring to the scene within. T.F. Mathews (*OrChrP* 43 [1977] 94–133) sees a close theological relationship between the epigrams and the miniatures, some of which are related to pictures in the PARIS PSALTER and the OCTATEUCHS. The dedication miniatures show Leo, a eunuch, presenting his book to the Virgin (fol. 2v), as well as a *kathegoumenos*, Makar, and Leo's brother Constantine, founder of the monastery for which the Bible was most likely intended, in *proskynesis* before St. Nicholas (fol. 3r).

LIT. *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, introductory vol. by S. Dufrenne, P. Canart (Zurich 1988). C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaNorv* 4 (1969) 121–26. —A.C.

**LEO THE DEACON**, historian; born ca. 950 in Kaloe at Tmolos (Asia Minor), died after 992 or 994. Leo received his education in Constantinople and became a palace deacon. His *History* encompasses 959–76 and includes some episodes from the beginning of Basil II's reign, e.g., the disastrous expedition against Bulgaria in 986 in which Leo participated. His sympathies lie with NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; quite possibly Leo, like SKYLITZES, used a chronicle of the Phokas family that is now lost. The *History* criticizes BASIL II (S. Ivanov, *VizVrem* 43 [1982] 74–80), whereas an *enkomion* of Basil attributed to Leo is full of flattering phrases (M. Sjuzumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 138f); the difference can be explained either by the conventions of genre, by a change in Leo's attitude, or by the existence of two homonyms at Basil's court.

Leo's worldview in the *History* is pessimistic: Providence determines success and righteousness, TYCHE is made responsible for failures and injustice. Antiquity interests Leo: his paradigm is AGATHIAS rather than THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR. His ethnography is archaic: the empire of the Romans seems to him surrounded by Huns, Scythians, Mysians, even Troglodytes, and the Rus' are descendants of Achilles. Leo is bold enough not merely to compare his heroes to ancient personages but to equate them: Nikephoros II is a new Herakles, John I a new Tydeus. Leo rejected the contrast of the hero and villain. Three major personae of his story—Nikephoros, John, and SVJATOSLAV—are not embodiments of either virtue or evil but courageous warriors who nonetheless have their failings. The narrative is not a survey of sequential events but a unity of momentous episodes graphically presented. Leo tends to describe not only the actions but also the physical appearance of his major heroes. His history concentrates on men's affairs; women, even THEOPHANO, are pushed to the background.

ED. *Historiae libri X*, ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn 1828). Germ. tr. F. Loretto, *Nikephoros Phokas "Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1961). I. Sykoutres, "Leontos tou Diakonou anekdoton enkomion eis Basileion ton B'," *EEBS* 10 (1933) 425–34.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:367–71. N. Panagiotakes, *Leon ho Diakonos* (Athens 1965). A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 2," *VizVrem* 20 (1961) 106–28. —A.K.

**LEO THE KOUROPALATES**. See PHOKAS, LEO.

**LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN**, or Leo the Philosopher, scholar; born ca. 790, died Constantinople? after 869. After years of education (on Andros) and travels, Leo became a teacher in Constantinople. He came to prominence due to the interest of the caliph MA'MŪN in his studies; although invited to Baghdad, Leo remained in Constantinople. He constructed a system of BEACON lights to carry messages about Arab raids (V. Aschoff in *Deutsches Museum, Abhandlungen und Berichte* 48.1 [Munich 1980] 1–28). The cousin (or nephew) of the Iconoclastic patriarch JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, Leo was elected metropolitan of Thessalonike (840–43). After the defeat of Iconoclasm, he taught at the MAGNAURA school; CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER may have been one of his pupils (I. Ševčenko, *AHR* 79 [1974] 1533).

Leo assembled a library of which we know partly from his epigrams, partly from his notes on several MSS (Ptolemy, Archimedes, Plato); he encouraged the study of ancient MATHEMATICS and philosophy. V. Laurent proposed Leo as the author of a homily on the Annunciation that is full of antiquarian details (*ST* 232 [1964] 281–302). The central episode of the homily, however, the healing of a deaf-mute Jewish girl by the Virgin and St. DEMETRIOS (whom she recognized since she had seen their icons displayed in a baptistery [p. 301.146–49]), is inconsistent with Leo's role as an Iconoclast bishop. Legends preserved by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, SYMEON LOGOTHETE, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and others present Leo as an astrologer able to predict the future who knew how to raise abundant crops, played a significant part in the surrender of AMORION in 838, and built the AUTOMATA adorning the imperial palace. Contemporaries regarded Leo as a "Hellene." The attribution of the work of Leo and his namesakes, LEO VI and LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES, is sometimes difficult.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–84. Lemerle, *Humanism* 171–204. Lipšic, *Očerki* 338–66. —A.K.



**LEO THE PHILOSOPHER.** See LEO THE MATH-EMATICIAN.

**LEO THE PHYSICIAN**, medical encyclopedist; traditionally dated to 9th C. but possibly as late as 12th–13th C. (cf. R. Renehan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 159, n.5). Leo is known for two works, *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, culled from a similar tract by MELETIOS THE MONK, and *Epitome of Medicine*, a rather good summary in seven books of medical theory, therapeutics, and surgery (cf. Bliquez, "Surgical Instruments" 190f). Only occasionally does one detect Hippocrates and GALEN in the latter work, and information is reduced to an extremely clipped format.

ED. *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, ed. and tr. R. Renehan (Berlin 1969). *Conspectus medicinae*, ed. F.Z. Ermerins, in *Anecdota medica graeca* (Leiden 1840; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 79–221.

LIT. R. Renehan, "On the Text of Leo Medicus. A Study in Textual Criticism," *RhM* 113 (1970) 79–88. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:305. —J.S.

**LEO TUSCUS**, official translator (*imperatoriarum epistolarum interpres*); fl. between 1160 or 1166 and 1182. A Pisan, brother of the theologian and author Hugo ETERIANO, Leo was in Constantinople during Manuel I's controversy with DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. While accompanying Manuel on campaign in Bithynia and Lykaonia (ca. 1173–76) Leo sent his brother his translation of the dream book of ACHMET BEN SIRIN. About 1173–78, Leo translated the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom with texts from the HOROLOGION and the Apostolos for the use of the Aragonese envoy Ramón de Mon(t)cada; he intended to make the Orthodox service comprehensible to the Western visitor.

ED. A. Jacob, ed., "La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan: Edition critique," *OrChrP* 32 (1966) 111–62.

LIT. A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 19 (1952) 67–134. A. Strittmatter, "Notes on Leo Tuscus' Translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom," in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete (New York 1961) 409–24. —C.M.B.

**LEPROSY** (λέπρα, ἰερά νόσος). PAUL OF AEGINA (bk.4.1–2) presents the fullest Byz. account of "leprosy," although his description includes psoriasis and related skin diseases as well as what modern medicine would call leprosy. Often be-

lieved by clerical writers to be punishment for sins (esp. for visiting brothels), leprosy was widely thought to be engendered by sexual lust (e.g., John Moschos, PG 87:2861C). Paul refers to leprosy as *elephas* (elephantiasis), deriving his description from Aretaeus of Cappadocia (fl. ca.98–117) and agreeing with his Roman predecessor that *elephas* is incurable. Paul notes that even Hippocrates had classed this ailment as incurable, and its causes were both black bile and yellow bile in excess and overheated. Yet patients in the early stages could be cured, and Paul details treatment for those who retained fingers and toes, who had foul ulcers on their faces only and not covering the body, and those who did not exhibit the hard pustules characteristic of late stages of the disease.

The Byz. fear and loathing of leprosy is reflected in depictions of the healing of lepers in the New Testament (Lk 17:12–19) and the more frequent representation of the cleansing of the single leper (Mt 8:1–4), which is commonplace among the MIRACLES OF CHRIST. (Images of lepers vary from spotted nudes to figures shrouded in long tunics.) Still, the Christian Byz. viewed lepers more sympathetically than did their pagan forebears (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:865A); the term *hiera nosos*, which meant epilepsy in ancient Greek, came to refer to leprosy by the 4th C. Numerous leper hospitals were founded, of which the best known were the leprosarium of St. Zotikos, founded by Constantius II, and the one established by John II Komnenos as part of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (A. Philipsborn, *BZ* 54 [1961] 359–61). Byz. pharmacy did not know chaulmoogra oil (from the seeds of *Hydnocarpus heterophyllum* Kurz.), long known in Chinese medicine and the only effective herbal cure for leprosy; Arab physicians were apparently far more concerned with the disease than were their Byz. counterparts.

LIT. A. Philipsborn, "*Hiera nosos* und die Spezial-Anstalt des Pantokrator-Krankenhauses," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 223–30. —J.S., A.M.T., A.C.

**LEPTIS MAGNA** (Λεπτίμαγνα, also Lepcis Magna; mod. Lebda east of Tripoli in Libya), city on the north coast of Africa. The leading city of TRIPOLITANIA, Leptis maintained its prosperity until attacks by the nomadic Austuriani (see MAURI) ca.363–78 and the negligence of the *comes Africae*,

Romanus, sent it into slow decline. During the 5th C. the city endured the encroachment of sand dunes, heavy winter flooding, and the destruction of its walls by the VANDALS. In 523 Leptis was sacked by the tribe of Leuathai. When Byz. forces entered the city in 533 it was partially covered by sand dunes and virtually depopulated. Justinian I made Leptis the seat of the *dux* of the *limes* of Tripolitania and constructed a new defensive wall that enclosed the port and old forum quarter. He is also credited with rebuilding the "palace" of Septimius Severus, probably the Severan forum, dedicating a church to the Mother of God (undoubtedly the 6th-C. church erected in the Severan basilica), and constructing four smaller churches (one of which is perhaps the 6th-C. church on the north side of the circular piazza, another the church erected in an early 2nd-C. temple). It was at a banquet at Leptis that the dux Sergios slew the chieftains of the Leuathai, precipitating a second major conflict between the Byz. and Mauri (543–48). As part of the reorganization of the prefecture of AFRICA (ca.585–91), Tripolitania, including Leptis, was attached to the diocese of Egypt. The subsequent history of Leptis is unknown, although it was perhaps abandoned by the time of the first Arab invasion of Tripolitania (643), since it is not mentioned in any accounts of the Muslim conquest.

LIT. A. Demandt, "Die Tripolitanischen Wirren unter Valentinian I.," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 333–63. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:335–68. Pringle, *Defence* 208–12. R.G. Goodchild, J.B. Ward-Perkins, "The Roman and Byzantine Defences of Lepcis Magna," *BSR* 21 (1953) 42–73. —R.B.H.

**LESBOS** (Λέσβος), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea; its major cities were Mytilene (also Mitylene, a name also used for the entire island) and Methymna. Archaeological evidence reveals that in late antiquity Methymna had shrunk and shifted from the seashore to a position near the walls of the acropolis. In 802 the empress Irene was exiled to Lesbos, where she died. An important point on the sea lanes to Constantinople, Lesbos served as the gathering place for the fleet of THOMAS THE SLAV (*TheophCont* 55.20–21). Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 17.24, ed. Pertusi, p.83) considered Lesbos part of the theme of the Aegean Sea; in the 11th C. it was under the command of the *kourator* of the *dioikesis* of Mytilene (An.Komn. 2:110.18–19). TZACHAS

occupied Mytilene, but Methymna remained a base for resistance against him. In the 12th C. the Venetians plundered Lesbos several times. After 1204 it was granted to BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Reconquered by John III Vatatzes after 1224, the island was in 1354 given to the Genoese corsair Francesco GATTILUSIO, whose descendants ruled Lesbos until 1462. Archbishops of Mytilene and of Methymna are listed as autocephalous (*Notitiae CP* 1.51, 1.58, etc.); Mytilene was raised to metropolitan status by the early 10th C. (7.678) and Methymna by the 12th C. (13.785).

Lesbos is esp. rich in the remains of churches from late antiquity: S. Charitonides (*ArchDelt* 23 [1968] 10–62) recorded some 54 individual churches from this period. The castle of Mytilene is largely Byz. in date (B. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 31 [1976] 152–65).

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 313–53. I.D. Kontes, *Lesbiako Polyptycho* (Athens 1973) 136–75. H.G. Buchholz, *Methymna* (Mainz 1975) 232–43. I.G. Kleombrotos, *Synoptike historia tes ekklesias tes Lesbou* (Mytilene 1984). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:573–81, 622f, 646–48; 3:127f, 133. —T.E.G.

**LESNOVO MONASTERY.** See GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO.

**LESSER ARMENIA.** See CILICIA, ARMENIAN.

**LETTER.** See EPISTOLOGRAPHY.

**LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS**, an iconodulic Greek text that has survived in several MSS, the earliest of which is in uncial script of the 9th C. (Patmos 48). A lemma to this letter states that it was compiled by Christopher of Alexandria (805–36), Job of Antioch (813/14–844/5), and Basil of Jerusalem (820–45, other dates have also been suggested) and sent to Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople; it was supposedly written in Jerusalem during a major council in Apr. 836 attended by 185 bishops, 17 *hegoumenoi*, and 1,153 monks and was devoted to the question of icon worship. In the 10th-C. *Narration on the Image of Edessa*, the *Letter* is mentioned but the names of the patriarchs are confused: Job is said to be "of Alexandria," Christopher "of Antioch." The authors of the *Letter* claim the apostolic origin of holy icons created earlier than the Gospels and describe miracles worked by a mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi in Bethlehem (ed. Duchesne,



*infra* 283f) and by icons in Alexandria, Cyprus, Constantinople, and on Lemnos.

The improbably large number of alleged participants in the council of 836, the unrestrained praise of the victorious emperor Theophilos (Iconoclast though he was), and the overly expressed desire to reunite the patriarchates with Byz. (all three being under the authority of the caliph) make the authenticity of the *Letter* dubious. It was probably a political document created in the 9th C., after Theophilos's death (when a tendency to rehabilitate him emerged), at a time when several victories over the Arabs contributed to the illusion of an imminent reconquest of the lost eastern provinces. EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA was not familiar with the *Letter* but spoke instead of an epistle sent to Theophilos by Sophronios I, patriarch of Alexandria (836–59).

ED. L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912–13) 222–39, 273–85, 349–66, with Ital. tr.

LIT. BHG 1386–87. A. Vasilev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43) 216–25. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic" 173–78. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York-London 1985) 121–24. —A.K.

**LEVIATHAN**, mythical sea-monster defeated by Yahweh and thrown to the sharks; according to Psalm 73(74):14, it was many-headed; in Job (41:13–29), fire issues from the mouth of this scaly, insuperable monster. Origen, referring to Psalm 103:26, explains that Leviathan means "dragon" in Hebrew, and HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM (PG 93:1241D), commenting on Psalm 73, notes that the dragon, or sea-monster, designates any hostile power, in part because of its lethal venom, in part because of its role in original sin. Even though Hesychios identifies the dragon-Leviathan with the Serpent of Paradise, he links it with the sea-monster, while adding that Christ crushed the heads of dragons "in the water" during his baptism.

Illustrations of Psalm 73:14 in several marginal PSALTERS depict a fire-breathing Leviathan beneath the Baptism and in one instance link it with the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea. The mortal struggle of Leviathan and Behemoth (Job 40:15–24) was given an eschatological interpretation and represented, according to Drewer (*infra*), in the battle between the crocodile and ox on the ceiling of the Church of St. CATHERINE at

Sinai and in the floor mosaics of both synagogues and churches of the 5th and 6th C.

LIT. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (Berlin 1962) 140–52. J.L. McKenzie, "A Note on Psalm 73(74):13–15," *TheolSt* 11 (1950) 275–82. L. Drewer, "Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz," *JWarb* 44 (1981) 148–56. —A.K., A.C.

**LEWOND**, or Leontios, Armenian historian; fl. late 8th C. Nothing is known of him save that he was an eyewitness of events after 774 and wrote a *History* covering the period 632–789. It was commissioned by the BAGRATID Sapuh, son of Smbat, governor of Armenia 761–75. Although the *History* concentrates on Muslim control over Armenia, it also contains valuable information on the Byz.-Arab conflict in the 7th–8th C. The *History* includes a long letter, supposedly sent by Emp. Leo III to the caliph 'UMAR II, which defends the Christian faith. This version of the letter is an Armenian composition added later (Gero, *Leo III* 153–71).

ED. *Patmuliwn*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg 1887). *History*, tr. Z. Arzoumanian (Wynnewood, Pa., 1982). —R.T.

**LEX AQUILIA** (Ἀκουίλιος νόμος), a plebiscite initiated by a certain Roman tribune, Aquilius, probably in the 3rd C. B.C., which in the course of time developed into a comprehensive law regarding injury to things (including animals and slaves) and, eventually, bodily injury to free men. The (private) ACTION based on the Lex Aquilia was aimed at simple compensation or, when the perpetrator denied the charge, double compensation (*Institutes* 4.3; *Digest* 9.2; *Cod. Just.* 3.35; *Basil.* 60.3). Special regulations applied in cases where the injury was caused by a slave or an animal (see NOXAL ACTIONS). Although the "Akouilios" (as the Lex Aquilia came to be known) was maintained in learned legal literature, in the rural sphere liability for the injury or death of animals was regulated differently and varied according to the case (see esp. FARMER'S LAW).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:437–39. Simon, "Provinzialrecht" 102–16. —L.B.

**LEX FALCIDIA**, a law of the Roman republic (40 B.C.) that was intended to secure for the HEIR or heirs a certain portion of a testator's property. To this end the encumbrance of the deceased's

estate with LEGATA was permitted only to the extent of three-quarters of the value of the inheritance, so that one-quarter remained for the heirs. If the testator had encumbered this quarter as well, all *legata* were proportionately reduced. As "heirs" in the legal sense, they were considered the heirs instituted by the testator in a WILL. Following the dissolution of Roman family order from the 3rd C. onward, increasingly only children, parents, and siblings were still accepted as heirs. At the same time the limitations on the arrangements of the testator were gradually extended to all arrangements "in case of death," that is, besides the *legata*, mainly to FIDEICOMMISSA and gifts *mortis causa*. The *quarta Falcidia* thereby became a legitimate portion. Justinian I regulated the law of legitimate portion thoroughly and thereby increased it for children (*Nov. Just.* 18, 115). It is unclear whether the legitimate portion for parents was to remain one-quarter and whether the portion for siblings was to be maintained at all.

Later sources deal almost exclusively with the legitimate portion for children, which was practically the only important inheritance portion, now called *ho Phalkidios*; it amounts to a third of the parental estate if there are up to four children; if five or more, half of the parental estate is divided. The net fortune (*kathara ousia*) serves as a basis for calculation. The portion of the property that comes under assessment (1/3 or 1/2) is divided according to the number of children. If the testator had undertaken many arrangements, difficult problems of calculation could occur, for which Byz. legal literature has left a series of special treatises, most of them still unedited.

LIT. K. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Ho Phalkidios nomos en to byzantino dikaio* (Athens 1912). Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:514–23 (§290). F. Sitzia, "Un trattatello giuridico bizantino in versi," *BullIstDirRom* 18 (1976) 143–53. —D.S.

**LEXICON VINDOBONENSE**. See LOPADIOTES, ANDREW.

**LEXIKA**, lists of Greek words, often rare or unusual, with explanation of their meanings. The earliest Byz. *lexikon*, falsely attributed to CYRIL of Alexandria and probably compiled in the 5th/6th C., exists in many different recensions (M. Naoumides, *ICS* 4 [1979] 94–135). It includes words

from classical literature and biblical words, and was primarily intended for use in the teaching of RHETORIC.

The 9th-C. revival of learning led to the compilation of the earliest ETYMOLOGIKA and the *Lexikon* of PHOTIOS, which drew both on commentaries on classical texts and on the debris of *lexika* from classical antiquity. These latter were of three main types: (1) descriptive lists of rare words or meanings occurring in classical literature (e.g., the *Lexikon* of HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA); (2) prescriptive lists of "correct" words or meanings drawn up by Atticists such as Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichos, and Moiris; and (3) etymological lists explaining the true meanings of words by their supposed derivation, based on the assumption that the structure of language reflects that of the universe. Byz. lexicographers used all three types. The SOUDA is a combination of *lexikon* and biographical dictionary compiled from a wide variety of classical and later sources. The longest Byz. *lexikon* and the most frequently used and copied—more than 100 MSS survive—is that of pseudo-ZONARAS, compiled in the first half of the 13th C., perhaps by Nikephoros BLEMMEDES, for educational use. The renewed classicism of the late 13th and early 14th C. stimulated the compilation of new prescriptive Atticist *lexika*, one attributed to Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, the other by THOMAS MAGISTROS.

In addition to general *lexika*, the Byz. used and compiled short specialist *lexika* (e.g., botanical, geographical), as well as a *Lexikon of Synonyms* by pseudo-Ammonios, which distinguished between words of similar meaning. Byz. *lexika* are of interest both for their information on Byz. attitudes and for the fragments of lost classical and later works which they contain.

ED. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:273–454.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:33–50. Lemerle, *Humanism* 263–65, 343–45. A.B. Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars* (Copenhagen 1936). W. Böhler, "Zur Überlieferung des Lexikons des Ammonios," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 531–50. R. Tosi, "Prospettive e metodologie lessicografiche," *RSBS* 4 (1984) 181–203. —R.B.

**LEX RHODIA**. See RHODIAN SEA LAW.

**LIBADARIOS** (Λιβαδάριος, fem. Λιβδαρέα), a family considered by Pachymeres as one of the greatest in the mid-13th C. Their connection with

the Libadas family, one of whom, Demetrios, was an official (in the department of the *megas logariastes*?) in 1186 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:92–94), is unclear. The Libadarioi held high court and military posts. A certain Libadarios, related to the MOUZALON family, was appointed *pinkernes* by Michael VIII, and his daughter married Michael's son, Theodore PALAIOLOGOS. Another Libadarios, *megas chartoularios* and *strategos* of TRALLES, was defeated by the Turks ca.1280. A different Libadarios was *protovestiarites* and later *megas stratopedarches* and governor of NEOKASTRA near Smyrna ca.1295; he fought successfully against Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS. Some Libadarioi were patrons of monasteries: Libadarea, wife of a *megas stratopedarches*, founded a nunnery in Thessalonike before 1326; ca.1300 Theodore Komnenos Libadarios established a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, which Manuel PHILES praised, and also commissioned the painted decoration of a monastery of St. George near Servia. The Libadarioi should probably be distinguished from the Limpidares/Limpidarios family, known as commanders of the army and fleet in the 14th C. (*PLP*, nos. 14940–41).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 14856–62.

–A.K.

**LIBADENOS, ANDREW**, ecclesiastical and imperial official in Trebizond and writer; born Constantinople between 1308 and 1316, died after 1361. After schooling in Constantinople, Libadenos (Λιβαδηνός) had the opportunity at age 12 to serve as undersecretary on an embassy to the Mamluk sultan in Egypt (sometime before 1328). During this journey he also made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At some point after his return to Constantinople he was appointed *apographeus* of the island of Tenedos. About 1335, motivated by the desire to study ASTRONOMY, he went to Trebizond, where he spent most of his remaining years in the service of the metropolitan (as *chartophylax*) and of the Grand Komnenoi (as a notary). His career was troubled by bouts of ill health and the civil strife that plagued the Trapezuntine Empire. Libadenos is last mentioned in 1361.

The primary source for his life history is the autobiographical *Periegesis* (Geographical Description), which relates events down to 1355. He also composed an *enkomion* of St. Phokas, verses to the Virgin, and a HOROSCOPE for the year 1336. His

writings reveal some familiarity with ancient authors and abound in citations of the Old Testament, New Testament, and church fathers.

ED. O. Lampsides, *Andreou Libadenou bios kai erga* (Athens 1975). Horoscope—ed. F. Böll, *CCAG* 7 (1908) 152–60.

LIT. O. Lampsides, "Symbolai eis ton bion kai ta erga Andreou tou Libadenou," *ArchPont* 29 (1968) 162–279. *PLP*, no.14864. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:518; 2:252. Beck, *Kirche* 794. —A.M.T.

**LIBANIOS** (Λιβάνιος), rhetorician and teacher; born Antioch 314, died Antioch ca.393. Libanios was educated at ANTIOCH and Athens. After brief professorial tenure in Athens, Constantinople, and Nikomedeia, he returned in 354 to an official teaching post in Antioch for the rest of his life. He accepted an honorary praetorian prefecture from Theodosios I in 383. Nostalgic for what then passed as classical culture, he clung to paganism and was devastated by the premature death of Emp. JULIAN, about whom he wrote sympathetic orations. Libanios preferred coexistence to confrontation and taught and mixed with men of both faiths, including BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Outside the political mainstream by choice, he championed many an individual and municipal cause in 64 speeches (the first was his autobiography) and 1,600 letters. He was an eloquent spokesman for the material and cultural aspiration of the curiales, but also a critic of social oppression. More pedagogical are his school declamations and similar model exercises. Libanios tried to write in pure Attic, with results that are now viewed as tortuous but were much admired by Byz. stylists.

ED. *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, 12 vols. in 13 (Leipzig 1903–27; rp. Hildesheim 1963). *Selected Works*, ed. A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1969–77), with Eng. tr. *Libanios' Autobiography (Oration 1)*, ed. A.F. Norman (Oxford 1965), with Eng. tr. *Briefe*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Munich 1980), with Germ. tr.

LIT. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). P. Petit, *Libanios et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). *Libanios*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Darmstadt 1983). G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, D. Najock, eds., *Concordantiae in Libanium* (Hildesheim–New York 1987). —B.B.

**LIBELLESIOS** (λιβελλήσιος or λιβελλίσσιος), according to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern official in the department of the QUAESTOR.

Bury (*Adm. System* 77) thought that the *libellesios* was a successor of the late Roman *libellensis*, who performed secretarial functions in the *scrinium libellorum* and in other bureaus (A. von Premerstein, *RE* 13 [1927] 24–26). In the 10th C. the term *libellos* designated a document connected with assignment of a KLASMA (e.g., *Prot.*, no.5.37) and it is probable that the *libellesios* had specific notarial duties: a seal of the 11th C. belonged to a certain John, *libellesios* and imperial notary (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.210). Dölger (*Diplomatik* 63) hypothesized that the *libellesios* made notes on petitions addressed to the emperor, while Ljubarskij (*Psell* 275) surmised that he composed imperial acts; neither of these theories has any substantive basis. The *libellesios* played a role in palace ceremonial, serving as the mouthpiece of the AUGUSTA (*De cer.* 418.20–22). There were also provincial *libellesioi*-notaries: for example, Nicholas, *libellesios* and *symbolaiographos* in 897 (*Lavra* 1, no.1.34); Nicholas, *kouboukleisios* and *libellesios* of Thessalonike in 982 (*Ivir.* 1, no.4.79); Stephen, *libellesios* and *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi* in Thessalonike in 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.42). In contrast to this evidence, the anonymous *libellesios* addressed by Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:451.26) was a high-ranking functionary of the civil administration. Peter Libellisios, a well-educated inhabitant of Antioch in the second half of the 11th C., mastered both Greek and Arabic learning, but it is not clear whether *libellesios* was his job or his family name.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322.

–A.K.

**LIBER DIURNUS** (lit. "day book"), anonymous collection of papal letter formulas and documents from the 6th to 8th C. preserved in three slightly distinct MS versions from the early 9th and 10th C. Many formulas recur wholly or partially in letters of contemporary and later popes, and the formulation and topics of the letters shed much light on ecclesiastical affairs of Byz. Italy and relations between the PAPACY and Constantinople. Much like the DE CEREMONIIS, the *Liber diurnus* includes a list of addresses and subscriptions appropriate to papal correspondence with the emperor and high officials of Constantinople and the provinces (ed. Foerster, *infra* 181f). A number of the documents reveal the local historical situation, reflecting for instance the care of bishoprics

disorganized by enemy action (82f), or procedures for petitioning the emperor (112f) or the EXARCH (113–21) for confirmation of papal elections, as well as attesting local bishops' anti-MONOTHELETISM and loyalty to the emperor (136f; cf. 138) or prayers for his triumph (e.g., 164).

ED. *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern 1958).

LIT. L. Santifaller, *Liber diurnus: Studien und Forschungen* (Stuttgart 1976). J.M. Sansterre, "La date des formules 60–63 du *Liber diurnus*," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 226–43.

–M.McC.

**LIBERIUS**, pope (from 17 May 352); died Rome 24 Sept. 366. The pontificate of Liberius coincides with the upsurge of Arianism supported by CONSTANTINUS II. The Arians required Liberius to condemn ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. After a long struggle Constantius achieved this condemnation at the Council of Milan in 355; since Liberius refused to submit, he was exiled to Berroia and replaced by Felix II (355–65). Liberius finally yielded and after a time was allowed to return to Rome as Felix's colleague—the witty Romans exclaimed that they now had two parties and two colors, as in the circus (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 2.17.5–6). The death of Constantius in 361 allowed Liberius to retreat and find common ground with the HOMIOUSIANS, who leaned toward a slightly revised formula of the creed of the Council of Nicaea. Liberius was popular in Rome, esp. as founder of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In the hagiography of the 6th C., however, he is presented as a traitor, while Felix II is depicted as a firm supporter of Orthodoxy.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 1:166–95. M. Goemans, "L'exil du pape Libère," in *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann* (Utrecht–Anvers 1963) 184–89.

–A.K.

**LIBER PONTIFICALIS** (Pontifical Book), prime source on Byz., the PAPACY, and Italy that records pontificates from Peter to the late 9th C. The initial section was compiled in the 6th (Duchesne) or early 7th C. (Mommson), relying on general historical sources whose value ranges from poor (down to GELASIUS I and from VIGILIUS to Benedict I) to excellent (Anastasius II to Silverius). The *Liber pontificalis* consistently drew from papal archives information on munificence by and under each pope from SILVESTER onward, whence



splendid data on Byz. monuments of ROME (H. Geertman, *More veterum* [Groningen 1975]) and imperial grants from Constantine I to Constantine V (Reg 1, no.310). From Pope Honorius I, biographies were composed by contemporaries in the papal entourage (e.g., ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) and even published during the subject's lifetime. While the structure of each biography remains essentially the same (name, geographical origin, parentage, length of reign, writings, significant historical events, constructions, gifts, death, burial), the length, detail, focus, and reliability vary greatly from life to life (e.g., O. Bertolini in *La storiografia altomedievale* [= *SettStu* 17] [Spoleto 1970] 387–455) or even within different parts or recensions of the same life. Thus one recension of the Life of GREGORY II pays more attention to Byz. than the other, supplying details on the future pope's theological discussion with Justinian II (ed. Duchesne, *infra* 1:396.8–11), Byz. cooperation with the LOMBARDS, and the usurpation of Tiberius Petasius (ibid. 407.19–409.3). Countless later historians of religious institutions, such as AGNELLUS and the deacon JOHN OF NAPLES, took the *Liber pontificalis* as their model. The continuations from Pope JOHN VIII to Urban II, the so-called *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume (ed. J.M. March [Barcelona 1925]), rarely touch on Byz.

ED. *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris 1886–1957). Partial ed., *The Book of the Popes*, tr. L.R. Loomis, vol. 1 (New York 1916).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 58f, 455–62. C. Vogel, "Le 'Liber pontificalis' dans l'édition de Louis Duchesne: Etat de la question," in *Monsieur Duchesne et son temps* [= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 23] (Rome 1975) 99–127. —M.McC.

**LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE** (Λιβιστρος καὶ Ῥοδάμνη), an anonymous romance (about 4,500 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, in the longest of several discrepant MSS). Because both Theodore MELITENIOTES (died 1393) and MAZARIS (*Journey to Hades*, ca.1415) refer to the poem, it must be dated to the 14th C. *Libistros and Rhodamne* is formally the most sophisticated of the Byz. "popular" verse romances of chivalry: a first-person narrative by Klitobos, traveling companion to Libistros, starts *in medias res* and covers both the adventures that Libistros describes to him and also the hazards he and Libistros experience to-

gether as they seek for Rhodamne. Although written within the tradition of the novels of late antiquity and those of the 12th C., *Libistros and Rhodamne* has much in common with KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE and BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA including elaborate EKPHRASEIS of buildings, witches, and magic horses as well as Latin princes and Frankish hairstyles that reflect a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that of the MOREA.

ED. *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*, ed. J.A. Lambert (Amsterdam 1935). *Libistro e Rodamne: romanzo cavalleresco bizantino*, tr. V. Rotolo (Athens 1965).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 122–28. M.K. Chatzigiakoumes, *Ta mesaionika demode keimena: Symbole ste melete kai sten ekdose tous* (Athens 1977) 31–165. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

**LIBRA.** See LITRA.

**LIBRARY** (βιβλιοθήκη). Libraries underwent a substantial change during late antiquity: municipal libraries disappeared and the public libraries organized by Constantius II (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 1:84–87) and Theodosios II were state institutions. Byz. libraries could be imperial (such as the one in 15th-C. Constantinople described by Pero TAFUR), patriarchal, monastic, or private. As Wilson (*infra* 281) stresses, "the university of Constantinople has left no trace of a central library," though Constantine IX's foundation charter for the School of Law makes provision for one. Some libraries had inventories, several of which (e.g., the catalog of the library of the monastery on PATMOS) have survived. The BOOKS had shelf-marks (e.g., at the library of the Great LAVRA on Athos) and were placed on shelves accordingly. Some libraries had their own SCRIPTORIA and professionals to repair and bind books (L. Politis in *Wandlungen* [Waldsassen-Bavaria 1975] 285–92). Data concerning the size of libraries are rare: in the early 13th C. the Patmos library had approximately 330 books; the library of Lavra possessed about 960 MSS. Most libraries, esp. private ones, were much smaller (e.g., the library of Eustathios BOILAS in the late 11th C. contained 81 books).

The contents of libraries differed significantly: a 6th-C. papyrus list of ten books given to a monastery contains a chronicle and biblical, patristic, and hagiographical texts (R. Dostálová, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 535–47); the inventories of

later monastic libraries were similar. The library of the patriarchate of Constantinople reportedly possessed a special chest of heretical books. The private library varied according to the individual: men like Libanius read widely in classical poets and rhetoricians (A. Norman, *RhM* 107 [1964] 158–75); the bibliophile ARETHAS OF CAESAREA acquired primarily secular classics. John Komnenos Synadenos (late 13th C.), son-in-law of Michael VIII's brother and uncle of John VI Kantakouzenos and Andronikos III, collected religious books. George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (mid-15th C.) owned a library at Kalavryta that included Herodotus and Prokopios. (See also MOUSEION AND LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA.)

LIT. N. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," in Harlinger, *Kodikologie* 276–309. K. Manaphes, *Hai en Konstantinoupolei bibliothekai* (Athens 1972). B. Fonkič, "Biblioteka Lavry sv. Afanasija na Afone v X–XIII vv.," *PSb* 17 (1967) 167–75. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelphias im 14. Jahrhundert," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 412–15. E. Gamillscheg, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Konstantinopolitaner Bibliothek," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 283–93. J. Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscrits d'époque byzantine (XIe–XVe s.)," in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81. O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich 1955). —A.K., R.B.

**LIBRI CAROLINI** (Books of Charles), treatise containing a violent theological attack on the Second Council of NICAIA of 787 and the cult of ICON veneration, prepared ca.790–93 in the name of CHARLEMAGNE by his entourage, particularly Theodulf of Orleans. The *Libri Carolini* was evidently revised and then abandoned because of the reluctance of Pope HADRIAN I to condemn the council. The aggressively formulated refutation of the Byz. council survives in the original MS (Vat. lat. 7207) and still bears in the margins what may be notes of Charlemagne's oral comments (A. Freeman, *Speculum* 46 [1971] 608–12). The *Libri Carolini* expresses polemical outrage at the relics of the IMPERIAL CULT embedded in Byz. etiquette and official jargon (1.1–4) and assails the role of imperial PORTRAITS in Byz. public life (3.15). The treatise was motivated in part by imperfect Latin translation of the original Greek acts (*latreia* [worship] of God and PROSKYNESIS of icons were both rendered as *adoratio*, whence the charge of idolatry) and in part by political and military competition with Constantinople, perhaps aggravated by a perceived rapprochement between the

PAPACY and Constantinople (G. Arnaldi in *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolingia* [Todi 1979] 61–86; cf. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, vol. 1 [Munich 1978] 163–65, 185f).

ED. H. Bastgen, *MGH Concilia* vol. 2, supp. (1924).

LIT. A. Freeman, "Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*," *Viator* 16 (1985) 65–108. S. Gero, "The *Libri Carolini* and the Image Controversy," *GOrThR* 18 (1973) 7–34. —M.McC.

**LICARIO** (Λικάριος of Greek sources), Italian adventurer in the service of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS; dates of birth and death unknown. From a Veronese family that settled in NEGROPONTE (Euboea), Licario incurred the displeasure of the Lombard rulers of the island through his liaison with a noble widow and fled to a castle near Karystos. The chronology of his career is uncertain; Loenertz (*ByzFrGr* 1 558–70) has proposed the following sequence of events: in 1271 Licario offered his services to the Byz., became an imperial vassal, and seized several castles on Euboea. After taking Karystos in 1276–77, he was rewarded by Michael VIII with the whole island as a fief and with a noble Greek wife. He eventually conquered all Euboea except for Chalkis and restored to Byz. control a number of Aegean islands: Skopelos, Skyros, Skiathos, Amorgos, Keos, Santorini, and Lemnos. In 1276 Licario was appointed *megas konostaulos*, the next year *megas doux*. In 1279/80 he captured John I de la Roche, duke of Athens, and Giberto da Verona, triumvir of Euboea, and brought them triumphantly to Constantinople. Thereafter he disappears from the sources.

LIT. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1973) 47–50. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 235–37, 295–300. *PLP*, no.8154. E. Branopoulos, "Ho hipotes Likarios," *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 7 (1960) 127–33. —A.M.T.

**LICINIUS** (Λικίνιος), more fully Valerius Licinianus Licinius, augustus (308–324); born Dacia ca.265, died Thessalonike spring 325. Friend and perhaps praetorian prefect of GALERIUS, he was named augustus at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308 and held power in the East. In the succeeding civil wars Licinius allied with Constantine I and married his half-sister Constantia in 313. He proclaimed toleration of Christians in his territory at an early date (see EDICT OF MILAN), and the struggle with MAXIMINUS became a contest



between monotheism and polytheism. Just before going into battle Licinius had his men recite a prayer to the "Great Holy God"; he was then victorious. After May of 313 Licinius was supreme in the East as Constantine was in the West. By 316 relations between the two emperors had deteriorated and there was open war in the Balkans. From this time onward Licinius sought the support of pagans and openly harassed Christians in his domain. War broke out again in 324. Licinius was defeated, first in Thrace, then at Chrysopolis in Bithynia on 18 Sept. Licinius abdicated the next day. He was sent into exile in Thessalonike, where he was subsequently executed.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 43f. M. Fortina, "La politica religiosa dell'imperatore Licinio," *Rivista di classica* 7 (1959) 245-65; 8 (1960) 3-23. F. Corsaro, "L'imperatore Licinio e la legislazione filocristiana dal 311 al 313," *Studi Cesare Sanfilippo* 3 (Milan 1983) 155-86. -T.E.G.

**LIFE EXPECTANCY.** The evidence of skeletal material from archaeological excavations suggests a mean age at death of about 35 years for the Byz. population. Women usually died earlier than men, primarily because of the higher mortality associated with childbirth and, possibly, poorer food. The anthropological findings are corroborated by the evidence of funerary epitaphs (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 95-100) and *praktika* (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 296). Byz. longevity was comparable to that of Iron Age Greece and lower than that of classical Greece, when the mean age at death was 45 years for men and 36 for women. Nevertheless, the Byz. definition of old AGE (*geras*) was similar to the modern conception; it began about 60. Anyone living into his 70s was considered to have exceeded the allotted biblical life span of 70 (Ps 90:10) and to have entered "extreme old age." Literary evidence indicates that many Byz. did have long lives. Thus, the average life span of the Komnenian emperors was 61, of the Macedonian 59, and of the Palaiologan 60. Scholars also tended to live into their 60s or 70s (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 116f). Saints reputedly lived longest, often into their 80s or 90s; in fact there seems to be a correlation between old age and sanctity.

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267-78. -A.M.T.

**LIGATURE**, term used in PALAEOGRAPHY and EPIGRAPHY. It describes the linking together of letters to save space and time. Gardthausen (*Pa-*

Epigraphy	Minuscule MSS
Ϡ = OY	Ϡ = ov
Ϡ = TP	Ϡ = êκ
Ϡ = TH	Ϡ = δι
	Ϡ = ετι
	Ϡ = επ

LIGATURE. Sample ligatures.

*laeographie* 2:53) classifies ligatures into primary, secondary, and tertiary examples. In primary ligatures, letters are combined but preserve their essential elements; in secondary ligatures two letters are united so that they share a common element; in tertiary ligatures three letters are joined. In epigraphy there are examples of eight letters combined together. Occurring relatively infrequently in uncial MSS, ligatures became common in cursive and minuscule script.

-A.M.T., A.K.

**LIGHT** (φῶς). Byz. terminology for light can be classified into two distinct areas: liturgy and spirituality, which of course are interdependent. From the time of Justin the Philosopher and Ignatius of Antioch baptism was designated primarily as "illumination" (*photismos*). EPIPHANY, the preferred day of baptism, bore the name "Festival of Lights" or "Lights" (J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology* [Nijmegen 1962] 157-78). The light (the Sun) is naturally Christ, as expressed in the thanksgiving hymn of the eucharistic liturgy (PHOS HILARON) and in Christmas hymns. Every weekday should be concluded with a thanksgiving for the light. The illumination of spiritual man through Christ is the favorite theme of pseudo-DIONYSIOS, THE AREOPAGITE and SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN. JOHN KLIMAX (*Scala paradisi* 26, PG 88:1020D) described the angels as the light of the monk, and monastic life as the light of all men, while Gregory PALAMAS incorporated the vision of the (transfigured) light in his doctrine of ENERGIES and assigned it first rank in spiritual life.

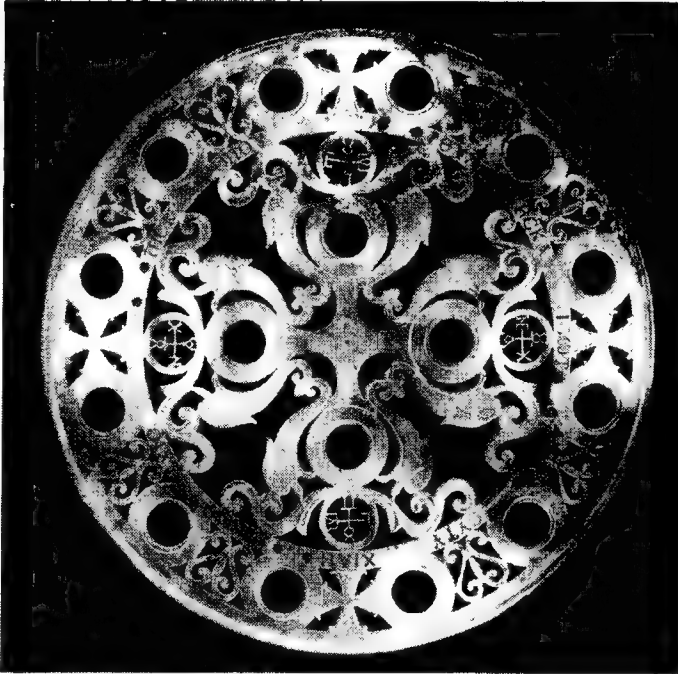
**Light in Art.** In the visual arts light is not so much the medium of visual perception as a token of sanctity or majesty. Illumination is almost always an emanation from a divine source, created by God (Gen 1:3) or projected by a sacred figure.

As in the narthex mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, the enthroned Christ often carries an inscription identifying him as the Light of the World (Jn 1:9) and he is invariably treated as a source of light, even if this is conveyed by reflections from his skin and brilliant vestments. The SUN AND MOON, when represented, rarely cast light, although an arc of heaven, inhabited or not, frequently illuminates the upturned face of a holy man (e.g., in the *Menologion of Basil II* [Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 230]). Recipients of sacred light are shown blinded (St. PAUL), bowled over (the apostles in the TRANSFIGURATION), or, like the face of MOSES, reflecting the glory of God. The marked 14th-C. interest in the depiction of light has been connected with Palamite vision.

Formally, light is as often a decorative device spun over the surfaces of objects as an element contributing to their substantiality. In mosaic and fresco its impact is registered by the liberal use of white; on silver and ivory its effects are heightened by burnishing. In sacred pictures light normally descends from above, illuminating the upper surfaces of the faces and limbs of figures. But there is no suggestion of a specific source, and the various parts of an image are lit independently. The play of light and shade is determined more by conventional means of suggesting PLASTICITY than by the search for a consistent effect. During and after the 11th C. the drapery of sacred figures is enlivened with chrysography (see ILLUMINATORS), brilliant splashes of GOLD emitting rays over adjacent surfaces of the fabric. The highlights on faces, hands, and drapery in early Palaiologan painting are later broken into short parallel strokes; vestments seem to crackle electrically. This is part of an apparent effort to give physical form to radiance, an attempt most palpable in images of the Ascent of Elijah and of the Transfiguration.

LIT. P.-T. Camelot, *DictSpir* 9 (1976) 1149-58. G. Podskalsky, "Gott ist Licht," *Geist und Leben* 39 (1966) 201-14. V. Lossky, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Eglise de l'Orient* (Paris 1944) 215-34. P. Plank, *Phos hilaron: Christushymnus und Lichtdanksagung der griechischen Christenheit* (Würzburg 1986). Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 35f. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). V.V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 99-101. -G.P., A.C.

**LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL** (φωταΐα, λυχναΐα). Associated with the symbolic values of LIGHT, church lighting, beyond its practical pur-



LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL. Polykandelon; silver, ca.550-565. From the Sion Treasure. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

pose, often carried a wide range of connotations (G. Galavaris, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 69-78). Though the church fathers tried to restrict the lavish display of lights in churches, it is evident from accounts in the *Liber pontificalis* that by the late 4th C. ecclesiastical lighting had become remarkably elaborate. A novel of Justinian I of 538 (67 pr.) stressed the importance of providing revenues for the maintenance of lighting in a church. Textual evidence and dedicatory inscriptions show that many lighting fixtures were the votive offerings of both church officials and laymen.

*Polykandela* with glass lamps were the dominant lighting devices before the 8th C. The earliest types are crown-shaped with dolphin-brackets supporting glass lamps (*Greece and the Sea* [Amsterdam 1987] no.150). Three other sorts of silver *polykandela* are found in the SION TREASURE: circular, cross-shaped, or in the form of a rectangular tray. Openwork silver lamps (*kaniskia*) were employed in churches along with lamps of solid metal; the altar was illuminated with floor candelabra and lampstands as well (Mango, *Silver* 96-101). In Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, cross and disk-shaped *polykandela* are recorded, along with boat-shaped lamps and tree-shaped chandeliers (PAUL SILENTIARIOS).

From the 9th C. onward, ecclesiastical lighting

increasingly relied on CANDLES. *Polykandela*, some of them in silver, continued in use. In the 12th C. the *choros*, a polygonal structure carrying *polykandela* or lamps and candles, was introduced in domed churches. Floor candelabra in pairs (*manoualia*) were employed in front of votive icons, sometimes furnished with disks with extra candleholders for the major feasts. Metal beams carrying candleholders (*lamnai*) were employed over the TEMPLON epistyle and ICON FRAMES. Oil lamps with one or more lights (*kandelai*) were suspended before votive icons of Christ and the Virgin, under the dome, over the holy altar, and before the bema doors. Lanterns enclosing as many as ten lamps were employed for the illumination of open spaces around the church during processions. A number of monastic ΤΥΠΙΚΑ provide explicit instructions for the lavish illumination of churches on major feasts and the anniversaries of the deaths of the founders.

LIT. L. Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 479–91. T. Gerasimov, "Rannovizantijski srebrni sveščnici ot Sadovec," *IzvBulgArchInst* 30 (1967) 200–05. —L.Ph.B.

**LIGHTING IN EVERYDAY LIFE.** Private houses were illuminated by small WINDOWS (*photagogia*) by day, and lighting devices (*lychnia(i)*) after dusk. *Lychnia*, along with a couch and table, were considered the most essential furnishings of a house (vita of Basil the Younger, ed. Vilinskij, 1:300.32–33). In the late Roman period, the LAMP (of clay, metal, or glass) remained the major lighting device. Even though literary texts continue to mention lamps through the entire Byz. period, archaeological evidence shows that clay lamps practically disappeared after the 7th C. They were replaced by CANDLES. Certainly palaces and rich houses were brightly illuminated, esp. during banquets. Monastic authorities disapproved of candles in cells—thus Lazaros of Mt. Galesios regarded a monk who lit a candle in his cell as dead in the eyes of God (AASS Nov. 3:549AB); John Moschos tells the legend of a monk who did not need artificial light because he was able to read in the dark (PG 87:2908A).

Streets in large cities of the 4th–6th C. had artificial lighting: KYROS, the prefect of Constantinople, installed lighting devices on major thoroughfares of the capital after 437, and Theodosios II imposed a tax on houses and shops in the

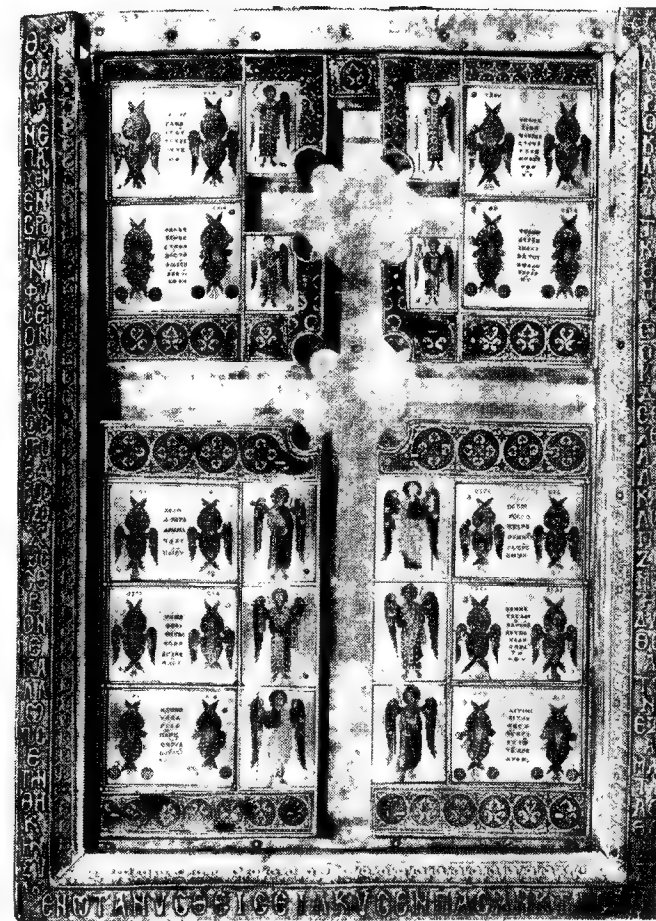
area of the Baths of Zeuxippos to maintain the *luminaria* (Cod. Just. VIII 11.19). Apparently, the system fell into decay even in Constantinople: the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (Synax.CP 231.35–39) records that near Hagia Sophia it was so dark that people needed a torch to walk at night. The *Book of the Eparch* (Bk. of Eparch 19.3) required shopkeepers to switch off lighting devices (*lebetia*) in the evening; legend has it that Leo VI was arrested and beaten by a watchman when he decided to walk at night. Yet lights were used in public buildings (bathhouses, amphitheaters) and in special situations—in lighthouses, on boats, for optical signals (see BEACONS), and in warfare.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 132f. C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 254–57. —A.K., L.Ph.B.

**LIKANDOS.** See LYKANDOS.

**LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY**, the most resplendent extant example of a Byz. *stau-rotheke*, that is, a container for a fragment of the TRUE CROSS. It consists of two chronologically distinct parts unified, however, by the common use of silver-gilt, ENAMEL, and gems. The front displays images of the Deesis, developed to include the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the 12 apostles and military saints, as well as an inscription in which BASIL THE NOTHOS is given the title of *proedros*, thus indicating a date after 963. Basil claims responsibility for the work in verses that relate its splendor to the beauty of Christ who died on the wood contained in the RELIQUARY. In the same spirit, the back is decorated with a foliate cross. The relic itself was set within an inner, cruciform compartment, surrounded by seraphim, cherubim, and other heavenly powers represented on the lids of compartments labeled for relics of Christ (such as the towel with which he washed the apostles' feet), of the Virgin, and of St. John the Baptist. An inscription on the frame for the Cross names two emperors, Constantine (VII) and Romanos (probably I, but possibly II). They are said to have crushed the barbarians as Christ shattered the gates of Hell. In 1207 the reliquary was brought from Constantinople to the West by the Crusader Heinrich von Ulmen.

LIT. Frolow, *Relique*, no.135, pp. 233–37. Frolow, *Reliquaires* 96. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.*



LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY. Interior of the box with the setting for the cross reliquary and compartments for various other relics. Cathedral Treasury, Limburg an-der-Lahn.

(Moscow 1978) 28–32. J. Rauch, "Die Limburger Stau-rothek," *Das Münster* 8 (1955) 201–33. J.M. Wilm, "Die Wiederherstellung der Limburger Stau-rothek," *ibid.* 234–40. W. Michel, "Die Inschriften der Limburger Stau-rothek," *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976) 23–44. —M.E.F., A.C.

**LIMES**, a Roman term designating the boundary, esp. the system of frontier fortifications that was developed in Britain, Upper Germany, RAETIA, the Danubian provinces (PANNONIA, SCYTHIA MINOR), the eastern provinces (SYRIA, PALESTINE), and AFRICA from the 2nd C. onward. Different in different areas and periods, the fortifications of the *limes* have not yet been properly categorized. Their major elements include palisades, earthen walls, ditches, wooden towers, and forts. Under Diocletian (or earlier) appeared the *castella*, or *quadriburgia*, of the so-called Diocletianic type—

relatively small forts, square in plan, with square angle- and interval-towers that saddle the curtain walls (J. Lander in *Roman Frontier Studies*, ed. W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie, vol. 3 [Oxford 1980] 1051–60). On the Middle Danube, Valentinian I organized active construction of new fortifications but, after the catastrophe at Adrianople in 378, the *limes* was restructured: forts became smaller, while towers of smaller size were abandoned and replaced by larger ones (S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* [Munich 1985] 98f). Attempts to fortify the frontier took place again under Anastasios I and Justinian I; among the new forts and walls erected at this time were the LONG WALL in Thrace and the fortification in southwestern Crimea. New forts were constructed on the Lower Danube in the second half of the 10th C.

From the 4th C. onward, the settled garrisons of LIMITANEI were placed along the *limes*. Farming communities were transplanted to the *limes* to guarantee the upkeep and provisioning of forts (M. Gichon in *StMilRoms* 1 [1967] 191f). Eventually, the *limitanei* themselves became settled farmers. The *limes* was also a factor in the increased activity of artisans in the frontier districts (A. Rădulescu in *StMilRoms* 2 [1977] 387–92).

LIT. E. Fabricius, *RE* 13 (1927) 572–671. J. Garbsch, *Der spätromische Donau-Iller-Rhein-Limes* (Stuttgart 1970). *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan*, ed. S.T. Parker (Oxford 1987). G.W. Bowersock, "Limes Arabicus," *HStClPhil* 80 (1976) 219–29. —A.K.

**LIMISA** (Ksar Lemsa), site of one of the best-preserved Byz. *quadriburgia* (four-towered forts) in North Africa. Its position on the Oued Maarouf along the southeastern slope of the Tunisian dorsal served to guard against MAURI incursions into the province of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS. The fort itself is undated. Diehl (*L'Afrique* 205–10) proposed a Justinianic date. Pringle (*infra*), drawing attention to an inscription referring to the construction of a *turris* in the reign of Maurice and found 1 km east of Ksar Lemsa, suggested that inscription and fort belong together (in which case *turris* would refer to the fort itself). P.-A. Février (*Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 [1983] 35), however, rejected the link between the two on the grounds that the inscription refers to a singular *turrim*, unlikely to be anything more than an isolated tower. Apart from a reference to



an *episcopus Limmicensis* at the council of 646, nothing else is known of the settlement's history.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 43, 212–14, 330 Inscr.36. K. Belkhdja, "Ksar Lemsā," *Africa* 2 (1968) 313–47. —R.B.H.

**LIMITANEI** (from Lat. *LIMES*), late Roman Empire frontier soldiers, as opposed to the mobile army of the *COMITATENSES*. The origin of *limitanei* is unclear: the *HISTORIA AUGUSTA* (ed. Hohl, 1:298.5–6) asserts that Severus Alexander (222–35) assigned conquered land to the *limitanei*, but O. Seeck (*RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 917) rejects this statement as a forgery. A 6th-C. historian (Malal. 308.17–19) says that Diocletian built fortresses on the eastern frontier and stationed *limitanei* there. The term *ripenses*, or *riparienses*, was used between 325 and 400 for frontier soldiers on the Danube, from Scythia to Pannonia Secunda, but from 363 onward (*Cod.Theod.* XII 1.56) the term was replaced by *limitanei*. Cavalry and infantry *limitanei* formed units under the command of a *dux* (see *Doux*), with normally two legions in each province, while auxiliary troops were under the command of the governor of the *PROVINCE*. Less privileged than *comitatenses*, the *limitanei* had to serve 25 years; they received *ANNO* in kind for nine months a year and money for three months; from the second half of the 4th C. the entire *annona* was commuted to cash. Officers tried to secure most of the pay for themselves and, according to *THEMISTI*OS (ed. Schenkl, Downey, 1:207.1–19), urged soldiers to make their living by plundering the vicinity. *Limitanei* were peasant soldiers, and Justinian (*Cod.Just.* I 27.8) describes their duty as "defending the castles and towns of frontier districts and tilling the soil." Enrollment in the border troops was hereditary, from father to son. By the 6th C. the *limitanei* grew inefficient, and *PROKOPI*OS (*SH* 24.12–13) reports that Justinian deprived them of the "name of warriors." The system disappeared after the old *limes* was overrun by barbarians, and the last mention is probably for 586.

LIT. D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952) 19–32. Haldon, *Recruitment* 21–28. —A.K.

**LINCOLN COLLEGE TYPIKON.** See *BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY*.

**LINE AND CONTOUR**, the essential means by which form is defined in the artistic theory of the church fathers and later Greek writers. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1545C) objected to the making of holy images on the grounds that delineations (*skiagraphiai*) and the *COLORS* added thereafter are inanimate; John Chrysostom (PG 51:247–43) describes the creation of imperial portraits in terms of white lines sketched around their figures. "Shadowy outline" (*apokrisma*) was, for Andrew of Crete (PG 97:1213C), the first step that painters took before applying color. According to Ignatios the Deacon in his vita of *TARASIOS* (418.10–14), additions were the work of the master and his companions after the master had drawn the black sketch that "announced the design." These views accord with practice. A standard technique of *MOSAIC* decoration was the outlining of figures with courses of tesserae; wall painters imitated this method. Ivory craftsmen defined carved figures with contours before cutting away superfluous material, while the technique of *ENAMELING* called for both contour and interior lines. This emphasis on linearity militated against *PLASTICITY* and substituted for the classical aesthetic a manner that was characteristically Byz.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, "Les procédés de la stylisation linéaire dans la peinture byzantine des X–XII siècles et leurs sources," 25 *Congrès International des Orientalistes* [= *Doklad na XXV Meždunarodnom kongresse vostokovedov*] (Moscow 1960) 1–18. F. Angiolini Martinelli, "Linea e ritmo nelle figure umane ed animali sugli argenti dell'Ermitage di Lenigrado dei secoli V–VII," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 19–47.

—A.C.

**LINEAGE.** The nuclear *FAMILY* became the cornerstone of Byz. society by the 8th C.; even earlier the Roman concept of *gens*, with its inner links and family *NAMES*, was in a state of decline. The extended family, living together in a single household (e.g., the three-generation family of St. *PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL*) continued to exist, but on the other hand there is no evidence of the concept of lineage as a community based on kinship and mutual support. So far as can be judged by the history of the Heraklian dynasty in the 7th C., family links were considered dangerous and burdensome rather than supportive. The re-appearance of lineage can be dated to ca.1000; after this date family names are abundant in sources; certainly some lineages (*Skleros*, *Phokas*, *Doukas*) were established a century earlier.

From the end of the 11th C., lineages became the basis of political organization and, unlike the 7th-C. emperors, the Komnenoi and later Palaiologoi were supported by an expanded network of kinship. The Byz. lineage of the 12th–15th C. remained, however, a loose social grouping: it was not strictly patrilinear—the relatives on the maternal side were not excluded from the lineage; it had no common property; the tracing of lineage to a common ancestor (going back to the traditional heroes of Greek legends or Roman aristocratic families) and not to mythical founders of the particular lineage was in an incipient phase. The concept of princely rule as the "property" of a lineage (the principle of the Merovingians or Kievan Rus') was never developed in Byz. —A.K.

**LINEN.** Even though the cultivation of flax is hardly mentioned in the *Geoponika* (2.40.3), it played a significant role in Byz. agriculture: stored in the *proasteion* of Baris, for example, in 1073 were wheat, barley, beans, and flax seeds, or *linokokkoi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119–20), a term that frequently appears in later documents (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.11.27; P. Schreiner, *JOB* 27 [1978] 219.27). The seeds were processed in special *ergasteria*, called *linelaiotribika* (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), and made into *OIL* (*linelaion*). A chrysobull of 1088 distinguishes the seeds from the *linarion*, or flax fibers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.55), whereas a chrysobull of 1086 considers *linarion* as a kind of seed (*Lavra* 1, no.48.41–42).

The fibers of flax were used to produce *TEXTILES*. In the late Roman period Egypt was the traditional center of the linen industry: the spinning of linen thread was often a household industry there (e.g., *PALLADIOS, Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 21.19–20, 86.10–12). The linen thread was then given to linen weavers, *linoiyphoi* (e.g., T. Nissen, *BZ* 38 [1938] 367.27–28). After Egypt fell to the Arabs in the 7th C., linen cloth was imported to Constantinople primarily from Bulgaria and the regions of Strymon, Pontos, and Kerasous. The linen merchants, *othoniopratai* (also called *mithaneis*), purchased the linen cloth and resold it to either *VESTIOPRATAI* or any would-be purchaser on condition that the linen would not be sold yet again. The *othoniopratai* also dealt in *bambakina* (cotton?) tunics. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.g) distinguishes the *othoniopratai* from linen

weavers, who were prohibited from selling their wares in *ergasteria* but had to carry them around "on their shoulders" to peddle them. The profession of linen merchant was evidently held in some contempt—a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 484.63) was indignant that some of these merchants (along with money changers) were granted noble titles.

Linen cloth was used primarily for tunics and burial shrouds but could be of varied quality and function. Some fine linen was used to make tablecloths (*TheophCont* 200.1–2); a court decision of 1384 lists various objects used in a bedchamber, including a red linen pillowcase (*linokoukoulon*) whose value was estimated at 4 hyperpers (*Dochear.*, no.49.29); Niketas Choniates (74.43–44) mentions "gold-laced" linen produced in Thebes. In the 9th C. the widow *DANELIS* reportedly brought various textiles from the Peloponnesos: among them were *linomalataria* (fine fabrics) and plain soft linen as well as tissues "finer than cobwebs," each of which could be folded and fit inside a bulrush (*TheophCont* 318.15–18).

The place where flax was worked was called *linobrocheion*, and it is possible that in the 13th–15th C. the use of the lord's *linobrocheion* became a coercive obligation, a *BANALITY*.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 34–36. *Bk. of Eparch* 190–202. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 224f. —A.K.

**LIONS** (sing. λέων) were rare in Byz., esp. after the loss of the southern provinces in the 7th C. In the early centuries they were exhibited in the Hippodrome, and tame lions performed in street shows (John Chrysostom, PG 54:591.35–40), earning money for their keepers; in the later period we hear of lions with iron collars kept in cages (Nik.Chon. 349.94–95). The taming of a lion was a typical subject of early hagiography: lions were represented not only as caring for holy men and women in the desert, but even digging a hermit's grave after his solitary death (*Deux versions grecques inédites de la Vie de Paul de Thèbes*, ed. J. Bidez [Gand 1900] 28–33).

Despite its rarity, the lion, "the fierce and imperial beast" (PG 54:699.10–11), played an important role in Byz. imagery. Although it is doubtful that the Byz. actually hunted lions after the 7th C., the *HUNTING* and slaughter of lions were standard topics in imperial iconography, a tradi-



tion that joined with David's killing of the lion (1 Sam 17:34–36) to produce the perennial theme of the Old Testament shepherd-king protecting his flock: one of the DAVID PLATES and much PSALTER illustration are the best-known examples of this confluence. The victories over lions (or panthers?) by Digenes and his father, described in the *Digenes Akritas*, have rather legendary features. Traditional proverbs and sayings based on the Bible, Aesop, and other texts present the lion as a mighty beast that, however, could suffer from a mosquito or whose fangs could be broken. The Byz. perception of the lion was ambivalent: on the one hand, it was the symbol of Christ and the *basileus* as powerful victors; on the other hand, it was a roaring beast, the symbol of impurity, particularly associated with the Iconoclast emperors, Leo III and Leo V. In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON the lion, as the ruler of the animal kingdom, is the protector of predators.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:422f. —Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

**LIPARI** (Λίπαρις), main island of the Aeolian archipelago, port on the route from Sicily to Rome. According to archaeological material (ceramics, coins, inscriptions), the island seems to have been quite well populated until the end of the 5th C. The lack of later material may be attributed to the partial desertion of the island following the eruption of the local volcano in the late 7th or 8th C. The Arabs conquered and devastated the island in 835–38. Seat of a bishop, suffragan of the metropolitan of SYRACUSE, Lipari was a famous place of pilgrimage because of the relics of the apostle BARTHOLOMEW, venerated there from the 6th C. onward. It was also a place of banishment for political exiles from late antiquity to the early 9th C. No Byz. monument survives in Lipari.

LIT. L. Bernabò-Brea, *Le isole Eolie dal tardo antico ai Normanni* (Ravenna 1988). —V.V.F.

**LIPARITES** (Λιπαρίτης), a family name of Iberian (Georgian) origin. The founder of the family, Liparit IV, duke of Trialeti, was the chief Caucasian ally of Byz., who in 1048/9 commanded the Iberian troops that fought together with the Byz. army against the Seljuks. Taken captive, Liparit was soon released by TUGHRUL BEG. After long involvement in Georgian feuds, he was en-

couraged to leave Georgia, went to Constantinople, took the monastic habit under the name of Antony, and died between 1062 and 1064. His sons Ivane and Niania served the empire (Niania died in Ani, whereas Ivane returned to Georgia), but later some descendants of Liparit joined the Seljuks. One branch of the Liparites family, however, remained in Byz.: in 1177 Basil Liparites was a judge; an anonymous 12th-C. epigram mentions Bardas Liparites; according to Laurent (*Coll. Orghidan*, no.248), Constantine Liparites served as *kommerkiarios* in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskie Liparity," *Vizantinovedčeskije etjudy* (Tbilisi 1978) 91f. Guiland, "Curopalate" 208. —A.K.

**LIPS** (Λίψ, lit. "the southwest wind"; also Libes/Libas [on a seal]), the last name or a sobriquet of a 10th-C. family of Constantinopolitan dignitaries. There is considerable confusion about the biography and chronology of the best-known member of the family, Constantine Lips. According to the chroniclers, Constantine was a contemporary of Leo VI and restored a monastery in Mardosangaris (a region of Constantinople) near the Church of the Holy Apostles. A legend has it that he invited the emperor to the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of the monastery, but a "wind called *lips*" blew up, destroying houses and churches and forcing the guests to scatter (Leo Gramm. 280.7–14). The monastery restored by Constantine has been identified as Fenari Isa Camii (see LIPS MONASTERY), whose 10th-C. church preserves a fragmentary verse inscription stating that a certain Constantine dedicated the church to the Mother of God. C. Mango and E. Hawkins (*DOP* 18 [1964] 299–301) supplied the additional words "*hetaireiarches Lips*" in their conjectural reconstruction of one of the fragments. The traditional date of the inauguration, 907/8, is arbitrary, based on the fake chronology of pseudo-Symeon Magistros. Constantine participated in the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913 and fell in the battle at Achelous in 917.

Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.42–76) describes a Constantine, the son of Lips, who was *protospatharios* and *domestikos* of the *hypourgia* (an assistant of the *epi tes trapezes*) and (by 952?) *anthypatos* and *megas hetaireiarches*; he went at least three times as an envoy to the Armenians and

married his daughter to an Armenian notable who bore the Arabic name of Abu Ghanim. Mango (*supra*) argues that Constantine Porphyrogennetos has erroneously made this man his own contemporary and that the passage refers to the Constantine Lips of the early 10th C.

According to the *Patria of Constantinople*, the Lips who was *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet founded a monastery and a *xenon* during the reign of Romanos I and Constantine VII; Mango again suggests that the patriographic tradition is in error and that this refers to the events of 907.

The *patrikios* Bardas, the son of Lips, conspired against Romanos II in 962 (Skyl. 250.65–66). Thereafter the name disappears.

LIT. S. Runciman in *De adm. imp.* 2:162f. Adontz, *Études* 222–25. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:188f. Janin, *Églises CP* 307. —A.C., A.K.

**LIPSANOTHEK**, a conventional term applied to a small number of surviving objects thought to have contained RELICS, thus functionally indistinguishable from RELIQUARIES. The word is most frequently used of a late 4th-C. (?) ivory box in Brescia (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), the lid and sides of which are carved with scenes from the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha. Neither its form nor iconography requires that it was originally used for relics. A smaller box in Venice (*ibid.*, no.120), with liturgical scenes, has perhaps a better claim: from the 4th C., the Eucharist was celebrated over relics kept under the altar. This box was found, with relics, below the altar of a church at Samagher, near Pola. A composite icon, formerly known as the Stroganov Lipsanotek (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.538), was equipped in the 11th C. and later with scenes of the Passion in enamel, portraits of saints in gilded silver, and now-empty compartments, inscribed with the names of St. John Prodromos, John Chrysostom, and others, intended for relics.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *Die Lipsanotek von Brescia* (Berlin-Leipzig 1933). —A.C.

**LIPS MONASTERY** (Fenari Isa Camii), founded in the Lycus valley in the western part of Constantinople probably by Constantine LIPS; it is traditionally believed to have been inaugurated in June 907. Whether the 10th-C. monastery was for monks or nuns is not known. The sophisticated church of 907, dedicated to the Virgin, is related

in design to the NEA EKKLESIA. Its cross-in-square naos (see CHURCH PLAN TYPES) has five domes (the main one supported on now-missing columns), and lateral chapels. Fragmentary inlaid icons found at the site may have served in the additional chapels of the upper story. The interior was decorated with mosaic (now lost), glazed tile, and some of the most important surviving examples of 10th-C. SCULPTURE—the apse mullions, cornices, corbels, etc. Some of these employed "orientalizing" motifs in relief on marbles, of which many are SPOLIA (reused tombstones, etc.).

The Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina (died 1303), widow of MICHAEL VIII, restored the monastic complex, attaching a second church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, to the south side of the 10th-C. church, as a mausoleum for the Palaiologan family, including Theodora herself, her mother, a daughter, and a son (ANDRONIKOS II). This church is wider than the 10th-C. building and boasts a much more ornate exterior, its multifaceted apses adorned with round-headed niches and decorative brickwork. Its interior has been much altered, but the dome, supported on piers at the corners of the naos with intervening pairs of columns, and 16 ARCOSOLIA survive. The graves are distributed through the naos, the narthex, and the groin-vaulted ambulatory that wraps around the south flank of the newer church and connects it at the west to that of Lips. This pretentious complex was built to emulate the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, the mausoleum of the Komnenoi.

The *typikon* of Theodora (composed between 1282 and ca.1300), which survives in a deluxe MS (London, B.L. Add. 22748), indicates that the 13th-C. monastery was designed to house 50 nuns. Sphrantzes (*Sphr.* 34.22–24) notes that in the late 14th C. Lips was one of the larger nunneries in Constantinople. Theodora and her mother endowed the convent with substantial properties in Asia Minor (near Pergamon and Smyrna), Thrace, Macedonia, and Constantinople itself, with certain revenues specified for the upkeep of an attached, 12-bed HOSPITAL with a staff of 21, including a priest, three doctors, and three pharmacists.

SOURCE. H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921) 106–36.

LIT. T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964) 249–315. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 309–12. —A.C., A.M.T.

**LIRIS.** See GARIGLIANO.

**LITANY** (λειτουργία), a series of short liturgical petitions, usually voiced by a deacon, that precede an oration, and to which the congregation replies with a fixed response, most commonly *Kyrie eleison*, one or more times. Litanies first appear in late 4th-C. Greek texts in the region of Antioch. Structurally they are a development of the primitive invitation to prayer (Taft, *East & West* 154–56), in which the diaconal biddings are addressed to the praying community and the prayer to God is the people's response. There are three Byz. litanic types, all known as early as the 4th C.: the *synapte*; the *synapte meta ton aiteseon* (with demands), which has the concluding "angel of peace" biddings, originally a litany of dismissal, to conclude a service or part thereof; and the *ektene*, or "intensive litany," originally used in stational processions (LITE).

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279, 293, 304, 320. Taft, *Great Entrance* 311–49. —R.F.T.

**LITE** (λίτή), a liturgical procession of clergy and people to a designated church or "station" for the celebration of a FEAST. In Jerusalem, these processions were limited to HOLY WEEK; in Rome they occurred during LENT; in Constantinople they were spread throughout the church year and connected with saints' days and major events in the history of the capital and were accompanied by ANTIPHONS and LITANIES. Initially, *litai* served to combat heresy or plead for some special favor: the remission of sins, cessation of an earthquake, the lifting of a siege, a miracle, or to commemorate the original *litai* on the day when these favors were granted. There is evidence for *litai* in Constantinople as early as the 4th C., when John Chrysostom introduced nocturnal processions to counter those of the Arians (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 171–73).

In the *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH*, there are 68 *lite* days, with the emperor participating in 17 of them, and the patriarch in 32. These services had a major influence on the development of the Byz. LITURGY (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 43 [1977] 360–69). The term *lite* can also refer to a short service comprising a litany and prayers celebrated during a procession of this kind.

LIT. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome 1987) 167–226. —R.F.T.

**LITERACY** was more widespread in Byz. than in the medieval West, esp. in cities, where elementary EDUCATION was widely available, and in monasteries, where a knowledge of reading was required of choir brothers and sisters. Functional literacy was usually a prerequisite for any administrative or spiritual career. During late antiquity, attitudes toward the BOOK changed drastically: instead of being a vocational necessity, it became a tool of religious education and a symbol of power (G. Cavallo in *L'imperatore Giustiniano* [Milan 1978] 235). Egyptian papyri show more illiterate persons in the 6th than in the 5th C., but the difference is primarily due to the insignificant number of 5th-C. documents (R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 [1950] 15). Even some monastic superiors in the 6th C. were unable to sign their names (R. Merkelbach, *ZPapEpig* 39 [1980] 291–94). This explains why Justinian I's novels prohibit an illiterate person from being elected bishop (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.III [1966], 72). Documents from the Athos archives, which sometimes bear crosses instead of signatures, indicate the existence of illiteracy, but a statistical analysis has not yet been done (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78). Despite this general esteem for literacy, two emperors (Justin I and Basil I) were reportedly illiterate, and several illiterates climbed high on the bureaucratic ladder: for instance, when Leo VI appointed the brave sailor Podaron *protospatharios* of the *phiale*, the emperor ordered a judge of the hippodrome to assist him, since Podaron was illiterate (*De adm. imp.*, 51.100–102). Especially in the countryside, "where education and knowledge were on a low level," illiteracy created difficulties for the functioning of law and administration; thus Leo VI, in his novel 43, permitted the use of oral testimony in villages to authorize wills.

LIT. R. Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World," *BMGS* 4 (1978) 39–54. —A.K.

**LITERATURE.** The Byz. term closest in meaning to our concept of literature was *logoi*, denoting the totality of texts written in artful language; hence these texts would compose the totality of knowledge, that is, they might include scientific,

legal, medical, and other texts. This perception of Byz. literature as inclusive of all forms of writing (*pis'mennost'*, *Schrifttum* in Russian and German terminology) is retained by the best modern scholars, such as Krumbacher, Hunger, and Beck. Attempts have been made, however, to distinguish between the entire body of writing produced in the Byz. era and literature in the narrower sense (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 1–21; J.-L. van Dieten, *HistZ* 231 [1980] 101–09).

Traditionally, Byz. literature has been divided into three categories: secular works in the "pure" (artificial) LANGUAGE, literature in VERNACULAR, and theological literature. This categorization is illogical, however, because it is based on two different principles (language and contents), and because the distinction between secular and theological literature or between pure and vernacular dialect is often too conventional. For example, the classification of hagiography as a theological genre and the *Digenes Akritas* and *Stephanites and Ichneutes* as vernacular works is debatable. I. Ševčenko (*JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289–312) suggested a different classification, whose core is the existence of three levels of STYLE (high, middle, and low), reflecting social and educational levels of writers and their public. Ševčenko's levels of style, however, are too close to the levels of grammar, and therefore limited, neglecting questions of imagery, composition, characterization of the hero, etc.; and these levels of style remain static throughout time.

Questions of language, geographical distribution, and chronology also need to be considered in treating Byz. literature. Traditionally, the framework of Byz. literature has encompassed works written in medieval Greek regardless of the place of their creation, that is, including Arab Syria (John of Damascus) and Norman Italy (Eugenios of Palermo). The mid-6th C. is sometimes chosen as a starting point, mainly on the formal and technical ground that 19th-C. textbooks on ancient literature extended their coverage to ca. 550. This date does not coincide, however, with the traditional periodization of Byz. history (see BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF) or art. In this article, Byz. literature is defined as having been written between the early 4th and mid-15th C.

Until recently, Byz. literature was considered to have had little aesthetic value and was viewed either as an inferior continuation of its Greco-Roman and patristic or biblical models, or (as far

as vernacular works are concerned) praised for the qualities that made it a predecessor of modern Greek literature. In fact, medieval authors in both East and West did develop new ethical values and aesthetic approaches, for example: (1) "objectivization" of the AUTHOR, whose external MODESTY and avowed lack of cultivation stood in sharp contrast to his proud self-conception as possessing final truth; (2) a shift from the spoken word toward the BOOK, that is, from public oral presentation toward individual reading, that led to the extinction of the THEATER, a predominant genre of classical literature, and the limitation (at least temporary) of RHETORIC; (3) presentation of the *dramatis personae* as allegorical rather than "real" figures, so that the hero became an embodiment of all moral values and the antihero a bearer of all vices; (4) sympathy for humankind, which transformed the author from a dispassionate observer of human deeds and errors, virtues and vices into one deeply involved with human sorrows and sufferings; and (5) the idea of the stability and immutability of the cosmos and man, which was reflected in the preservation of obsolete and artificial language, in IMITATION (*mimesis*), in the consistent relating of the present to the past, so that the events and personalities described were interpreted as reproductions of ancient events, biblical or patristic models. These principles were connected with general trends of Byz. CULTURE. They were neither created in an instant at the beginning of Byz. history, nor did they remain unchanged or unopposed during the thousand years of the empire, but they formed the mainstream of Byz. literature.

Although some ancient GENRES survived, the system of genres was restructured. Ancient drama was criticized for immorality and replaced by the emphatically repetitive world of LITURGY; POETRY, also a predominantly oral form of literature, was either attached to liturgical purposes (HYMN) or remained, at least after the 7th C., at the fringe of literary life, mainly as EPIGRAM. EPIC gradually vanished. The tendency to inculcate official moral and political values fostered the flourishing of genres such as SERMON, HAGIOGRAPHY, GNOMAI, and ADMONITIONS. The sphere of personal human relations remained underdeveloped, and accordingly EPISTOLOGRAPHY was consistently restricted to trivial formulas and standardized situations, and lyrical poetry was limited. HISTORIOGRAPHY,



the other hand, flourished: the Byz. were more interested in clashes of collective forces (Iconoclasts, Turks, etc.) than individuals (AUTOBIOGRAPHY was a rare genre).

Byz. literature can be divided into the following phases of development:

**1. Predominance of antique traditions** (4th–mid-7th C.), including such genres as lyrical poetry (Gregory of Nazianzos) and epic as well as elements of PAGANISM. Literary works were created in several languages (Greek, LATIN, SYRIAC), and Greeks such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Claudian happened to be the most significant Latin writers of the period, while Romanos the Melode, a Syrian or Jew, made a major contribution to the development of ecclesiastical poetry by using some oriental literary techniques. The major goal of the greatest writers (John Chrysostom, pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Prokopios of Caesarea) was to express new approaches, a new vision of the universe and man, of society, and expectations for the future in traditional literary forms bequeathed by the glorious past; among others Nonnos of Panopolis (or a contemporary of his) tried to reconcile Christianity with the inherited poetical forms in a poetic paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John. Less spectacular but more innovative were attempts in hagiography and chronicles to produce “modest” stories of miracles and miracle-workers who acted partly in a completely new setting, the desert (APOPTHEGMATA PATRUM), and partly in the traditional milieu of the urban community, whose values, however, they rejected (SYMEON OF EMESA).

**2. Period of relative silence**, the “dark ages” (mid-7th C.–ca.800), when some significant theologians were still active (Maximos the Confessor, Germanos I), esp. in Syria after the Arab conquest (John of Damascus), whereas hardly any historiography and hagiography were produced.

**3. Revival of the 9th–10th C.** (see ENCYCLOPEDIISM), starting with the development of MINUSCULE handwriting and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS written in uncial. Its first stage (800–850) was predominantly monastic and ecclesiastic, represented by such writers as Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Stoudios, Ignatios the Deacon, Niketas of Amnia, and the poet Kassia, even though some figures of the revival such as Patr. Tarasios and Nikephoros I began their careers as lay officials. After George Hamartolos, however,

there was no monastic writer of importance until Symeon the Theologian (ca.1000), and lay and ecclesiastical functionaries dominated the field. The most conspicuous feature of the period is the assembling of the ancient heritage: the edition of old masters such as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the tragedians; issuing collections of texts (GREEK ANTHOLOGY) or excerpts (sponsored by CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS), LEXIKA, and bibliographical entries (the BIBLIOTHECA of Photios). Even hagiography was put in order, both externally, by the assemblage of texts for liturgical purposes (Symeon Metaphrastes); and internally, when to the eccentric heroes of early vitae (desert fathers, prostitutes, women in male disguise, holy fools, stylites, etc.), which continued to be read, were added a few new types of hero, such as the generous almsgiver Philaretos the Merciful, the good matron Mary the Younger, and monks and nuns indoctrinating and obediently submitting to monastic discipline (Theodora of Thessalonike, Irene of Chrysobalanton). Theophanes the Confessor attempted to create a new type of historical writing: he adhered to the annalistic principle, and presented history as an eternal conflict between Good and Evil.

**4. Period of the 11th–mid-13th C.**, here conventionally called pre-Renaissance (see RENAISSANCE), seems to be a contradictory period: on the one hand, the literati reacted against the encyclopedistic emphasis on order and were involved in a search for personal and even mystical experience (Symeon the Theologian); on the other hand, ancient tradition was used, not only as a source of excerpts, but as a means for understanding reality (Eustathios of Thessalonike). The idea of expressing the author's personal experience was reborn (Psellos, Prodromos), and writers began to be openly proud of their talents. A new image of man was introduced, as one who united in a single person the positive qualities of the hero and negative qualities of the antihero (Psellos, Niketas Choniates). Topics of SEXUALITY, including love and nudity, were presented (even if rarely) side-by-side with officially sanctioned chastity, and from the 12th C. onward the genre of ROMANCE was revived, following Hellenistic models. A new chivalric ideal was developed, both in official rhetoric (Theophylaktos of Ohrid) and historiography (esp. Nikephoros Bryennios) and in the epic of *Digenes Akritas*. A new type of literati emerged: neither

monk nor bureaucratic functionary, but a professional poet or intellectual, claiming poverty (Prodromos, Tzetzes), or a “university” teacher (Michael Italikos, Eustathios). Vernacular began to be used sparingly as a language of literature. Some old genres, including hagiography, went temporarily out of fashion. The Byz. were becoming less “serious”—mild HUMOR, PUNS, self-mockery on the part of the author are all encountered in the period. Even the problems of artistic creativity were hotly discussed (Michael Choniates).

**5. Final period** (13th–15th C.) characterized by a revival of hagiography, an increasingly tragic perception of history (Chalkokondyles), a sense of incompetence in comparison with antique predecessors (Metochites), and introduction of the topic of failure and the defeat of the hero (John VI Kantakouzenos). Former confidence in God's perpetual assistance and in final victory over the barbarians was lost. Contacts with Western literature increased: the late Byz. romance was influenced by Western chivalrous literature. The heroes of works produced in regions of Latin domination (Peloponnesos, Epiros, Crete) were Latins or heavily latinized seigneurs (CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO). A small group of authors, mostly converts to Catholicism, learned Latin and began the TRANSLATION of both ancient and medieval Latin writers into Greek; a few emigrated to Italy, where they taught Greek and encouraged the translation of ancient Greek literature (primarily philosophy) into Latin. The perception of social injustice became sharper (Alexios Makrembolites), esp. in vernacular FABLES. A tendency to bring narrative “closer to the earth” led to the poetization of human weakness and vices (Stephen Sachlikes). On the other hand, the tendency to preserve the “dead” language along with classical stylistics remained quite strong, and the authors of this vein (Plethon, Bessarion) had great influence upon the Italian Renaissance.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*<sup>2</sup> (Munich 1897). H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich 1978). Beck, *Kirche* 371–798. Idem, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich 1971). S.S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). A.P. Kazhdan, S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris 1984). Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.1 (1971), 69–92. —A.K.

**LITERATURE, DIDACTIC**, works written to instruct or convey facts (rather than to entertain—as in historiography, hagiography, or romance—or fulfill a ceremonial purpose); of necessity a large and diverse group. Categories of writing that can be classed under this heading include handbooks written for use in the schoolroom on, for example, grammar or meter (cf. SCHEDOGRAPHIA, EPIMERISMS, EROTAPOKRISEIS, PROGYMNASMATATA, LEXIKA) as well as on music, legal terms, etc.; a number of these were in POLITICAL VERSE (for example, by Michael PSELLOS and John TZETZES) or the rhythms of religious literature (e.g., the grammatical KANONES of Niketas of Serres), presumably as a mnemonic device. Also to be classed as didactic are works written on such subjects as ASTRONOMY, MATHEMATICS, MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY, and natural science.

LIT. A. Garzya, “Testi litterari d'uso strumentale,” *JÖB* 31 (1981) 272–83. —E.M.J.

**LITHOSORIA** (τὰ Λιθοσώρια), battle site of unknown location. In Oct. 774 Constantine V learned that the Bulgar khan TELERIC had dispatched an army of 12,000 to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. Berzitia's whereabouts and ethnic composition are unknown; the inhabitants may have been Slavs dwelling in Byz. territory. Constantine promptly raised a large army (reportedly 80,000 strong) and fell on the Bulgars at Lithosoria, winning a “great victory” (Theoph. 447.23) and returning to Constantinople in triumph. It is unclear whether the name Lithosoria (“stone piles”) indicated an actual town, a natural landmark, or an artificial marker of the border between Byz. and Bulgaria.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:227–33. V. Beševliev, “Die Feldzüge des Kaisers Konstantin V. gegen die Bulgaren,” *EtBalk* 7.3 (1971) 15f. Idem, *Geschichte* 225f. —P.A.H.

**LITHUANIA** (Λιθβᾶ, τὰ Λιθβαδά) originated as a state in the mid-13th C. It expanded under Gedymin (1316–41) and Olgerd (1345–77) into the principalities of SMOLENSK and KIEV, becoming a rival to Moscow and Tver' for control over Russia, and under Vitovt (1392–1430) expanded further along the lower DNEIPER to the BLACK SEA. Byz. policy focused on the issue of church organization. Until 1386 Lithuania was officially pagan: Byz. sources refer to its inhabitants and



esp. the king as fire-worshippers (e.g., Greg. 3:514.7-9; MM 2:12.21, 117.32-33), and in 1364 Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS canonized victims of Olgerd. There was, however, an Orthodox population. A metropolis may have been established as early as 1299-1300, although the only well-attested incumbents are Theophilos (ca. 1315-30), Theodoret (1352-54), Romanos (1355-62), and KIPRIAN (1375-81). Such appointments split the see of "Kiev and all Russia," of which Lithuania began to be considered an independent part, characterized in the title of the Polish king as Litborhosia, i.e., Lithuania-Rossia (MM 2:280.22). In an *ekthesis* of Andronikos II it was stated that Andronikos and Patr. John XIII Glykys transformed *ta Litbada*, the district (*enoria*) of "Great Rossia," into a metropolis (*Notitiae CP*, no. 17.83). This action could be seen as antagonistic toward Moscow. In 1386 Lithuania and POLAND came under the sole rule of Jagiello (1377-1432), who converted to Catholicism. Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:125.3-19) described Lithuania as a vast Catholic country with a distinctive language (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 96f).

LIT. R. Misiunas, "The Orthodox Church in the Lithuanian State," *Lituanus* 14.3 (1968) 5-28. Meyendorff, *Russia* 55-61, 161-72, 182-99. I.B. Grekov, *Očerki po istorii meždunarodnykh otnošenij Vostočnoj Evropy XIV-XVI vv.* (Moscow 1963) 74-118. —S.C.F.

**LITOS** (λίτος, "simple"), term applied to a certain category of titled dignitaries. In describing the future emperor Marcian as a *stratiotes litos*, Theophanes (Theoph. 104.2) uses the word in a non-technical sense of "common, plain." In the *TAKTIKA* of the 9th C. and 10th C. the term appears as a synonym of the *APRATOS* to characterize a dignitary without function. In descriptions of MSS, the term *litos* seems to describe UNCIAL script.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:153f.

—A.K.

**LITRA** (λίτρα, Lat. *libra*), unit of weight of various sizes.

1. The most important Byz. measure of weight was the *logarike litra* ("pound of calculation"), established by Constantine I in 309 or 310 as the basis of the monetary system: 1 *logarike litra* of gold = 72 SOLIDI or EXAGIA = 12 OUNGIAI = 1,728 KERATIA = 6,912 SITOKOKKA = 1/100 KENTENARION. The exact weight of the *logarike litra* is

disputed; its theoretical norm seems to have been slowly debased from approximately 324 g to 319 g. The *logarike litra* is normally simply called *litra*, but it could also be termed *chrysaphike* (gold) or *thalassia* (maritime) *litra*; sometimes in classicizing texts it is called *mna* or even *talanton*. The *logarike litra* could also be a measure of land: 1 *logarike litra* = 1/40 *thalassios MODIOS*.

2. The *soualia litra* was a special unit reserved for weights of oil or wood = 4/5 *logarike litra* = 256 g; 30 *soualiai litrai* of olive oil = 1 *thalassion METRON*.

3. In regions such as Cyprus and Trebizond, which had regular contact with Islamic lands, a special *argyrike* (silver) *litra* of 12.5 *logarikai oungiai* (= 333 g) existed alongside the other units. It was apparently related to the Arab *ratl* of 337.6 g.

4. In the later period various "pounds" of local circulation were in use, partly of Arab, Italian, or Turkish origin.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 277f.

—E. Sch.

**LITTLE ENTRANCE** (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος), ritual procession that introduces the LITURGY of the Word, in which the deacon, accompanied by the priest(s) and servers, carries the EVANGELION from the altar into the nave and through the *TEMPLON* back to the altar. It symbolizes Christ's coming as Logos and is a ritual remnant of the entrance of clergy and people into church at what was once the beginning of the liturgy. At first accomplished in silence, this procession was embellished in the 6th C. with a prayer and antiphonal PSALMODY with two refrains, first the TRISAGION, then, under Justinian I, the *MONOGENES*.

At the solemn pontifical Eucharist, celebrated by the patriarch or a bishop, the Little Entrance remained a true introit procession until at least the 12th C. (Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy" 105-10): the patriarch, waiting in the narthex, recited the introit prayer evoking the vision of the heavenly sanctuary as the Imperial Doors of Hagia Sophia stood open before him and he gazed down the nave. The entrance of the patriarch, accompanied by the chanting of the introit antiphon (Ps 94), sung as the procession moved forward, presaged the appearance among the people of the Heavenly Celebrant himself.

On entering the sanctuary, the patriarch kissed the *ENDYTE* and revered the altar with candles

and incense while the *Trisagion* was sung; he then went to his throne in the apse for the *LECTIONS*. When the emperor participated, he joined the patriarch in the narthex and proceeded with him down the nave of the church and into the sanctuary where he offered gifts (*De cer.*, bk. 1, ch. 9, ed. Reiske 64f). An imperial entrance procession of this sort has been depicted in the mosaics of San Vitale in RAVENNA.

Called by Maximos the Confessor "entrance of the people with the bishop" (PG 91:688D) and by Patr. Germanos I "entrance of the Gospel" (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par. 24), it was only later called "Little" Entrance (Diataxis of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Hai treis leitourgiai kata tous en Athenais kodikas*, ed. P. Trempelas [Athens 1935] p. 6) to distinguish it from the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 27f, 71-90. Taft, *East & West* 170-77. —R.F.T.

**LITURGICAL BOOKS** are of two kinds: books that contain liturgical texts actually used in the services, and books that regulate how those texts are to be used. The texts themselves comprise fixed and variable elements.

Books of the "ordinary," or invariable, part of the LITURGY are the *archieratikon* and *EUCHOLOGION*, for the use of the bishop and presbyter; the *DIAKONIKON*, for the deacon; and the *HOROLOGION*, for monks, choir, or *anagnostes* at the liturgical HOURS. Books of the variable, or "proper," parts include the various types of *LECTIONARY*; anthologies of *SERMONS* (*panegyrikon*, *MENOLOGION*); and the *SYNAXARION* and the Psalter (the *antiphonarion* and *psalter[ion]*, see *PSALMODY*), used for the eucharistic service and for liturgical hours by deacon, *anagnostes*, and the SINGERS. The *OKTOECHOS*, *TRIODION*, and *PENTEKOSTARION*, books for the mobile feasts of the church CALENDAR, are hymn books for the use of the choir, as is the *MENAION* for the fixed feasts.

These last four books are the result of liturgical changes in the post-Iconoclastic period, when new texts composed for the developing poetical form, the *KANON* sung during *ORTHROS*, supersede older compositions such as the acrostic *KONTAKION*. The separate liturgical books that contained these older compositions, namely the *kontakarion*, *STICHERARION*, *tropologion*, and *HEIRMOLOGION*, were thus rendered obsolete.

The liturgical *TYPIKON* governs the services and, when the multiple "proprs" conflict, regulates which is to prevail. The *DIATAXIS* is a book of rubrics, telling the celebrants what to do when, esp. at the celebration of Eucharist. The distinction between liturgical books is often blurred, that is, material in one book may appear in another as well. Other liturgical books are but extracts of those already mentioned (for *leitourgikon*, *hieratikon*, *hagiasmaterion*, see *EUCHOLOGION*).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 246-62. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1900) 327-478.

—R.F.T.

**LITURGICAL DIPTYCHS.** See *DIPTYCHS*, *LITURGICAL*.

**LITURGICAL HOURS.** See *HOURS*, *LITURGICAL*.

**LITURGICAL PLATE.** See *PATEN* and *ASTERISKOS*.

**LITURGICAL ROLLS.** See *ROLLS*, *LITURGICAL*.

**LITURGICAL VESSELS** (σκεύη λειτουργικά) and related objects formed part of the church treasures. From at least the 4th C. onward they comprised several main categories of objects used for the rites of the EUCHARIST (CHALICE, *PATEN* and *ASTERISKOS*, SPOONS, ewers for wine and water) and BAPTISM (basin for water, flask for oil). Other objects (e.g., the *RHIPIDION*, Gospel BOOK COVER, RELIQUARY, CROSS, CENSER, *CHERNIBOXESTON*, and LIGHTING fixtures)—often of valuable materials—used in the church were not essential to the performance of the liturgy. Although liturgical vessels are known in glass, precious stones, and marble, they were most often made of precious metal, sometimes gold but mainly silver, the earliest extant set in the latter metal being the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure from Roman Britain (K.S. Painter, *The Water Newton Early Christian Silver* [London 1977]). By the 10th-11th C., chalices and patens were also made of tinned copper (e.g., *DOCat* 1, nos. 89-90).

While liturgical vessels and objects of the 4th-7th C. bore dedicatory inscriptions, those made

later often had scriptural legends instead. The most elaborate surviving examples are spoils of the Fourth Crusade, now in the Treasury of S. Marco, Venice. The two 10th-C. chalices inscribed with the name Romanos and a matching paten rank among the remarkable achievements of the Byz. minor arts (M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 129–40, 168–70). The inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, of 1396 still lists chalices of semiprecious stone or rock crystal mounted in gilt silver and several others of repoussé silver (MM 2:566.21–22). Most church inventories refer to more than one set of liturgical vessels (e.g., *Pantel.*, no. 7.13, 45). Even though canon law considered liturgical vessels to be inalienable, churches could be coerced (as under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos) to give up their treasures in times of extreme political danger.

LIT. J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich 1932). M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore 1986). A.A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris (1081–1095)* (Thessalonike 1972) 54–61.

—M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

**LITURGICAL VESTMENTS.** See ENCHEIRION; EPIGONATION; EPIMANIKIA; EPITRACHELION; OMO-PHORION; ORARION; PHELONION; POLYSTAURION; STICHARION.

**LITURGICAL YEAR.** See YEAR, LITURGICAL.

**LITURGY** (λειτουργία, lit. “service”), in the New Testament a life of service modeled on Jesus’ self-giving; also, church services (SACRAMENTS, esp. EUCHARIST, BAPTISM; other AKOLOUTHIAI) that memorialize this mystery in obedience to Jesus’ command.

Liturgical ceremonies involve the symbolic use of sensible objects such as BREAD, WINE, water, OIL, salt, CANDLES, INCENSE, ICONS, furnishings (ALTAR, baptismal FONT), vesture (ecclesiastical COSTUME, baptismal robe), edifices (church, BAPTISTERY, *skeuophylakeion*), and ritual GESTURES or actions such as ANOINTING, blessing, signing, bathing or washing, imposition of hands, touching, kissing, dressing or stripping, eating, processions, PROSKYNESIS, KNEELING, and other postures. These objects and signs have an agreed-upon meaning

expressed in the formulas that accompany the ritual. Though rooted in natural symbolism, the prime significance of liturgical symbols derives from their New Testament transformation into signs of God’s saving work in Jesus (e.g., the LORD’S SUPPER, the bath of baptism). Secondary symbols and gestures (e.g., the baptismal anointings) were added later to explicate this core.

The liturgy was usually presided over by a minister in priestly orders (bishop or presbyter) and directed by a deacon who regulated the gestures and posture of the congregation via instructions (DIAKONIKA) and announced the intentions of their prayer (LITANY). The liturgical system of a church, comprising the totality of its particular rites and usages, is also called a “rite” (LATIN RITE, BYZ-ANTINE RITE).

Liturgical ceremonies contain both fixed and variable elements. The “ordinary” is the basic skeleton that remains invariable regardless of the day, feast, or season. The texts of the ordinary express a service’s changeless purpose; for example, VESPERS is always evening prayer. The “proper” comprises those pieces (LECTIONS, HYMNS, PSALMODY, refrains, etc.) that vary with the day, feast, or season. Christmas Vespers is evening prayer in commemoration of the Nativity. The texts of the proper are contained in a variety of different LITURGICAL BOOKS.

In Byz. the term *liturgy* refers specifically to the ritual of the Eucharist, often called the Divine Liturgy (*he theia leitourgia*) of which there were two parallel Constantinopolitan formularies, attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who seemingly elaborated an existing anaphora of the Apostles, and to BASIL THE GREAT, who is believed to have authored at least one of the redactions of the anaphora named for him (A. Raes, *REB* 16 [1958] 158–61; G. Wagner, *Der Ursprung des Chrysostomusliturgie* [Münster 1973]). Each formulary comprises 19 PRAYERS (*euchai*), the main one a borrowed Antiochene-type ANAPHORA (Chrysostom’s from Antioch, Basil’s from Cappadocia), elaborated and embedded in a common ritual setting and structure of *diakonika*, lections, psalmody, and CHANTS. Ten of these prayers are later additions common to both liturgies.

The liturgy of Basil predominated in Byz. until ca. 1000, when that of Chrysostom took over; the liturgy of Basil was thereafter celebrated only ten times a year (Sundays of Lent; 1 Jan.; Thursday

and Saturday of HOLY WEEK; and the VIGILS of Nativity and Epiphany, the two feasts with *paramone*). Byz. authors claim, dubiously, that this change occurred because the Chrysostom liturgy was shorter.

In its full form, largely complete by the 12th C., the liturgy had four major parts: (1) the PROTHESIS rite, or preliminary preparation of the bread and wine; (2) the *enarxis*, or introductory service of three ANTIPHONS, litanies, and prayers (Mateos, *La parole* 27–90); (3) the Liturgy of the Word, which opened with the LITTLE ENTRANCE and TRISAGION, comprising scripture lections interspersed with psalmody and concluding by litanies and prayers (*ibid.*, 91–173); (4) the Liturgy of Eucharist, which opened with the GREAT ENTRANCE and included the preanaphoral rites, anaphoral dialogue, anaphora, precommunion (including FRACTION, ZEON), COMMUNION, thanksgiving, and DISMISSAL.

The early liturgy, described in the homilies of John Chrysostom at Constantinople in 397–404 (van de Pavard, *Messliturgie* 425–535), was a classical late antique Eucharist whose texts had been marked by the Arian controversy and the definitions of the First Council of Nicaea. In the 5th–6th C., esp. with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the liturgy became “imperial,” acquiring greater ritual splendor. This period witnessed the addition of the Creed and three important chants: Trisagion, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON.

In the 5th–7th C. the liturgy was esp. marked by the developing Constantinopolitan system of station services (J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* [Rome 1987] 167–226). In such a system the entire city was “liturgical space,” and the principal liturgy of a feast, held at a predetermined “station” (SYNAXIS), was preceded by a procession (LITE) up to 10 km long. Though frequent in the 6th–7th C., such processions later took place in Constantinople only on certain important occasions. Several elements of the first half of the liturgy, however—the opening of the *synapte* litany, the three antiphons, the *Trisagion* and its accompanying prayer, and the *ektene* litany after the Gospel—derive from these processions.

Other developments include the addition of litanies to cover the priests’ silent recitation of the prayers and, in the 9th–12th C., the evolution of the prothesis rite and the addition of certain formulas to the preanaphoral rites. Much of this later

development was the retroinfluence of mystagogic interpretations of the liturgy as a representation of Jesus’ early life (see COMMENTARIES).

Especially characteristic of the liturgy are the introits, or entrances, which open and symbolize the two major parts of the service. The Little Entrance symbolizes Christ’s coming as Word (Logos); the Great Entrance prefigures his coming in the sacrament of his body and blood. Both these foreshadowings are fulfilled in two later appearances—when the deacon proceeds to the ambo for the proclamation of the Gospel, and when the priest comes out to distribute the consecrated gifts in communion—thus completing the symbolic structure of the liturgy.

As the liturgy underwent increased monastic influence, esp. after Iconoclasm and after the Latin occupation of Constantinople, these ritual processions were gradually compressed; once functional entrances, they were increasingly confined to the interior space of a church and reduced to purely symbolic ritual turns that end where they began. The churches themselves became smaller and smaller, and the ritual more private, retreating into the enclosed sanctuary, as the TEMPLON evolved into the iconostasis. The SYNTHRONON, once elevated so that the clergy could see and be seen, disappeared from the apse; lections and SERMONS became a ritualized formality, and communion, the point of the whole liturgy, became a dead letter as fewer and fewer communicants approached to receive the sacrament.

The STOUDITE TYPIKA introduced into the liturgy some usages from the monastic hours (e.g., the *typika* [see PRESANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF THE] and the *apolytis*, or dismissal); the mid-14th-C. *diataxis* of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and the SABAITIC TYPIKA fixed the final ceremonial and use of the liturgy in Byz.

ED. F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I. Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896). Eng. tr. *The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with Appendices* (New York 1967).

LIT. H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York 1986). Taft, *East & West*, esp. 167–92. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York 1945; rp. 1982).

—R.F.T.

**LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA** (also Liuzo and other forms), Lombard statesman and historian; born ca. 920, died before 20 July 972 (?), certainly



before 5 Mar. 973. Liutprand was raised at the court of Hugh, king of Italy (927–47), became a deacon at Pavia, and served in Berengar II's (950–61) chancery before defecting to OTTO I and probably joining his chapel (958–61; homily delivered there, ed. B. Bischoff, *Anecdota novissima* [Stuttgart 1984] 24–34). Liutprand accompanied Otto to Italy, received the bishopric of Cremona, helped depose two popes, and figured prominently in Otto's service (962–70; cf. his *Book of the Deeds of Otto*). Liutprand knew a surprising amount of Greek (J. Koder, *infra*, against B.S. Karageorgos, *Liutprandos ho episkopos Kremones hos historikos kai diplomates* [Athens 1978]); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. CLM 6388 suggests that Liutprand or members of his milieu were among the first Westerners to use Greek MINUSCULE. Liutprand's father and stepfather had conducted embassies to Constantinople (927 and 942), and Liutprand visited Byz. at least three times (Koder, *infra* 60). His embassy (17 Sept. 949–31 Mar. 950 or later) on Berengar's behalf brought him familiarity with the Byz. court and friendship with CONSTANTINE VII; Liutprand may have supplied data for *De administrando imperio*, ch.26 (*De adm. imp.* 108–12; cf. R.J.H. Jenkins, *ibid.*, 2:83–87). His second embassy (4 June–2 Oct. 968), which was supposed to settle relations in Italy and obtain from NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS a Byz. bride for Otto II, was a failure. Whether Liutprand participated in the embassy of 971 that brought THEOPHANO to Otto II is unknown.

Liutprand's knowledge, acute observation, and literary talent combine with a quicksilver personality and polemical or humorous distortions to produce a penetrating—but often disingenuous—account of Byz. diplomacy, court politics and ceremonial, and daily life. His *Antapodosis* (Tit for Tat), an unfinished history of Byz., Germany, and Italy (888–949) composed between 958 and 962, began as literary retribution against Berengar. Despite muddled chronology, its anecdotal account is rich in Byz. data. Descriptions of events from before Liutprand's lifetime derive from oral sources—possibly in Constantine VII's milieu—or lost written sources shared with surviving Byz. historians. The *Antapodosis* reports, for example, the claim that the Nea Ekklesia was Basil I's expiation for murdering Michael III (bk.1, ch.10 [ed. Becker, p.9.1–20]; cf. bk.3, chs. 33–34 [pp. 89.21–90.5]), the nocturnal security of Constan-

tinople (1.11 [pp. 11.3–13.6]), Byz. relations with Italy (2.45 [pp. 57.17–58.7]; 2.52–54 [p.62.4–25]; 3.22–38 [pp. 82–92]; 5.9 [pp. 134.33–135.9]; 5.14–15 pp. 137.8–139.4, esp. on the Rus'), and with Romanos I (5.20 [pp. 141.16–145.19]), while book 6 (pp. 152–58, apparently incomplete) glowingly describes Liutprand's first embassy to Constantinople.

Liutprand's *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* (Narrative of an Embassy to Constantinople) testily depicts the second embassy in a report to Otto I (possibly intended as propaganda against Byz.—M. Lintzel, *Studien über Liutprand von Cremona* [Berlin 1933] 35–56; cf. W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 54 [1961] 28–52). Its accurate portrait of daily life (e.g., food, ch.20 [p.186.15–21]), Nikephoros II, his court, its acclamations, ceremonies (e.g., the Pentecost procession and banquet, chs. 8–13 [pp. 180.14–183.12]), and personalities (Leo Phokas, Basil the Nothos) is infused with sarcasm and malevolent interpretation, perhaps inspired in part by Liutprand's earlier warm relations with Constantine VII.

ED. J. Becker, *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona* [MGH SRG 41] (Hannover-Leipzig 1915). Tr. F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona* (London 1930).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 1:318–21. O. Kresten, "Pallida mors Saracenorum," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 17 (1975) 23–75. J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1980). M. Rentschler, *Liutprand von Cremona* (Frankfurt am Main 1981). —M.McC.

**LIVESTOCK.** The Byz. raised HORSES, OXEN, water buffalo, CAMELS, donkeys, mules, SWINE, SHEEP, and GOATS. Cadastral records of the late Roman Empire suggest a serious understocking, in some regions at least (C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:95). Later the situation changed: already in the FARMER'S LAW cattle breeding apparently took priority over the cultivation of the soil. In the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN was astonished at the amount of stock he saw on Patmos, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and the Norman jongleur AMBROISE emphasized the abundance of victuals, cattle, fowl, and wine on Cyprus (M.J. Hubert, J.J. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart* [New York 1941] 92, 106f). Especially rich in cattle and flocks were lands in Anatolia east of the Sangarios (Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Lykandos, etc.) and in Bulgaria. The evidence of bones found in excavations in Bulgaria indicates that by the 12th C. there

was, at least in some areas, an increase in the percentage of cattle among the livestock, which suggests a higher level of agricultural production (Ž. Vůžarova, *Slavjano-bŭlgarskoto selišče kraj selo Popina* [Sofia 1956] 89). LEO OF SYNADA (ep.54.28–34) reports that Pylae in Asia Minor was a center of livestock trade in the 10th C.; it was choked with pigs, asses, cattle, horses, and sheep—all destined for the capital. As late as the 14th C. great landowners such as John VI Kantakouzenos possessed enormous herds in Thrace.

Livestock were used for dairy products (esp. CHEESE) and MEAT, for pulling CARTS and FLOWS, and as BEASTS OF BURDEN. The animals also provided valuable manure for enriching the soil. In certain areas of Asia Minor, as attested by Leo of Synada (ep.43.9–11), dung mixed with straw was burned in place of wood.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 54–56. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:310–30. —J.W.N., A.K.

**LIZIOS** (λίζιος), liege; a Byz. term appropriating the Western feudal concept of liege-homage, applied during the 12th and 13th C. to Westerners with whom the emperor established a personal bond, yet not used in his relationships with Greek subjects of the empire. The first Greek source to use the term *lizios* is the *Alexiad* (An.Komn. 3:125.28–30). In the account of the treaty of Devol in 1108 between Alexios I and the defeated Norman prince Bohemund, the latter promised to be faithful to the emperor as "the liege-man (*lizios anthropos*) of your scepter" and to give him assistance against all enemies of the empire, as was his duty as a vassal (*oiketes kai hypocheirios*). In recognition of this, the principality of Antioch was granted to Bohemund as an imperial fief (R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* [Munich 1981] 67–69). Among the *lizioi* of the 12th C. were princes such as RAYMOND OF POITIERS and Ladislav of Bohemia and high-ranking functionaries such as Roger "Sclaus" and THEORIANOS; in the 13th C. the wealthy *kaballarios* Syrgares (possibly Sir Harry), a *pronoia* holder in the area of Smyrna, was titled *lizios*. The term could be used for a designation of collective vassalage: thus the citizens of Ancona acknowledged themselves as *lizioi* of Manuel I (Nik.Chon. 201.13); in 1273 Michael VIII recognized the Genoese of Galata as "his men (*idioi*) or *lizioi*, as one of them might

say" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:471.8). The term seems to have disappeared thereafter.

LIT. J. Ferluga, "La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 97–123. —M.B.

**LOAN** (δανειον), the conveyance of money or other movable things on the understanding that the recipient will return to the donor analogous objects in the same quantity. The loan differs from a loan for use (CHRESIS, COMMODATUM), which had as its object the mere use of things (movable or immovable) given on condition that they be returned as such. Moreover, the loan for use was free of charge, while the loan proper had to be repaid. Technically speaking, a MISTHOSIS (*locatio-conductio*) fell between a loan and a loan for use, since, in that case, a remuneration (*misthos*) was paid for a transmission of use that did not lead to ownership. Justinianic law preserved these older Roman distinctions quite exactly, as did the legal texts of the 9th–11th C. (e.g., *Basilika*, *Prochiron*, Michael Attaleiates) and Constantine Harmenopoulos. However, as the dearth of surviving loan-formulas shows, practice appears to have been otherwise. The actual situation is unfortunately poorly understood, since the Byz. credit system which was closely connected with loan contracts, has been examined only from papyri down to the 7th C. It is therefore unclear to what extent the circumstances assumed by Justinian I in novel 136 (a.535) on bankers' contracts actually held true for later periods. The regulations found in the *Book of the Eparch* for jewelers (ch.2) and bankers (ch.3) yield scarcely any information about business transactions. The 11th-C. TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS deals less with the nature of credit than with rules governing the precedence of various claims secured by PIGNUS (e.g., claims on the dowry or claims of the state, etc.) and is, moreover, completely academic. Yet a case handled by Demetrios Chomatenos (no.92) shows that the practice of obtaining a loan to cultivate a field in the 13th C. differs little from that found in the Hellenistic papyri. The remuneration paid for a loan was called INTEREST (*tokos*).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:369–73 (§262). —D.S.

**LOCKS AND PADLOCKS.** In addition to sliding and turning key-lock systems to secure doors and cabinets, the Byz. made extensive use of portable



padlocks. Only a limited number survive, but many are represented near the broken doors of Hades in images of the ANASTASIS. Most are "spring padlocks," so-called because the bolt is held in place by iron flange-springs that expand inside the lock chamber until, like barbs on an arrow, they cannot be removed. The bolt-flanges are compressed and the lock opened by means of a sliding KEY, which consists of an open circular or rectangular bit attached at right angles to a long, narrow shaft. The bit is fitted over the end of the flange and then pressed forward to compress it and release the bolt. Most spring padlocks are barrel-shaped, although some are adapted to animal forms (e.g., bulls and horses).

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 6f.

—G.V.

**LOCULUS**, the shelflike grave often found carved into the walls of the corridors and cubicles of CATACOMBS. The *loculi* of the Roman catacombs were usually no larger than the space needed to set one body parallel to the wall; on occasion, however, *loculi* were intended to house more than one burial. In the catacombs and tombs of the eastern Mediterranean, and often in the Jewish catacombs, *loculi* were set perpendicular rather than parallel to the wall. After the burial of the body, the *loculus* was covered with a marble or terra-cotta plaque, usually bearing a prayer and an identifying inscription, and sealed with cement.

LIT. P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma* (Bologna 1966) 135f.

—W.T.

**LOCUS SANCTUS** (ἅγιος τόπος), literally, a "holy place"; practically, the goal of the pilgrim; the term *hagios topos* is attested on pilgrims' AMPULLAE. Because sanctity was believed to be physically transferable, and objects or places thus sanctified were deemed worthy of adoration and contact, Christians were impelled toward PILGRIMAGE. A *locus sanctus* might be the site of a biblical event—those of the Old Testament greatly outnumbering those from the New Testament—or the home of a famous RELIC or a SAINT; some holy sites, like that of St. MENAS, were popular healing shrines, with only loose religious associations. The most famous *loca sancta* were those in Palestine associated with the birth, miracles, and esp. the Passion of Christ, although lesser sites in great variety

dotted the entire eastern Mediterranean. With the expansion of pilgrimage in the 5th–6th C., the choice and sequence of *loca sancta* to be visited in and around JERUSALEM came to be fixed. Indeed, the visit itself involved a kind of protocol, which would typically include prayers, Bible readings, physical contact, and, when possible, participation in the appropriate stationary liturgy. The entire process would be facilitated by local guides, guide books and maps, and, perhaps, by an *Onomastikon* (such as that of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA), a volume giving the local names for biblical sites. *Loca sancta* influenced art in two ways: through the often grand and innovative architectural monuments that sprang up along the pilgrims' routes, and through the various EULOGIAI which the travelers brought home with them.

LIT. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensburg 1950). G. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982).

—G.V.

**LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS**, conventional label for a closely interrelated series of 6th- and 7th-C. octagonal gold marriage rings bearing scenes from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE on the facets of the hoop. All but one show on the bezel the crowning of the bridal couple by Christ and the Virgin (see RINGS, MARRIAGE; MARRIAGE CROWNS). That they served as AMULETS—probably directed toward successful procreation—is suggested by their octagonal design (Alex. Trall. 2:377.20), by their Christological cycle (traditionally associated with amuletic pilgrimage EULOGIAI), and by the inscription from Psalm 5 on one example, "Thou hast crowned us with a shield of favor." (See also MARRIAGE BELTS.)

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 83.

—G.V.

**LOGARIASTES** (λογαριαστής), financial official who functioned primarily as controller of expenses. The term is not mentioned in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. and is first attested in 1012 (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 140). Guiland (*infra* 102) refers to a seal of a *logariastes* of the 10th/11th C., but the date is later (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.400). *Logariastai* served in various departments—the VESTIARION, the *sekreton* of the SAKELLARIOS (on seals of the 12th C.), in the GENIKON (in an act of 1088), etc. *Logariastai* also served in provincial administration, in monasteries, and on

the estates of private individuals. The office of the *megas logariastes* was created by Alexios I and is mentioned for the first time in 1094; at the beginning he served as the general controller, along with the *sakellarios*, but eventually replaced him. In two documents of 1196 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 67–68) the *dikaiodotes* and *megas logariastes* Nicholas Tripsychos acts as the president of an important tribunal (P. Lemerle, *REB* 19 [1961] 264f). *Logariastai* are known up to the 15th C., the *megas logariastes* until the 14th. In the 14th C. a special *logariastes* of the *aule* (court) had the task of paying salaries to certain courtiers. The duties of the enigmatic *logariastes* of the chrysobulls (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.229) are unclear.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXI (1969), 101–17. Dölger, *Beiträge* 17–19.

—A.K.

**LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA** (lit. "the old and new [methods of tax] accounting"), a treatise on TAXATION that has survived in a single MS of the late 12th C. (Paris, B.N. gr. 1670). It was written after the death of Alexios I, either between 1118 and 1120 (Hendy, *infra* 50) or in 1134/5 (Svoronos, *infra* 108, n.2). The treatise consists of two sections. The first describes the method of estimation of surtaxes (PARAKOLOUTHEMATA) in proportion to the sum levied as *demosion* (KANON); the second part contains several reports (*hypomnestika*) of the fiscal officials of the early 12th C. and Alexios's *lyseis*, or responses (RESRIPTA). The task of the fiscal department as reflected in the treatise was to reconcile the actual situation in the provinces with the new principles created by the monetary reform of Alexios I. He required that instead of the miliaresion a nomisma had to be collected, the so-called *trachy palaion*, which served as the basis for estimating the *parakolouthemata*; the latter could be collected in copper coins.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:326–40.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 50–64. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–118.

—A.K.

**LOGIC**, a philosophical discipline concerned with distinctions between types of arguments (syllogisms) and their constituent elements (terms and propositions or premises) and with the conditions for formal validity in arguments. It developed in Byz., as it had in late antiquity, essentially in the

form of glosses, commentaries on, and paraphrases of the logical corpus of ARISTOTLE, the *Organon* (including the *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *On Sophistical Refutations*). NEOPLATONISM had already made substantial contributions to the field. PORPHYRY wrote an influential introduction (*Eisagoge*) to the *Organon*; his commentaries (which included elements of Stoic logic), together with the commentaries produced esp. by members of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria (in particular AMMONIOS, JOHN PHILOPONOS, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA) on various parts of the corpus, constituted, with the commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the paraphrases by THEMISTIOS, the foundation of work on Aristotelian logic. A long series of Byz. commentators and paraphrasers contributed to this scholarly tradition, among them Photios, Michael Psellos, Michael of Ephesus, Eustratios of Nicaea, Theodore Prodromos, Sophonias (late 13th C.), Theodore Metochites, Leo Magentenios (14th C.), George Pachymeres, John Pediasimos, and Manuel Holobolos. Because much of the Byz. material has not been properly edited or examined, it is not possible at present to write the history of the Byz. contribution to the science of logic.

Logic was considered by the commentators of the Alexandrian School as the instrument (*organon*) of philosophy and was thus taught at the beginning of the CURRICULUM. This remained the case in Byz.: a training in philosophy would normally include (and sometimes go no further than) study of the elements of logic. Didactic summaries were therefore produced by the Alexandrian commentators; those by David and Elias esp. were distilled further in the *Dialectics* of John of Damascus and in Photios's *Amphilochia*. Later Byz. synopses of logic include those by Psellos, John Italos, Blemmydes' *Compendium of Logic*, and the collections of Joseph Rhakendytes and John Chortasmenos.

As logic clearly belonged to pagan philosophy, the Byz. attitude to it was as to PHILOSOPHY in general. The teaching and use of logic could be justified on the grounds of the New Testament teaching that "every perfect gift is from above" (Jas 1:17) and that logic in particular is useful in the refutation of error. This approach, suggested by John of Damascus, was exemplified later in Eustratios of Nicaea's claim that Christ used syl-

logisms. Logic also suffered, however, from movements of rejection of pagan learning, esp. in the context of conflict with a Latin Scholastic theology characterized by logical formalism. Some Byz. intellectuals, however, found merit in such theological use of logic. The logic of Latin SCHOLASTICISM was made available in Planoudes' translation of Boethius and Gennadios II Scholarios's translation of Peter of Spain. Byz. thinkers influenced by Neoplatonism stressed the inapplicability of logic to transcendent realities and in particular to God. For speaking of God another kind of "logic" was appropriate, the logic of negation (apophatic logic) as formulated by pseudo-Dionysios, which went beyond the limits (and principles) of logic properly speaking.

LIT. S. Ebbessen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi* (Leiden 1981). T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). M. Roueché, "A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71–98. K.-H. Uthemann, "Zur Sprachtheorie des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 123–53. L. Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium," in *Gedankenzeichen: Festschrift für Klaus Oehler*, ed. R. Claussen, R. Daube-Schachat (Tübingen 1988) 3–12. —D.O'M.

**LOGOS** (λόγος, lit. "word, reason"), a philosophic concept, broadly used in STOICISM and by PHILO and accepted by early Christian theologians, interpreting Christ as the Logos of John 1:1–8. ORIGEN took over the concept of the Logos as a mediator standing between the creator and the created world, "the idea of ideas," that was elaborated in Platonism (see Krämer, *infra*) and corresponded to Philo's Logos and the image of the divine INTELLECT in PLOTINOS. The "Word of the Father" was equated with the Son of God (the second person of the TRINITY), the term Logos having various connotations and associations: primarily, the idea of revelation, reason, and will as well as creation and redemption.

The concept of the Son-Logos, however, produced certain difficulties: was the Son's SUBSTANCE the same as the Father's? How could one reconcile the idea of the Logos being generated by the Father with the thesis of the preexistence of the Logos? What was the relation between the divine Logos and the human nature of the incarnate Christ? Is the Logos-reason the property of

the Godhead (as in MONARCHIANISM) or a distinct HYPOSTASIS? If the Logos is distinct from the Father, does it mean that the Godhead could have been construed without the Logos-reason? After long disputes these problems found their solution in the concept of the TRINITY and of Christ's possession of two NATURES in one hypostatic union.

Some pre-Nicaean theologians, and sometimes later ones (e.g., SEVERIANOS OF GABALA), interpreted the Logos's work of redemption in categories of priesthood: the Logos, in his capacity of high priest, would offer sacrifice to God. On this basis, in the 12th C., Soterichos PANTEUGENOS rejected the traditional formula concerning the Eucharist as implying that the Logos was both offering and receiving the sacrifice; in contrast, NICHOLAS OF METHONE responded that the hypostatic union allows us to consider God as performing the human act of offering and the divine act of receiving.

LIT. H. Boeder, "Der frühgriechische Wortgebrauch von Logos und Aletheia," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 4 (1959) 82–112. A. Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee in der griechischen Philosophie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1896–99). W. Kelber, *Die Logoslehre von Heraklit bis Origenes* (Stuttgart 1958). H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*<sup>2</sup> (Amsterdam 1967). —K.-H.U.

**LOGOTHESION** (λογοθέσιον), the bureau of a LOGOTHETES. In the 6th C., however, in Justinianic legislation (Nov. 128.17–18), the term referred to municipal income outside the control of the praetorian prefect. By the beginning of the 9th C. the word acquired the meaning of a bureau: the vita of Niketas of Medikion (died 824) mentions a clerk of "the so-called *logothesion*" (AASS, Apr. 1, p.XX D [see back of vol.]). Usually the term was accompanied by a specification, such as *logothesion* of the GENIKON (Theoph. 367.23). Seals of CHARTOULARIOI of the *logothesion* of the *genikon* are known from the 8th C. onward (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 354–55); the *logothesion* of the *stratitikon* is also common on seals, while the *logothesion* of the DROMOS and of the "herds" (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON) are mentioned infrequently. Charters of the 10th and 11th C. mention *logothesia* but there is no evidence that the term survived much after this date. The usual designation of a department in 12th-C. charters is SEKRETON. In the ecclesiastical administrative system, according

to a *prostagma* of 1094, the "five *logothesia*" were supreme offices of the patriarchate (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 59). —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES** (λογοθέτης), generic term that in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. designated a high official (one of the SEKRETIKOI) at the head of one of many departments with primarily but not exclusively fiscal functions. The origin of the office is unclear: it has been connected by various scholars with Roman *numerarii*, *scrinarii*, or *rationales*; the term was used in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:133) and by church fathers for subaltern officials and auditors. The *Notitia dignitatum* does not include the term, but it was common in the 6th C. as a designation for fiscal controllers on various levels of the administrative ladder. The seals of simple *logothetai* are dated predominantly to the 6th or 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 269–71). A radical change in their status occurred around the 7th C. when the office of PRAETORIAN PREFECT lost its importance and individual departments became independent; the chiefs of some of these (DROMOS, GENIKON, *stratitikon*, and *agelai*) were called *logothetai* (see LOGOTHETES TON DROMOU, LOGOTHETES TON STRATIOTIKOU, LOGOTHETES TON AGELON). Alexios I tried to coordinate the civil administration under the control of a single official—the *logothetes ton sekreton* who was later replaced by the *megas logothetes*. The bureau (SEKRETON) of a *logothetes* was called a LOGOTHESION through the 11th C. The term *logothetes* was used for other functionaries, such as the LOGOTHETES TON PRAITORIOU. Patriarchal *logothetai* acquired special importance after the 12th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 359–62). Metropolitan *logothetai* seem to have had judicial functions (MM 6:99.14–15, a.1118; *Esphig.*, no.28.22, a.1387).

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 5–10. A. Semenov, "Über Ursprung und Bedeutung des Amtes der Logotheten in Byzanz," *BZ* 19 (1910) 440–49. —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES TON AGELON** (λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν), supervisor of the state herds of horses and mules. The office is first mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, while some seals of *logothetai ton agelon* are dated by Laurent to the 8th–9th C. It is generally agreed that the

*logothetes ton agelon* succeeded the *praepositus gregum* of the 4th C., although there is no direct evidence of the link. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, estates in Asia (i.e., western Asia Minor) and Phrygia were under the control of the *logothetes* of the herds. Strangely enough, Philotheos included the *logothetes ton agelon* in the category of STRATARCHAI rather than as a SEKRETIKOS like the other *logothetai*. The role of the logothete of herds probably increased during the 10th C. and reached its zenith by the end of the 13th C. when several men of importance, including Theodore METOCHITES, held the post in turn. The staff of the logothete of the herds in the 9th–10th C. consisted of *protonotarioi* of Asia and of Phrygia, administrators of *mitata* (estates), and *komites*; seals also mention the *ek prosopou* and *chartoularioi* of the department.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 71–75. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:289–99. —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES TON HYDATON** (λογοθέτης τῶν ὑδάτων, lit. "*logothetes* of the waters"), an obscure functionary mentioned only once: a late 11th-C. historian (Attal. 167.15–16) relates that the *logothetes ton hydaton* Basil Maleses was taken captive at Mantzikert in 1071. The functions of this *logothetes* are not clear; Ahrweiler (*Structures*, pt.II [1961], 250) identified him with the PARATHALASITES, Oikonomides (*Listes* 314, n.153) seems to equate him to the KOMES HYDATON.

LIT. N. Duyé, "Un haut fonctionnaire byzantin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Basile Malésès," *REB* 30 (1972) 167–78, and objections by A. Kazhdan-Ja. Ljubarskij, *BS* 34 (1973) 219f. —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES TON DROMOU** (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), head of the *sekretion* of the DROMOS, known since the 8th C. D.A. Miller (*infra* 469) identifies the first *logothetes tou dromou* as Leo, ca.762, while Guiland (*infra* 46) suggests that Gregory, an ambassador to the caliph in 742, was also *logothetes tou dromou*. The office derived from the *curiosus cursus publici praesentalis*, a subaltern official under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM in charge of the public post. When the LOGOTHESION of the *dromos* became an independent department, probably in the 7th C., its chief acquired new duties: some



officials (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 412, 450) served in both the *dromos* and the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELOU). The responsibilities of the *logothetes tou dromou* included ceremonial duties, protection of the emperor, collection of political information, and general supervision of foreign affairs. Miller (*infra* 439) stresses, however, that (at least after 781) the *logothetes tou dromou* did not personally conduct negotiations beyond the empire's borders. The role of the *logothetes tou dromou* expanded by the 12th C., when he often became the closest adviser of the emperor, but declined after creation of the post of *logothetes ton sekretou*; pseudo-KODINOS was familiar only with the name of the office. It remains unclear whether the *logothetes tou dromou* and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* were different functionaries, or whether *oxys* was simply an ornamental epithet. V. Laurent distinguishes between the *logothetes* of the ordinary (*platys*) *dromos* (*Corpus* 2:196–215) and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* (pp. 234–37). The staff of the *logothetes tou dromou* consisted of clerks (that is, PROTONOTARIOS and CHARTOULARIOI) and functionaries of the *sekretou* such as EPISKEPTITAI, INTERPRETERS, and the *kourator* of the *apokrisarion*, that is, of the hostel for foreign envoys; it also included the bureau "of the barbarians."

LIT. D.A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantion* 36 (1966/7) 438–70. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 31–70. Oikonomides, *Listes* 311f. —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU** (λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου), coadjutor of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. The office is mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, but not in later *taktika*. A 10th-C. historian (*TheophCont* 470.13–17) relates that Romanos II appointed as the eparch's assistants two SYMPONOI, the second of whom (the *spatharokandidatos* and judge Joseph) is also called *logothetes tou praitorion*. The last *logothetes tou praitorion* mentioned in literary texts is the *asekretis* Leo in 1023 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933, with an incorrect date). Seals give a broader chronological range for the existence of the *logothetai tou praitorion*—from a John of the 7th/8th C. to Constantine Bringas of the 11th C. The title of the *logothetes tou praitorion* was usually *spatharios* or

*spatharokandidatos*; since the Praitorion was one of the major PRISONS of Constantinople, the *logothetes* presumably assisted the eparch on police and judicial matters.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 71. Oikonomides, *Listes* 320. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:599–603. —A.K.

**LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU** (λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ), a high-ranking official. The only direct evidence for his functions is in a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 698.13–15), according to which the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* controlled exemptions and reimposition of taxes on the households of soldiers. The hypothesis (of, e.g., E. Stein, *Traditio* 7 [1949–51] 149) that this logothete dealt with the levy of troops, the construction of fortifications, and military expenditure cannot be proved. The first attested *logothetes tou stratiotikou* was Julian, a participant in the Third Council of Constantinople in 680; the logothete Eustathios, known from a seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.529) probably lived earlier, at the beginning of the 7th C. The commonly accepted view that a *logothetes tou stratiotikou* is mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 721.8) under the year 626 is a mistake—the text speaks of the *patrikios* Theodosios as a *logothetes* in general, not specifically as a logothete of "soldiers." The early *logothetai tou stratiotikou* seem to have fulfilled fiscal duties; in any case the *patrikios* Eulampios was *logothetes* of the *sakelle* (see SAKELLION) and of the *stratiotikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.533). By the 11th C. *logothetai tou stratiotikou* combined their functions with those of a judge. The office disappeared after 1088. Among the known *logothetai tou stratiotikou* was SYMEON LOGOTHETE (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969/70] 215f). The staff of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* included CHARTOULARIOI of the central bureau and of the themes and the *tagmata*, LEGATARIOI, MANDATOIRES, and various clerks (the *protonotarioi* attested on seals probably correspond to the *protokankellarioi* of the *taktika*); on seals from the end of the 10th C. appears the *megas chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos.554–58), who is unknown to the *taktika*.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 25–31. Bury, *Adm. System* 90f. D. Xanlatos, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens im Mittelalter* (Munich 1937) 44–55. —A.K.

**LOMBARDS** (Λαγγοβαρδαί in Prokopios, Λαγούβαρδοι and Λογγίβαρδοι in Constantine Porphyrogenetos), a west-Germanic people who occupied PANNONIA in the early 6th C. Their king, Audoin, allied with Justinian I ca.540, and 5,500 Lombards served under the general NARSES in 552. In 568, under pressure from the AVARS, King ALBOIN led the Lombards into Italy. Their rapid early conquests slowed down in the 570s because of internal dissension and Byz. counter-offensives, but under Agilulf (590–616) they established a strong romanizing kingdom and made a truce with the Byz. exarch ca.605. Relations with Byz. remained tense, esp. under Rothari (636–52), who conquered Liguria, and Grimoald (662–71), during whose reign Constans II's expedition against BENEVENTO was repulsed. However, a treaty was concluded ca.680 and conversions produced an influx of Byz. missionaries and artists. Attacks on imperial territories resumed under Liutprand (712–44); in 751 Aistulf captured RAVENNA and the PENTAPOLIS. This and their hostility to the PAPACY contributed to a series of Frankish invasions, which culminated in their conquest by CHARLEMAGNE in 774.

In the south the largely autonomous duchy of Benevento conquered most of Byz. APULIA and CALABRIA by the late 7th C. and became an independent principality after 774. Prince Arechis and his successors sought to resist Frankish pressure by offering nominal allegiance to Byz. By the mid-9th C. political disintegration led to civil war and the creation of separate principalities of first SALERNO and later CAPUA. An appeal by the Lombards of BARI for aid against the Arabs in 876 helped Byz. to conquer much of Apulia by ca.891. The absorption of the Lombard principalities into the Byz. sphere of influence was reflected in gifts to rulers and monasteries, grants of titles, and the spread of Byz. artistic and cultural influences. Lombard cities flourished, in part, as a result of Byz. economic ties and a general toleration of the Latin church. In the 11th C., however, Lombard discontent facilitated infiltration by the NORMANS and their takeover of Byz. Italy. (See also LONGOBARDIA.)

LIT. P. Delogu, A. Guillou, G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Turin 1980). J. Jarnut, *Geschichte der Langobarden* (Stuttgart 1982). V. von Falkenhausen, "I Longobardi meridionali," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II*, 249–326. F.E. Wozniak, "Byzantine Diplomacy and the Lombard-Gepidic Wars," *BalkSt* 20 (1979) 139–58. —T.S.B.

**LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO** (ἡ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου παραγραφή, lit. "exception taken [on the basis of too] long a time"), possession by prescriptive right, a legal basis for the ACQUISITION of another person's property. The *longi temporis praescriptio* was originally the objection countering a plaintiff's claim for the return of his property from the possessor, if the plaintiff had failed to make his claim valid in time. By the period of Justinian I, the *longi temporis praescriptio* had changed from a procedural objection to an independent ground for acquisition through POSSESSION (*dia tes chronias nomos despozein*), equivalent to *usucapio*. With the constitution *Cod.Just.* VII 31.1 (*Basil.* 50.10.4), Justinian stipulated that movable THINGS can be acquired by *longi temporis praescriptio* after three years of possession, immovable things after ten years, or, in the absence of the owner, after 20 years. In special cases the time limit is extended to 30 or 40 years. According to Justinian's novel 9 (a.535), things that belong to the church, monasteries, and pious institutions—as long as they do not come under the *res religiosae* and are thereby completely excluded from possession by prescriptive right—can be acquired only after 100 years; according to novel 111.1 (a.541) and novel 131.6 (a.545), however, this can be done after 40 years. The 40-year *longi temporis praescriptio* was incorporated into the *Basilika* (5.2.14, 5.3.7).

The other prerequisites of possession by prescriptive right also remained binding in the following centuries: in order to be able to make the *longi temporis praescriptio* valid, the possessor must be in good faith, that is, consider himself the rightful owner, and the object must have come into his possession lawfully, that is, not through theft, use of force, or arbitrary seizure.

LIT. D. Nörr, *Die Entstehung der longi temporis praescriptio* (Cologne-Opladen 1969). —M.Th.F.

**LONGOBARDIA** (Λογγυβαρδία, Λαγουβαρδία), Byz. geographic term that designated those parts of Italy dominated by the LOMBARDS. Theophanes (*Theoph.* 464.4–5) distinguished between Longobardia (the principality of BENEVENTO) and Great (Megale) Longobardia, the Lombard kingdom. Constantine VII emphasized that "all of Longobardia was in the possession of the Romans when Rome was the imperial capital" (*De adm. imp.* 27.3–



6) and that Basil I again conquered "all of Longobardia," which in Constantine's time belonged to the emperors of the Rhomaioi (*De them.*, ch. 11.42–44, ed. Pertusi, 98). The term was used ambiguously: in the strictest sense of the word, Longobardia was a Byz. theme that comprised roughly the modern province of Apulia and the northeastern parts of the Basilicata, but in a broader sense it also encompassed the Lombard principalities of Benevento, CAPUA, and SALERNO as well as the duchies of NAPLES, AMALFI, and GAETA. These were practically independent states, governed by their own princes and *duces*; they recognized the Byz. emperor as their suzerain, but they did not pay taxes to Byz. and were not administered by Byz. officials. The origin of the Byz. theme of Longobardia is not clear: N. Oikonomides (*REB* 23 [1965] 118–23) hypothesized that from 876 on Longobardia was a *tourma* of the theme of KEPHALENIA and that by 891/2 it was under the command of a *strategos* who jointly administered several regions (Macedonia, Thrace, and Kephallenia as well as Longobardia). A distinct *strategos* of Longobardia is attested from 911 onward. In 938 and 965 Longobardia seems to have been united (temporarily?) with Calabria. The theme of Longobardia was abolished ca. 965 and replaced by the katepanate of Italy.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 31–41. A. Guillou, "L'Italia bizantina dalla caduta di Ravenna all'arrivo dei Normanni," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 8f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 75f, 351f. Pertusi in *De them.* 180f. –V.v.F., A.K.

**LONG WALL** (Μακρὸν Τείχος), also called the Long Walls or the Wall of Anastasios I (Theoph. 233.9), a system of fortifications erected west of Constantinople and extending a distance of two (Prokopios) or four (Ibn Khurdādhbeh) days' journey. The remains of walls that lie about 65 km from Constantinople and that extended from Selymbria to the Black Sea have been identified as the Long Wall; R.M. Harrison (*infra*) calculates their length as 45 km. The southern half has disappeared, but the well-preserved central and northern sections indicate that the wall was 3.30 m thick, and the height in the best preserved parts is up to 5 m. The wall was made of hard, pinkish mortar with nodules of brick in a technique markedly different from that used to build the walls of 5th-C. Constantinople (no use of brick

courses, a continuous arcade of several blind arches built into the rear face). The wall had towers (rectangular and polygonal), forts with gateways (in the area of fort D several 6th-C. stamped bricks were found), and an outer moat. The date of construction is under discussion: B. Croke (*infra*) asserts that the Long Wall was originally constructed by Anastasios, whereas M. Whitby (*infra*) suggests that it was first built after 447, damaged by the earthquake of 478, and repaired by Anastasios between 495 and 505. The wall proved ineffective (probably because of its length and the lack of a sufficient garrison to man it) and was many times penetrated by invaders, beginning in 559. According to the preface to novel 26 of Justinian I, there were two *vicarii* of the Long Walls: one for military affairs, the other for civil administration. In later centuries the commander responsible for the defense of the wall was the KOMES TON TEICHEON.

The term *Long Walls* was also used of other fortifications, possibly of the Chersonese in Thrace and the *limes Tauricus* in the Crimea (A.L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* [Moscow-Leningrad 1964] 153f).

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 262f. R.M. Harrison, "To Makron Teichos: The Long Wall in Thrace," *Roman Frontier Studies* 1969 (Cardiff 1974) 244–48. B. Croke, "The Date of the 'Anastasian Long Wall' in Thrace," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 59–78. M. Whitby, "The Long Walls of Constantinople," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 560–83. –A.K.

**LOPADION** (Λοπάδιον, now Ulubad), fortress in northwestern Asia Minor on the Rhyndakos River, about 20 km south of the Sea of Marmara. Lopadion was important for its bridge that carried the main highway eastward from KYZIKOS. It first appears as the site of a *xenodocheion* in the letters of Theodore of Stoudios. A strategic point and substantial market town, Lopadion was the scene of fighting between Alexios I and the Turks; it rose to prominence in 1130, when John II built a powerful fortress that became the base for his campaigns in Asia Minor. The French and German contingents of the Second Crusade met there in 1144; the Latins held it in 1204 and 1211–20. In the early 14th C. it was a frontier post against the Ottomans; ORHAN took it in 1335. Lopadion, not previously attested as a bishopric, became an archbishopric in the early 12th C. The surviving walls are the work of John II Komnenos.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 78–83. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 159–61. –C.F.

**LOPADIOTES, ANDREW**, man of letters and teacher in Constantinople; fl. ca. 1300–30. Apparently a pupil or colleague of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Lopadiotes (Λοπαδιώτης) was the addressee of 14 letters (Florence, Laur. S. Marco 356) probably written by George OINAIOTES. Lopadiotes was the author of a panegyric, now lost, of an epigram on the crucifixion, and of a LEXIKON of Attic Greek, conventionally called the *Lexicon Vindobonense*. Although a mediocre compilation mainly from Harpokration, the SOUDA, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and the *Lexikon* of pseudo-ZONARAS, it nonetheless contains otherwise unknown fragments of Sophocles and Pherekrates as well as quotations from Maximus of Tyre and HIMERIOS, which show better texts than those of the surviving MSS. These must have been taken from some now-lost *lexikon* or gnomology. Used by Varino Favorino in 1523 for his Greek-Latin dictionary, the *Lexicon* was lost sight of until 1851.

ED. *Lexicon Vindobonense*, ed. A. Nauck (St. Petersburg 1867; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lampros, *NE* 14 (1917) 404–06.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:43f. *PLP*, no. 15038. A. Guida, "Il codice viennese del lessico di Andrea Lopadiota," *Prometheus* 5 (1979) 1–20. –R.B.

**LORD'S SUPPER.** Christ's celebration of the EUCHARIST was commemorated in three different images.

1. The *Last Supper* (*Deipnos*) depicts the Gospel narrative; it shows Christ and his disciples reclining around a semicircular "sigma" table (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol. 3r), with Christ at the table's left cusp, often with John leaning against him, and Judas reaching for food. This image survived with few alterations throughout Byz. art.

2. The *Communion of the Apostles* (*Metalepsis kai Metadosis ton Apostolon*), a liturgical composition, presents the 12 Apostles standing to either side of an altar table and receiving communion from Christ, who is often depicted twice, offering bread to one group and wine to the other. Found initially on 6th-C. patens (KAPER KORAON TREASURE) and MSS (Rossano Gospels, following the Last Supper), this composition adorns the wall of the

altar chamber in churches after the 11th C. (Kiev, St. Sophia; Hagia Sophia in OHRID). When deacon angels join the scene, it becomes not only Christ's establishment of the Eucharist, but the archetypal, celestial Eucharist celebrated in Heaven by the angels, of which the earthly meal is a reflection.

3. The *Divine Liturgy* (*Theia Leitourgia*) elaborates the celestial Eucharist. First seen in an 11th-C. liturgical roll (A. Grabar, *DOP* 8 [1954] 174, pl. 10) and incorporated from the 13th C. into cupola imagery, the Divine Liturgy shows Christ officiating at an altar to which throng angels, some bearing chalices and balancing patens on their heads as do the deacons in the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. E. Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst bis gegen den Schluss des 14. Jahrhunderts," *RepKunstw* 14 (1891) 451–59. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 184–221. –A.W.C.

**LOROS** (λῶρος, from *lorion*, a strip of leather), a long scarf, esp. the heavy stole about 5 m long and studded with precious stones worn by both the emperor and empress. A vestige of the Roman *trabea triumphalis* (the TOGA of consuls), the *loros* was arranged in an X over the upper body; one section then fell straight down the front, while the other came from behind the right shoulder to cross the chest and drape over the left arm (as on the coins of Justinian II). In the 10th–11th C. the garment was provided with a hole and could be pulled on over the head, though the long end was still brought horizontally across the body in front and draped over the left arm (P. Grierson, *DOP* 20 [1966] 248f). The emperor wore the *loros* on certain festive occasions (e.g., Easter), over the DIVETESION. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, the *loros* symbolized the cross as the instrument of Christ's victory (*De cer.* 638.5–9); its circumvolutions eventually led to its symbolizing the winding sheet of Christ.

The term *loros* occurs in the 6th C. as a gilded shoulder-strap (JOHN LYDOS, *De mag.* 2.2, p. 84.13); in the 14th C. the word was still used on occasion to designate leather (e.g., leather whips in pseudo-Kod. 181.30). The "palle" that Robert de Clari states was worn by Baldwin of Flanders for his coronation in the Church of Hagia Sophia in 1204 was probably a *loros*, even though the Byz. emperor was not himself in the habit of wearing the *loros* at his own coronation.

A *loros* could be worn also by certain very high

dignitaries on the occasion of the Easter banquet (Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.24); ARCHANGELS in attendance upon Christ are thus often represented wearing the *loros*. Scarves of lighter material could also be referred to as *loroi*, for example, the *loros* that constituted the badge of authority of an EPARCH.

A special arrangement of the empress's *loros*, evident in 11th-C. imperial portraits, gives it a shieldlike shape over the lower body (M. Soteriou, *EEBS* 23 [1953] 524–30). This section was once mistakenly thought to be a separate garment, specifically the *thorakion* mentioned in texts (W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, *MEFRM* 83 [1971] 263–361).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:78–80; 3.1:120–25. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–44. K. Wessel, *ibid.* 480–83. E. Condurachi, “Sur l’origine et l’évolution du *loros* impérial,” *Artia și arheologia* 11–12 (1935–36) 37–45. —N.P.S.

**LOROTOMOS** (λωροτόμος, “thong-cutter”), craftsman who worked in LEATHER. The word appears, although rarely, in late Roman papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 30). In the 5th C. (?) the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria explained the term as being synonymous with *skytotomos*, shoemaker, but according to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, the *lorotomoi* produced not footgear but harnesses and saddles. The harnessmakers were subordinate (*hypotassomenoi*) to the eparch and fulfilled services for the *demosion* or state (ch.14.1); on the other hand, they were exempted from certain payments. If they were required for the emperor’s service, they were put under the command of the *protostrator*, but in this case they were entitled to some remuneration (*kerdos*) from the imperial treasury. It is not clear whether these statements reflect the particular status of the guild or only the specific approach of the legislator in this chapter.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 41f.

—A.K.

**LOUIS II** (Λοδοίκος), Frankish emperor (854–75); born ca.822, died Brescia 12 Aug. 875. Crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II (844–47) in 844, Louis spent almost his entire adult life in Italy. He greatly influenced papal affairs, including the election of NICHOLAS I, and concentrated on repulsing the Saracens, whom he defeated in 847 and 852 near Benevento. In 866

Louis issued a capitulary announcing a general anti-Saracen campaign. Lacking a fleet, he sought naval help from Basil I, possibly using ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS as his negotiator in Constantinople. A proposed marriage between Basil’s son Constantine and Louis’s daughter Irmengard sealed an alliance, and in 869 a Byz. fleet of 200 ships temporarily came to his aid. Louis captured BARI in Feb. 871, but his encroachments on such Byz. clients as Naples and Calabria angered Basil, who complained in a letter that also rejected Louis’s use of the imperial title (*Reg* 1, no.487). In a response likely written by Anastasios Bibliothecarius in 871, Louis claimed the title “emperor of the Romans,” called Basil only “emperor of the new Rome,” asserted that Basil’s line of rulers had deserted Rome and now represented heterodoxy (“or rather cacodoxy”), accused Byz. troops of cowardice at the siege of Bari, and yet asked Basil for a fleet to cut the Saracens off from their bases in Sicily (ed. W. Henze, *MGH Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 5 [Berlin 1928] 385–94). A few scholars consider the letter spurious (R. Poupardin, *Le moyen âge* 2 7 [1903] 185–202), but it accurately reflects contemporary Western assertions that the papacy had the power to anoint Roman emperors.

LIT. L. Halphen, *Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire* (Amsterdam 1977) 281–92. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:14–21. J. Gay, *L’Italie méridionale et l’Empire byzantin depuis l’avènement de Basile I<sup>er</sup> jusqu’à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris 1904). O. Harnack, *Das karolingische und das byzantinische Reich in ihren wechselseitigen politischen Beziehungen* (Göttingen 1880) 76–87. —P.A.H.

**LOUIS VII** (Λοδοίκος), king of France (1137–80); born 1120 or 1121, died Paris 18 Sept. 1180. He was a leader of the Second Crusade (1147–49). Taking with him Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (whom the Byz. called “Gold-Foot”), he followed CONRAD III through the central Balkans. While Louis’s army was encamped outside Constantinople, Bp. Godfrey of Langres suggested capturing the city. Unlike Conrad, Louis met formally with MANUEL I in the palace at Constantinople. After Louis’s soldiers attacked the tables of the money-changers set up for the Crusaders’ use east of the Bosphoros, Manuel demanded homage from the French nobles and pledges to restore any conquered, formerly Byz. towns in Asia. In return, Manuel offered gifts, supplies, and guides. Reluctantly, Louis allowed the oaths (Oct. 1147).

The French blamed the Byz. for Turkish attacks in Aratolia. When Louis returned from Palestine (spring 1149) on a Sicilian ship, his vessel joined a Sicilian fleet raiding the Peloponnesos. Intercepted by the Byz., Louis’s ship escaped capture only by displaying the banner of the French king, a Byz. ally; Eleanor and others were briefly held captive by the Byz. In 1180, Louis’s daughter AGNES married Manuel’s heir, ALEXIOS II.

LIT. M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris 1964) 49–51, 54f. V.G. Berry, *HC* 1:463–512. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f. —C.M.B.

**LOUIS OF BLOIS**, count of Blois, Chartres, and Clermont; born 1171, died near Adrianople 14 Apr. 1205. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 539.90 and elsewhere) purposely metathesized the name from Λοδοίκος to Δολοίκος, from *dolos*, treachery. Among the first to enroll in the Fourth CRUSADE, Louis was one of its leaders. He favored the diversion to Constantinople and participated in the conflicts of 1203. During the attacks on Constantinople in Apr. 1204 he was confined to bed with fever, but was able to participate in the coronation of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Louis received Nicaea as a duchy and sent his vassals PETER OF BRACIEUX and Payen d’Orléans to occupy it, while remaining in Constantinople. When KALOJAN invaded Thrace, Louis fell in battle against him.

LIT. Longnon, *Compagnons* 79–84.

—C.M.B.

**LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES**, patriarch of Constantinople (between Aug. and Oct. 1157–between 19 Nov. 1169 and Jan. 1170); died Constantinople. A member of the CHRYSOBERGES family, Loukas was a monk before his election to the patriarchate. Gregory ANTIOCHOS, in an unpublished speech, relates that Manuel I took Loukas from the monastery of Pege (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 197f). As patriarch, Loukas had to cope with various ideological movements; he participated in the second synod on the case of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, and Antiochos claims that Loukas achieved a reconciliation. Then he tried to curb the popular heresy of DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. He presided over several sessions of the local council of Constantinople of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) to confirm Manuel I’s edict on the discussion of the statement

of John 14:28, “My Father is greater than I”; several theologians (the deacon and *kastrinsios* Samuel, the deacon Basil of *ta Hagiopanta*, etc.) were condemned and deposed. Loukas attempted to restrict the lease of ecclesiastical lands, prohibited the combination of secular and ecclesiastical offices in a single person (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 81), and tried to expand church jurisdiction over certain cases involving laymen (e.g., control over illegal BETROTHALS). Unlike ALEXIOS STOUDITES, Loukas in 1166 prohibited marriages between relatives of the seventh degree (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 24 [1964] 84–90; D. Simon, *FM* 1 [1976] 123–25), a decision that could be used against the intermarriages of noble families. Documents presenting negotiations between Loukas and ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO concerning the establishment of a metropolitan see in Vladimir survive only in late Russian versions (N. Voronin, *VizVrem* 21 [1962] 29–50).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1045–1108. P. Classen, “Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner,” *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. A. Schmink, “Ein Synodalakt vom 10. November 1167,” *FM* 3 (1979) 316–22. —A.K.

**LOUKAS THE STYLITE**, saint; born in the village of Attikom, Anatolikon, traditional date 879, but probably ca.900, since he was about 30 during the great famine (of 927/8?), died Chalcedon 11 Dec. 979. Born to a well-to-do family of peasant-soldiers, at age 18 Loukas participated in an unsuccessful military campaign against the Bulgarians; at 24 he became a priest but remained several years more in the army. Loukas aspired to an extreme asceticism, not only rejecting family and friendship but also despising the earth and life itself (Delehay, *infra*, 198.20–23); he ate only wild herbs, slept on the ground, and wore chains. He retired to the monastery of St. Zacharias on Olympos; later he moved to Constantinople, where he spent his final 42 or 44 years standing on the column of Eutropios in Chalcedon.

The author of Loukas’s Life claims to have known the “earthly angel” for 27 years, and the vita (preserved in a single 11th-C. MS) may have been produced very soon after Loukas’s death. The hagiographer is fascinated by Constantinople and its churches but is far removed from the Constantinopolitan elite; he mentions people of high rank only rarely (Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS, the *magistros* Basil Peteinos). Loukas’s associates were



predominantly clerics, merchants, low officials, fishermen, and *naukleroi*; special attention is paid to medical services (e.g., the hospital of Euboulos), which allegedly could not compete with Loukas's healing gift.

**Representation in Art.** Portraits of Loukas are rare: he is probably the anonymous stylite whose image, unaccompanied by any text, follows that of Daniel the Stylite in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.238). The saint's column is built on a sort of platform out in the water, evidently a reference to the Bosphoros. His church is visible on the shore.

SOURCE. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 195–237.

LIT. BHG 2239. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 839–52. Lemerle, *Ag. Hist.* 146–48. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:465. –A.K., N.P.Š.

**LOUKAS THE YOUNGER** (of Stiris), saint; born in village of Kastorion, Phokis, before 900, died Stiris 7 Feb. 953. Born to the family of a well-to-do peasant, Loukas soon came into conflict with his relatives, who could not accept his generous habit of giving away all he could to the poor. After his father's death he ran away to Athens, where he became a monk. He lived as a hermit in several different places in the Peloponnesos and Phokis: Bulgarian and Hungarian raids often forced him to move. A *hegoumenos* even criticized his penchant for "rustic" (*agroikikos*) manners and avoidance of ecclesiastical organization (ed. Kremos 32.II.5–10); Loukas applied to an archbishop of Corinth for permission to celebrate the Eucharist in his hermit's cell without a priest (ed. Kremos 41.I.37–41). His Life was written after 961, probably during Basil II's reign; the anonymous author focuses on the provinces: although he mentions some monks traveling to Italy (ed. Kremos 34.I.8, 53.II.19–20), Constantinople remains beyond the scope of his attention. The hagiographer deals much with illnesses and miraculous healings and strongly emphasizes the saint's asexuality: once during a winter storm Loukas let two women sleep in his cave with him and his disciple Pankratios and was as unaffected as a stone or log or a boy with his mother; another time Loukas sent Pankratios to cure a sick woman by rubbing a special ointment on her naked body (ed. Kremos 55f). Neighboring peasants covered Loukas's grave with bricks; after six months the monk and eunuch Kosmas adorned the place. Later the monastery of *HOSIOS LOUKAS* was built on the site.

**Representation in Art.** Though portraits of Loukas are rare, the portrait type seems to have been established soon after the saint's death: he appears in the narthex of the Church of Hosios Loukas as an orant monk in a *koukoullion*, or hood, with a rich brown beard; he is again shown as a relatively young man in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Messina, Bibl. Univ., San Salvatore 27, fol.58v).

SOURCES. PG 111:441–80, with add. E. Martini, *AB* 13 (1894) 81–121. G.P. Kremos, *Phokika* (Athens 1874).

LIT. BHG 994. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho hosios Loukas ho 'Neos,'" *Theologia* 13 (1935) 193–223. R. Janin, *Bibl.Sanct.* 8 (1966) 222f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:464f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

**LOVE.** Besides *philia*, FRIENDSHIP, the Byz. mainly used two words to designate love: *eros* and *agape*. *EROS* had a pagan connotation, as the name of a mythological god of love, and the term played a substantial role in Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy. *Agape*, on the contrary, was connected with a Christian milieu (S. West, *JThSt* 20 [1969] 228–30). The Byz., however, did not see the distinction between *eros* and *agape* as one of carnal and divine love, respectively; both *eros* and *agape* could express positive (divine) or negative (diabolic) qualities. The Byz. condemned carnal love (see *SEXUALITY*) as inspired by the Devil, esp. forms of sex such as PROSTITUTION and HOMOSEXUALITY, and recommended limitations in conjugal sex, but they expanded the terminology of love (passion, desire, wedding, marriage) to describe the relationship between God and man, thus making possible the allegorical interpretation of erotic ROMANCE as the soul's yearning for God. The term *eros* could designate God's love as a suprasensible quality that binds together "dissimilar similarities" (Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, PG 3:144A); it could also mean man's passionate love ("fire") for God and divine beauty. *Agape*, comprising both these meanings, had also the special connotation of charity and of the community based on love (i.e., of the Church).

Many Byz. texts praised fraternal love, love between parents and children, and conjugal love, although the lyrical expression of passion is rare (e.g., Prodomos, ed. E. Legrand, *REGr* 4 [1891] 72). The extremes of love and of jealousy were usually condemned, but many cases of extramarital love (e.g., Constantine IX and Skleraina, Andronikos I Komnenos and Theodora) were de-

scribed by contemporaries with warmth and sympathy.

LIT. C. Spicq, *Agapè* (Louvain 1955). J.M. Rist, *Platonism and its Christian Heritage* (London 1975), pt.I (1970), 156–73, 406–09. E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge 1976) 210–13. J. Chrysavgis, "The Notion of 'Divine Eros' in the Ladder of St. John Climacus," *SVThQ* 29 (1985) 191–200. –A.K.

**LOVEČ** (Λοβιτζός; Old Slavonic Lovuč; Lat. Melta), city on the upper course of the river Osŭm (Assamus) in northern Bulgaria, on the route from the Danube to the Mediterranean via the Trojan Pass and PHILIPPOLIS. During the uprising of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I (1185–87), Loveč was an important fortified position defending the approaches to TŭRNOVO. The Byz. besieged it unsuccessfully for three months; by a treaty signed there in 1187, they formally recognized the Second Bulgarian Empire. A colony of Dubrovnik at Loveč is evidence of its role in Balkan trade. Ruins of a 13th- or 14th-C. basilica survive. In 1393 Loveč was captured by the Ottoman Turks and by 1430 was capital of a vilayet. The nearby monastery of the Virgin was a center of transmission of Old Slavonic literature.

LIT. J. Čangova, "Bazilikata v Loveškata krepost," *Archeologija* 10.2 (1968) 36–43. Eadem, "Srednovekovnijat Loveč," *Vekove* 5.1 (1976) 26–31. –R.B.

**LUCANIA** (Λουκάνια), province bounded, according to Diocletian's reform, by SALERNO and the rivers Bradano and Lao. Together with the *ager Bruttius* (the present CALABRIA) Lucania formed Regio III of Italy, governed by a *corrector*, who was resident in REGGIO-CALABRIA. The territory was conquered by the LOMBARDS during the late 6th–7th C. After the Byz. recovered Italy in the late 9th C., the eastern part of Lucania was integrated into the new theme of LONGOBARDIA, whereas the western part continued to belong to the principality of Salerno. Originally the area was not densely populated, but because of Arab raids on Calabria during the second half of the 10th C. many Greeks from the south migrated to Lucania. In 1042, for the first and only time, a Byz. *strategos* of Lucania is mentioned, active in the *kastron* of MERKOURION in the Lao valley. The extent of his theme, the name of its capital (Cassano, Ionio, or Tursi?), and the date of its creation are unknown. The NORMANS conquered the ter-

ritory ca.1045–60; their administration did not preserve a province called Lucania.

LIT. Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.X (1965), 119–49. Falkenhansen, *Dominazione* 65–72. A. Russi, "Lucania," in *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* (Rome 1973) 1881–1984. –V.v.F.

**LUCIAN** (Λουκιανός), Greek sophist and satirist; born Samosata ca.120, died ca.180. He is the author of some 80 pieces, chiefly in dialogue form, which have survived in more than 150 MSS. The earliest MS, containing a 6th-C. Syriac translation of *On Calumny*, dates from the 8th or 9th C. The *Souda*, incorrectly dating him to the time of Trajan and calling him a blasphemer, slanderer, and atheist, says that he was killed by dogs and would burn in Hell for slandering Christ. He is further reviled in the scholia by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, who heaps abusive epithets on him. By contrast, Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.128) praises him for ridiculing the pagan gods and for his clear and expressive style. His works were much admired and imitated by later Byz. writers. Three Byz. imitations of Lucian, the PHILOPATRIS, CHARIDEMOS, and the TIMARION, are included in many MSS of the 15th–16th C. as works by Lucian himself. His works were influential in the development of three popular literary genres: satirical dialogue, the imaginary voyage, and the dialogue of the dead. The *Journey* of MAZARIS contains elements of all three genres. Of the 53 epigrams ascribed to Lucian, all but one are preserved only in the *Greek Anthology*.

ED. *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1906; rp. Stuttgart 1971).

LIT. E. Mattioli, *Luciano e l'umanesimo* (Naples 1980). C. Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (Chapel Hill 1979). –K.S.

**LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH**, presbyter of Antioch, martyr, and saint; died Nikomedeia 312; feastday 15 Oct. One of the pupils at the theological school that he founded in Antioch was ARIUS; hence Lucian is credited with being an inspiration of the Arian heresy. In this connection, the second of four creeds proposed at the local council of ANTIOCH of 341 may go back to him. Only fragments of his own writings survive; one in the CHRONICON PASCHALE attests to Byz. interest. Lucian's most enduring work was his revision for style and content of the Greek Bible, and his version of the



New Testament is generally thought to be embodied in the one used in Byz. A vita of Lucian was written by PHILOSTORGIOS (*Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelman [Berlin 1981] 184–201).

ED. M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. 4 (Oxford 1846) 3–17.

LIT. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936). B.M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden 1963) 1–41.

—B.B.

**LUKE**, saint; feastday 18 Oct. According to Byz. tradition, he was the author of the third GOSPEL (written under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit) and of the ACTS. Luke's Gospel was commented upon by Origen, Titus of Bostra, and Cyril of Alexandria; some commentaries—those of Eusebios of Caesarea (D.C. Wallace-Hadrill, *HTHR* 67 [1974] 55–63), Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Herakleia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Photios—are known primarily from later CATENAE, one of which was compiled by NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA. The commentaries of Euthymios Zigabenos and Theophylaktos of Ohrid, surviving in a direct tradition, are compilations.

Eulogies of Luke were produced by various writers, including Andrew of Crete, Niketas Paphlagon, and Philagathos. A certain Gregory of Syracuse (in the 7th C.?) wrote a *kontakion* on Luke (E. Mioni, *BollBadGr* n.s. 1 [1947] 208f) and Symeon Metaphrastes included Luke's vita in his collection. Luke's biography does not contain abundant miracles or dangerous travels—he is presented as a well-educated man who, in Greece and Egypt, studied disciplines such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and ethics, but was never strong in philosophy (PG 115:1129B). He was a physician and painter, who died peacefully in Achaia; his relics are said to have been transferred to Constantinople by St. Artemios, under Constantius II. Antony of Novgorod mentions a Church of St. Luke in Constantinople. Legend has it that Luke was the first artist to paint the Virgin's portrait. The monasteries of HODEGON and SOUMELA claimed that the icons of Mary in their possession were Luke's work.

**Representation in Art.** Although white-haired in the 6th-C. Cambridge Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* [Cambridge 1954] pl. II), Luke appears in most Byz.

author portraits as a youth with brown, curly hair, hollow cheeks, and a wispy beard. He is usually shown writing in front of a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). He is occasionally accompanied by PAUL who supposedly inspired his Gospel, and more often by Theophilus, his patron. In some MSS, his portrait prefacing his Gospel is paired with a miniature of the birth of JOHN THE BAPTIST or the ANNUNCIATION; that preceding the Acts may be accompanied by the ASCENSION (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol.231v). Traditionally numbered among the APOSTLES, Luke is occasionally represented as suffering a martyr's death (K. Weitzmann in *Books & Bookmen*, fig. 56).

ED. and LIT. BHG 990y–993t. J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1984). J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* (Leipzig 1902). M. Aubineau, "Les 'Catenae in Lucam' de J. Reuss et Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *BZ* 80 (1987) 29–47. Friend, "Portraits." Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–91. —J.L., A.K., A.W.C.

**LUPERCALIA** (Λουπερκαλία), a festival of the Roman imperial and late antique periods, celebrated 15 Feb. at the Lupercal, a cave on the Palatine Hill in Rome. The Lupercalia lasted through the 5th C. and beyond. In a letter of 494, Pope Gelasius I denounced a certain Andromachus who, along with other residents of Rome, celebrated the Lupercalia "according to the primeval custom." Gelasius alludes to men performing sacrifices, a procession of boys dressed in the skins of sacrificed goats, and general debauchery. Andromachus, though a Christian, believed the cult practice would aid the fertility of the soil; to counter this conviction, Gelasius cites the plague that struck Rome when Emp. ANTHEMIUS (467–72) arrived in the city in the wake of the Lupercalia. The Lupercalia never became firmly established in Constantinople; it is last mentioned there by JOHN LYDOS, who refers to it as a fertility ceremony for "increasing the fruits" (*De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch, 83.7–8).

SOURCE. Gelasius I, *Lettre contre les luperciales et Dix-huit messes du sacramentaire léonien*, ed. G. Pomarès (Paris 1959) 161–89, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Y.M. Duval, "Des Luperciales de Constantinople aux Luperciales de Rome," *Revue des études latines* 55 (1977) 222–70. A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam 1974). —F.R.T.

**LUPUS PROTOSPATHARIUS.** See ANNALS OF BARI.

**LUSIGNANS** (Λουζουνιάς), a noble family from the county of Poitou. The younger sons of Hugh VII of Lusignan, Aimery and Guy, gained importance in the kingdom of JERUSALEM in the 1180s. Guy became king in 1186 as the husband of Sibyl, daughter of Amalric I. In 1187 he was defeated and captured by Saladin. In 1192 Richard I Lionheart made him regent of CYPRUS, recently taken from ISAAC KOMNENOS. Guy died in 1194. He was succeeded by his brother Aimery, who was crowned king of Cyprus in 1197 and king of Jerusalem in right of his wife Isabel (daughter of Amalric I and Maria KOMNENE). Aimery's descendants (by a previous wife) ruled Cyprus until 1489. In the 13th C. several were also kings of Jerusalem and retained that title after 1291.

SOURCE. J. Richard, ed., *Chypre sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris 1962).

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vols. 2–3 (Cambridge 1948). R.C. Smail, "The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–87," in *Outremer* 159–76. *PLP*, nos. 15059–87.

—C.M.B.

**LUXOR** (Πόλις κάστρων), Pharaonic temple in Upper Egypt that Diocletian turned into a military camp in 297. The headquarters (*principia*) occupied a room behind the hypostyle hall, in which are preserved traces of several TETRARCHIC wall paintings with military scenes and, in the apse (often misunderstood as the apse of a church), the deified emperor with his three colleagues. The camp was apparently in use until the Persian invasion (616–20). The earliest church in Luxor dates from the late 6th C. and is built outside the camp directly beside the main gate. It is a typical Egyptian basilica with a tripartite sanctuary and a secondary triumphal arch.

LIT. P. Grossmann, "Eine vergessene frühchristliche Kirche beim Luxor-Tempel," *MDAI K* 29 (1973) 167–81. J.G. Deckers, "Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserpalast von Luxor," *JDAI* 94 (1979) 600–52. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor," *DOP* 29 (1975) 225–51. —P.G.

**LUXORIUS**, author of approximately 90 poems (some individual ascriptions are debatable) in the *Latin Anthology*; fl. 5th–6th C. Their internal evidence suggests that he lived in or near Carthage during the reigns of the last Vandal kings Hilderic

(523–30) and GELIMER, although some scholars put Luxorius earlier. Superscriptions to two poems contain the titles *vir clarissimus* and *spectabilis*, perhaps honorary in acknowledgment of his status as *grammaticus*. Luxorius may be identifiable with the Lisorius who wrote a treatise on orthography. His poems, in different meters on various subjects, owe much to their classical models, notably Martial, whose taste for physical deformity and moral perversion Luxorius often reproduces. Overall, however, they provide a valuable glimpse into the VANDAL society overthrown by the Byz. reconquest of Africa, esp. with his epigrams on CHARIOTEERS and MIMES.

ED. *A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, ed. M. Rosenblum (New York 1961), with Eng. tr.

LIT. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'* (Cambridge 1979) 42–56. E.S. Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* (Oxford 1913) 111. —B.B.

**LUXOR TREASURE**, dated to the 5th–7th C. and discovered in 1889 in a small church built inside the Temple at LUXOR. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, it is composed of ten silver objects (a cross, three patens, fragments of five vessels, and a chain). While the processional cross is similar to contemporary examples found elsewhere (e.g., KAPER KORAON TREASURE, PHELA TREASURE), the patens, formerly described by Strzygowski as book boxes but correctly identified by Hellenkemper, are unusual in being rectangular (like the secular *lanx* [see PLATES, DISPLAY]), rather than circular like a PATEN AND ASTERISKOS. Two of the three dedicatory inscriptions, on the cross and two patens, mention, in addition to the donors, a priest and two different bishops, the latter perhaps successive holders of the see with authority over the village of Luxor.

LIT. J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst [Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire]* (Vienna 1904) nos. 7201–10. H.G. Hellenkemper, "Byzantinischer Schatzbesitz im Arabersturm," 17 *CEB, Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 141f. —M.M.M.

**LYCHNIKON.** See VESPER.

**LYCIA** (Λυκία), the rugged southwestern region of Asia Minor, characterized by forested mountains and a long coastline. Because of its numerous harbors and its location on the sea route

between Italy or Constantinople and the east, Lycia prospered from trade. It contained numerous small cities, but never supported a large population. Lycia became a separate province under Constantine I, with its metropolis at MYRA. It was esp. prosperous in the 6th C.; an abundance of remains (e.g., HOLY SION) attests growth in city and country at that time, notably in the regions of Myra and MAKRE. At the same time, however, banditry and other disturbances afflicted the interior. In the 7th C., Lycia became part of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme, but continued to exist as an administrative and customs unit through the early 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals*, 1, no.225). Mentions of Lycia after the 8th C. refer to the ecclesiastical province or the geographical region. Prosperity ended with the onset of Arab raids in 655 and their continuation through the 9th C. Many coastal towns were abandoned; others became fortresses. Recovery in the 10th C. produced the remarkable church of DERE AÇZI, but most settlements remained small. Lycia flourished briefly under the Komnenoi before falling to the Turks in the late 12th C.

LIT. R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 117-51. Idem, "Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia," *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 109-18. E. Frézouls, "Exploration archéologique et épigraphique en Lycie Occidentale," *III. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 1985) 449-61. R.M. Harrison, G.R.J. Lawson, "An Early Byzantine Town at Arif in Lycia," *Yayla. Second Report of the Northern Society for Anatolian Archaeology* (1979) 13-17. —C.F.

**LYDDA.** See DIOSPOLIS.

**LYDOS, JOHN.** See JOHN LYDOS.

**LYKANDOS** (Λυκανδός), also Likandos, fortress in the Antitaurus Mountains, southeast of Elbistan. When MELIAS assumed command of the area in 903, he found the castle in ruins and the adjacent plain deserted. He rebuilt the castle, which became the headquarters of a *kleisoura* in 908 and of a theme by 916. Its strategic location, commanding a route through the mountains, gave Lykandos considerable importance in the foreign and civil wars of the 10th C. Its administration was sometimes combined with that of MELITENE or TZAMANDOS. "Retainers (*agouroi*) of Likantos"

are mentioned in DIGENES AKRITAS (p.203.1968). The area had an Armenian population. Although effectively lost to Byz. after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Lykandos formed part of the territory granted by Alexios I to Bohemund in 1108. Lykandos was apparently never a bishopric. It contains remains of a substantial castle, probably the work of Melias.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 143-46. *TIB* 2:224-26. —C.F.

**LYKAONIA** (Λυκαονία), the southern part of the central Anatolian plateau, an arid, treeless plain bounded by hills and mountains. The country is generally unproductive and had a sparse population whose main centers were around the edges of the plain. It contains, however, much grassland suitable for pasture, and the adjacent mountains are rich in minerals. In the reforms of Diocletian, the north of Lykaonia was assigned to PISIDIA and the south to ISAURIA. Lykaonia became a separate province ca.370, with its civil and ecclesiastical metropolis at IKONION. As a result of Isaurian raids, Leo I appointed a *comes* as military commander of Lykaonia beside the civil governor. When this proved inadequate, Justinian I in 535 created a praetor with full civil and military powers. This, too, failed, and in 553 a *dux*, or *biokolytes*, was appointed as military governor to maintain order. The civil province of Lykaonia was absorbed in the ANATOLIKON theme, though KOMMERKIARIOI of Lykaonia were still active at the end of the 7th C. A *tourmarches* of Lykaonia and PAMPHYLIA is attested in the late 9th C. Lykaonia contains many Byz. monuments, notably the churches of BINBIRKILISE and an extensive network of fortresses.

LIT. *TIB* 4:54-57. —C.F.

**LYKOSTOMION** (Λυκοστόμιον), a town (*chora*) in the estuary of the Danube mentioned in some portulans from the 14th C. onward (P. Năsturel, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 296f). Its location is uncertain; O. Iliescu (*RevIst* 25 [1972] no.3, 435-62) located Lykostomion in Periprava, on the river-branch Kilia. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 89, rev. by P. Năsturel, *RESEE* 4 [1966] 649f) identified it with the Lykostomion to whose *archon*, Thomas, Photios ded-

icated his *Lexikon*; she concluded that in the 9th C. Lykostomion was a harbor for the Byz. fleet in the area, a function taken over in the 10th C. by DEVELTOS. Tăpkova-Zaimova (*infra*), on the contrary, argues that Lykostomion became an important port only in the 11th-12th C.

LIT. V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Quelques observations sur la domination byzantine aux bouches du Danube," *StBalc* 1 (1970) 79-86. Șt. Papacostea, "La fin de la domination génoise à Licostomo," *Annuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie* 22.1 (1985) 29-42. P. Diaconu, "Kilia et Licostomo ou Kilia-Licostomo?" *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 25 (1986) 301-17. —A.K.

**LYONS, SECOND COUNCIL OF.** This council was convened (7 May-17 July 1274) to establish UNION OF THE CHURCHES and liberate the Holy Land. Actually, this "union" was little more than the consummation of a political deal between Pope GREGORY X and Emp. MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Rome was to receive the ecclesiastical submission of the Byz. church, while in return Michael was to be rid of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and his threat to reconquer Constantinople. Michael's three representatives swore obedience to the Roman church and its faith by accepting papal PRIMACY, PURGATORY, and the FILIOQUE. (Ironically, the last issue, which had divided the churches for centuries, was first pronounced dogma at the Council of Lyons.) The Byz. church, strictly speaking, was never a participant in the negotiations. The Byz. delegates at the council simply acknowledged a profession of faith previously signed by the emperor alone. Predictably, most of the Byz. population actively opposed the union. Despite Michael's ruthless persecution and his imposition of JOHN (XI) BEKKOS as Unionist patriarch, the resistance drew from all sections of society, including monks, laity, and clergy; ARSENITES (for religious but also for dynastic reasons); and even members of the imperial family. Equally hostile were the separatist Greek states, Serbia, and Bulgaria, to which the emperor's own anti-Unionist sister had fled. These regions quickly became centers of anti-Unionist propaganda. Still, the settlement survived until Michael's death, when the local council of Constantinople of 1285, under Patr. GREGORY II, officially repudiated it (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. A. Franchi, *Il concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio concilii generalis Lugdunensis* (Rome 1965). J. Gill, "The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) Portrayed in Greek Documents," *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 5-45. V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon 1273-1277* (Paris 1976).

LIT. B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonn 1964). *Actes du Colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: 1274 Année charnière. Mutations et continuités* (Paris 1977). H. Evert-Kappesova, "La société byzantine et l'Union de Lyon," *BS* 10 (1949) 28-41. Eadem, "Une page de l'histoire des relations byzantines-latines," *BS* 13 (1952-53) 68-92; 16 (1955) 297-317; 17 (1956) 1-18. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274," *SChH* 7 (1971) 113-46. —A.P.

**LYRIC**, poetry in song form, originally intended to have an instrumental accompaniment. Scant use was made in Byz. of the wide range of complex lyric meters, based on syllable quantity and not stress, developed in the classical world (the *Katamyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS, a parody of the ancient tragic form, is a partial exception). Only ANACREONTICS were employed to any extent in their classical form (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene), but they soon became a stressed eight-syllable line used largely for ecclesiastical purposes, as in the odes of SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem. Vernacular lyrics in POLITICAL VERSE exist independently in the EROTO-PAIGNIA (Love Songs) and were also incorporated in romances such as LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE and the ACHILLEIS. —E.M.J.

**LYTHRANKOMI**, 34 miles northeast of Famagusta, CYPRUS, site of the Church of Panagia Kanakaria. The church is a three-aisled, three-apsed basilica preceded by a narthex, with domes over the central bay of the narthex, the third and fourth bays of the nave, and the bema. Narthex, aisles, and nave are otherwise barrel-vaulted. After the original structure, with only one apse and a timber roof, was completed—probably at the end of the 5th C.—the church underwent three extensive renovations. Traces of wall painting dating from the 9th/10th C. to ca.1500 are found in narthex, nave, and aisles (scenes of Christ's life, St. George), but the true glory of the edifice was the mosaic in the apse (dating between 525 and 550), one of the three apse mosaics on the island



to have survived until modern times (with Kṛtī and the Panagia tes Kyras near Livadia). Unfortunately it was recently detached from the apse of the church and partly destroyed. The mosaic showed the seated Virgin and Child in the center of the conch, isolated in a great MANDORLA and flanked by palm trees and archangels; busts of the apostles in medallions form the principal outer border. The program of the apse has been ex-

plained by Megaw in terms of the Chalcedonian doctrine of the dual nature of Christ—with the boldly frontal and axial Theotokos embodying the human nature of Christ, and the enveloping mandorla expressive of the divine—and is thought to have been derived from Constantinople.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Washington, D.C., 1977).  
—W.T.

**MA'ARAT AL-NU'MÂN TREASURE**, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca. 1945 in a village just south of Ma'arat al-Nu'mân, southwest of Aleppo (BERROIA) in northern Syria, is composed of five objects and about 14 plaquettes, all of silver. It is now divided among museums in Paris, Baltimore, and Toledo, Ohio. This heterogeneous collection of objects (two crosses, a spoon, a box, a plaque) does not represent the essential LITURGICAL VESSELS of a church and may be part of a treasure, unlike other contemporary church silver TREASURES that seem to be complete. Of interest, however, are the large VOTIVE plaque portraying one of the Symeon the Stylites and the set of tiny votive plaques, the use of which may continue a pagan custom of offering *ex-votos* to Asklepios in thanksgiving for healing.

LIT. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 67–72.

—M.M.M.

**MABBUG**. See HIERAPOLIS.

**MACCABEES** (Μακκαβαῖοι), Jewish family that led a revolt against the Syrians in the 2nd C. B.C. The Byz. included all four Books of the Maccabees in the Old Testament, thus giving special emphasis to the expansive account of the torture and death of Eleazar, seven unnamed brothers, and their mother (4 Macc 5–18, and cf. 2 Macc 6:18–7:41). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 859f) names Eleazar, the mother Solomonis, and his brothers Abibos, Antoninos, Gourias, Eleazar, Eusebonas, Samonas, and Markellos. All nine, loosely termed the Maccabees, were regarded as saints and protomartyrs in Byz. (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:912–33). Churches were dedicated to the Maccabees, for example, two in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 313f), and they appear already in the 7th-C. frescoes at S. Maria Antiqua, Rome. The feast of their martyrdom was celebrated on 1 Aug. and included by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, taking 4 Maccabees as a text. The feast was illustrated both in calendar-based icons and MSS. An illustrative cy-

# M

cle is found in many MSS of Gregory's homilies, but follows the biblical account (in 4 Macc), not the homily text. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS the frontispiece to Maccabees was placed not at the start of the book, but facing 4 Maccabees. In the 4th C. a *martyrion* of the Maccabees was built in Constantinople, just outside GALATA.

LIT. Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 109–17. J. Paul, W. Busch, *LCI* 3:144f, 8:343f.  
—J.H.L., C.B.T.

**MACEDONIA** (Μακεδονία), in antiquity a region between THRACE and EPIROS comprising the watersheds of the Haliakmon and VARDAR rivers. Central Macedonia is a large plain dominated by the city of THESSALONIKE, with SERRES and PHILIPPI in the east and KASTORIA, BERROIA, OHRID, and PRESPA in the west. In the 4th C. Macedonia was a province in the diocese of MOESIA; by the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum* it was divided into Macedonia Salutaris and Macedonia II. This administrative structure was retained in the 6th C: HIEROKLES calls Thessalonike the capital of Macedonia I and STOBİ that of Macedonia II. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos anachronistically described Macedonia I as an *eparchia* (under a *consularis*) containing 32 cities and Macedonia II (under a *hegemon*) as having eight cities.

In the late 6th–7th C. much of Macedonia was occupied by Slavs, resulting in cultural bifurcation: Slavs controlled the countryside and upland regions while Byz. retained possession of most of the towns. Byz. reconsolidation began in the 8th C. A new administrative unit, the theme of Macedonia, was created in 797–801, according to P. Koledarov (*IzvInstBŭlgIst* 21 [1970] 219–43). Theophanes (Theoph. 475.22) mentions a *monstrategos* in Thrace and Macedonia active in 801/2. At the same time, a 9th-C. seal of Leo, *spatharios* and *tourmarches* of Macedonia (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 2147), shows that Macedonia was first a *tourma* of Thrace. In 813, however, the *patrikios* John Aplakes served as *strategos* of Macedonia. Several seals of various *strategoī* of Macedonia belong to the 9th C. The office of the *strategos* of Macedonia

is mentioned in the earlier *taktika* but not in the *Taktikon of the Eskiurial* of 971–75 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 355); the theme of Macedonia was probably replaced by that of LARISSA—at any rate, a *strategos* of “Larisa and Makaidonia” in 1006/7 founded a church in Tao (K. Juzbašjan in *Ellinističeskij Bližnij Vostok, Vizantija i Iran* [Moscow 1967] 115).

In Byz. terminology of the 10th–12th C. the name *Macedonia* was applied to Thrace: thus, Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 6.22–24) calls ADRIANOPOLE one of the richest and strongest *poleis* of Macedonia, and Basil I, born in Thrace, was founder of the “Macedonian” dynasty. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 23.3–16) lists PHILIPPOPOLIS, HERAKLEIA, RHAIDESTOS, and many other Thracian *poleis* as located in Macedonia. On the other hand, a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:524.18, 3:99.15, 100.7) distinguishes Thrace from Macedonia, and Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:104.20) sees Macedonia as a region that included Thessalonike (N.P. Andriotes, *BalkSt* 1 [1960] 147).

After 1204 all of Macedonia fell under the control of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, king of Thessalonike. The area was invaded by KALOJAN and conquered by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros in 1222, then by John III Vatatzes ca.1242. The CHALKIDIKE became a base for the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307–08 and much of Macedonia fell to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN ca.1345. The Ottomans conquered Macedonia in the late 14th C., although some cities held out into the early 15th C. The metropolitans of Macedonia were the bishops of Thessalonike and Philippi; they were under the authority of the papacy until 732/3, afterward under that of Constantinople.

Culturally, Macedonia formed a single unit, although the settlement of Slavs created some division, and the successive Bulgarian and Serbian states contested political control with Byz. Thessalonike dominated the south and Ohrid, from the 9th C., the north. Macedonia was the center from which Byz. culture reached the Slavs of the Balkans. Both Thessalonike and Ohrid developed cultural forms of their own, and one may speak of distinctly Macedonian styles of architecture and painting, although these were always strongly influenced by Constantinople and individual styles developed in many rural parts of Macedonia.

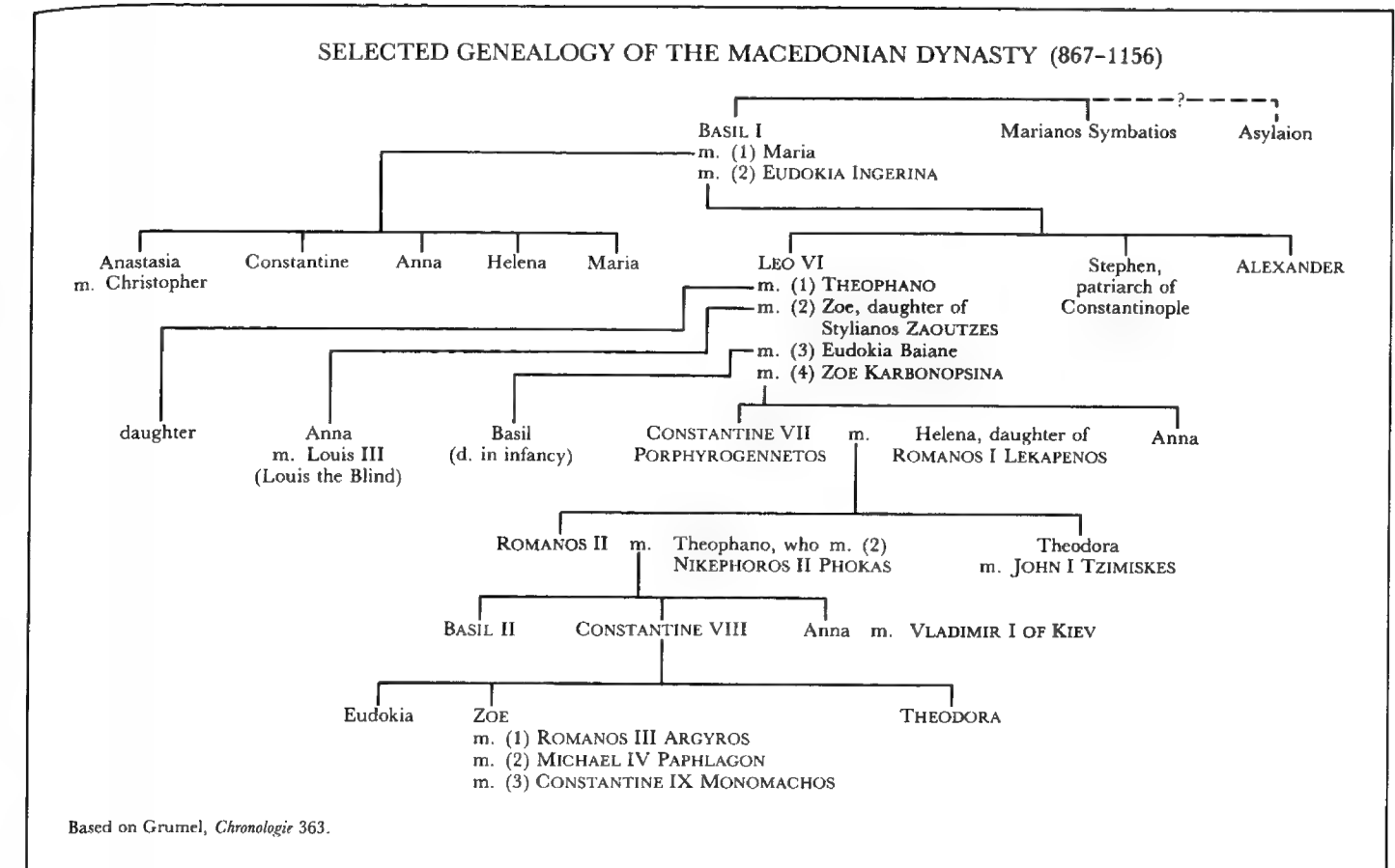
LIT. G. Theodorides, *Historia tes Makedonias kata tous mesous chronous* 285–1354 (Thessalonike 1980). J. Lefort,

*Paysages de Macédoine* (Paris 1986). Aik. Christophilopoulou, “Byzantine Makedonia,” *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 9–63. A. Konstantakopoulou, *Historike geographia tes Makedonias* (Ioannina 1984). S. Antaljak, B. Panov, *Srednovekovna Makedonika*, 3 vols. (Skopje 1985). —T.E.G.

**MACEDONIAN DYNASTY** (867–1056), Byz. dynasty founded by BASIL I, who came from an Armenian family that settled in Thrace or Macedonia. According to a legend, originated probably by PHOTIOS, the family was descended from the Arsacids, but in fact Basil’s parents were simple peasants. He advanced rapidly thanks to his extraordinary physical strength and boldness, murdering his rival, Caesar BARDAS, and then his protector MICHAEL III, whose former mistress EUDOKIA INGERINA was Basil’s wife.

The Macedonian dynasty included direct male descendants of Basil I: his sons LEO VI and ALEXANDER, a grandson CONSTANTINE VII, a great-grandson ROMANOS II, and Romanos’s sons BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII. During the minority of Constantine VII the imperial functions and the emperor’s title were assumed by ROMANOS I, who tried to establish his own dynasty, that of the LEKAPENOI; his attempt failed. During the minority of Basil II and Constantine VIII imperial power and the emperor’s title were bestowed upon NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and JOHN I TZIMISKES. Although Constantine VIII died in 1028 without a male heir, the dynasty was continued by a series of emperors, ROMANOS III ARGYROS, MICHAEL IV, MICHAEL V, and CONSTANTINE IX, all of whom were related to the Macedonian dynasty through ties of marriage to or adoption by Constantine VIII’s daughter, ZOE. This emphasis on continuation of the dynasty demonstrates the strength of the ruling family in the 10th and 11th C. Michael V’s attempt to depose Zoe led to his overthrow; the dynasty became extinct only after its last member, THEODORA, died childless. (See genealogical table; on the achievements and policies of the Macedonian emperors, see “Age of Recovery and Consolidation” under BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF.)

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 47–109. E. Kislinger, “Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.,” *JÖB* 33 (1983) 119–36. G. Ostrogorsky, “Brat’ja Vasilija I,” *Sbornik v pamet’ na Petr Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 342–50. W. Ohnsorge, “Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI.,” *BZ* 51 (1958) 78–81. Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 112–22. —A.K.



**MACEDONIAN RENAISSANCE.** See ENCYCLOPEDIA; RENAISSANCE.

**MACHAIRAS, LEONTIOS**, Cypriot chronicler attached to the court of the LUSIGNANS; born Cyprus ca.1380, died after 1432. In 1401 Machairas (Μαχαίρας) was secretary to Jean de Nore (PLP, no.20722), in 1426 he was responsible for wine distribution in Cheroitia (in southern Cyprus), and in 1432 he went on an embassy to the Turkish ruler in Laranda in Asia Minor.

The prose chronicle that Machairas composed on the history of CYPRUS begins with a summary of ecclesiastical history from Constantine I onward. His account becomes much more detailed with the reign of Peter I Lusignan of Cyprus (1359–69) and continues to 1432. The chronicle of Machairas was derived from a combination of Western and Greek written sources, oral tradition, and personal reminiscences. It reflects the viewpoint of a patriotic and Orthodox Cypriot, who was at the same time a great admirer of the

Lusignans, while despising the Genoese. Machairas was bilingual and wrote in a 15th-C. Cypriot dialect with numerous loanwords, esp. from French. His work bears few traces of the learned Byz. language or literary tradition, but contains elements of folklore and popular storytelling.

ED. Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford 1932), with Eng. tr.; corr. by K. Chatzepsaltes, *Byzantinistik* 31 (1961) 209–14.

LIT. R.M. Dawkins, *The Nature of the Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas* (Oxford 1945). P. Tivčev, “Tendances patriotiques dans la ‘Chronique chypriote’ de Léontios Machairas,” *BBulg* 5 (1978) 147–74. PLP, no.17517.

—A.M.T.

**MACHAIRAS MONASTERY**, founded in the mid-12th C. on a mountain near Tamasos (or Tamasia) in central Cyprus; it continues to function at the present. The early history of the monastery of Machairas (Μαχαίρας, “swordmaker”), which was dedicated to the Theotokos tou Machaira, is known only from the *typikon* (*typike dia-*



*taxis*) composed in 1210 by Neilos, bishop of Tamasia. It began as a hermitage established by two Palestinian monks, Neophytos and Ignatios. After the death of Neophytos, Emp. Manuel I granted Ignatios the mountain and an annual income of 50 nomismata to build a small monastery and chapel; the independence of Machairas was guaranteed (Tsiknopoullos, *infra* 11f). After 1172 the complex was greatly enlarged under the leadership of Ignatios's disciple Neilos, who accumulated considerable property and received a tax exemption and 24 *paroikoi* from Emp. Alexios III Angelos (Tsiknopoullos, *infra* 17.1–4). Neilos also founded a nunnery in Tamasia and provided it with a rule that has not survived.

The *typikon*, modeled on that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople, begins with instructions for the celebration of services; it then provides a detailed description of the administrative structure of Machairas. An unusual feature was the appointment of two *oikonomoi*, one to supervise internal affairs and the other to supervise agricultural activity on its estates. Other monastic officials included two *docheiarioi*, an *eklesiarches*, a cellarer, and a disciplinary officer (*epistemonarches*). Neilos devoted particular attention to record keeping and other provisions to guard against fraud. He specifically forbade the entrance of women and the education of lay children at the monastery.

SOURCE. *Kypriaka Typika*, ed. J. Tsiknopoullos (Nikosia 1969) 1–68, corr. K. Manaphes, *EEPhSPA* 20 (1969) 155–68.

LIT. S. Menardos, *He en Kypro hiera mone tes Panagias tou Machaira* (Piraeus 1929). Galatariotou, "Typika" 130f. —A.M.T.

**MACROBIUS**, more fully Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, Latin writer of 4th/5th C., perhaps the Theodosius who was praetorian prefect of Italy in 430 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 56 [1966] 25–38). His *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, a Neoplatonist exposition of Scipio Africanus's epiphany in Cicero's *De re publica*, was very influential in medieval times. The *Saturnalia*, whose dramatic date is 17–19 Dec. 384, although itself perhaps not published until after 410, comprises seven books (with lacunae at the beginning and end of some) of antiquarian polymathy, couched in the traditional form of a symposium. Hosts and participants include prominent pagans (e.g., SYMMACHUS) and

the Vergilian commentator Servius. VERGIL himself is the central topic, cast in the superhuman form that anticipates his role in Dante. The *Saturnalia* is a piece of classical and pagan nostalgia, studiously ignoring Christianity and contemporary troubles. A third work, *On Dissimilarities and Similarities between Greek and Latin Words*, survives only in medieval excerpts.

ED. *Saturnalia and Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1970). *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, tr. W.H. Stahl (New York 1952; rp. 1966). *Saturnalia*—Eng. tr. P.V. Davies (New York 1969). *On Dissimilarities*, frags.—*Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, vol. 5 (Leipzig 1868; rp. Hildesheim 1881) 599–655.

LIT. J. Flamant, *Macrobie et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Leiden 1977). M.A. Elferink, *La descente de l'âme d'après Macrobie* (Leiden 1968). —B.B.

**MADABA** (Μήδαβα, Ar. Mādabā in modern Jordan), city and bishopric in the province of Arabia, under the jurisdiction of BOSTRA; it flourished in the 6th–7th C. Lying to the east of the pilgrimage site of Mt. NEBO, Madaba itself had at least 12 churches. Subjects of the numerous floor mosaics uncovered in Madaba include a map of the Holy Land (MADABA MOSAIC MAP), Hippolytos and Phaedra, Achilles and Patroklos, Herakles, a Dionysiac procession, hunting scenes, city Tyches, and a personification of Thalassa (the last in a Church of the Holy Apostles of 578). An inscription records the restoration of a cistern by Justinian I. Other dated inscriptions of building and paving are of 562 and 603/4 (the cathedral), 595/6–607/8, and 663 (the Church of the Virgin, by the "people of this polis of Madaba").

LIT. *IGLSyr* 21.2 (1986) nos. 125–52. M. Piccirillo, *Madaba: Le chiese e i mosaici* (Milan 1989). —M.M.M.

**MADABA MOSAIC MAP**, a late 6th-C. topographical pavement depicting the Holy Land, set into the transept of a church at MADABA in Jordan. The major surviving fragment (10.5 × 5 m) shows the area from the Jordan Valley to the Nile; dominating its center is Jerusalem, directly in front of the apse. Based on a Roman road map and the *Onomastikon* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, supplemented by a few Jewish and later Christian sources, the mosaic provides a graphic guide to Old and New Testament sites. Although small towns are represented only by conventional structures, larger cities are laid out with surprising

detail in bird's-eye view; in Jerusalem five of the ten churches shown can be identified. There are indications of vegetation as well, and, in many cases, enough information to judge the relative importance of the various LOCA SANCTA in the 6th C.

LIT. H. Donner, H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba* (Wiesbaden 1977). M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem 1954). H.G. Thümmel, "Zur Deutung der Mosaikkarte von Madaba," *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 66–79. —G.V.

**MAENADS**, ecstatic and frenzied women in DIONYSOS's retinue, who in their madness dance and devour raw flesh. Allusions to maenads are found in late Roman literature both pagan and patristic: thus, Basil the Great (PG 31:189BC) in his list of women's vices speaks of maenadic misbehavior—drunkenness, fornication, insolence, etc., while the vita of John Klimax (PG 88:600B) describes the sword of obedience as extinguishing maenadic tyranny. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, in the *Dionysiaka*, presents maenads as zealous warriors in the great Indian war launched by Dionysos, but he also describes them (34:352–56) as discarding their manly character and once more becoming women who refuse to do battle and return to the distaff and spindle. Christian authors explained their *omophagia* (devouring raw flesh) as merely a commemorative rite, in commemoration of the day when, according to the legend, Dionysos was torn to pieces (E.R. Dodds, *HThR* 33 [1940] 165). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 321.20–26) compares Andronikos I Komnenos and his courtesans to Dionysos and the maenads.

By the 10th–11th C. the maenad had become a generic figure in art, adapted to a specific situation by the attributes that she holds (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 114, 157). Thus divorced from their original context, they lent their form to the dancers on the crown of Constantine IX (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, fig. 134).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 129f, 179f. —A.K., A.C.

**MAGI**. See ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

**MAGIC** (μαγεία). In Byz. usage synonymous with sorcery (*goeteia*), magic was a normal phenomenon in the life of late Roman society. It served two major goals: to explain "supernatural" forces

(dreams, visions, extraordinary natural phenomena, constellations of celestial bodies) and to influence them (or prevent their effect) through special prayers, AMULETS, and the assistance of DEMONS. The position of Christianity toward magic and DIVINATION was ambivalent: on the one hand, holy objects (RELICS, icons, liturgical objects) and holy persons (both living and dead) were granted the ability both to explain and to control the activity of supernatural powers. On the other hand, traditional magic was condemned and perpetrators of magic could be burned alive (e.g., A. Leroy-Molinghen in *Rayonnement grec* 286f).

The church distinguished between the holy man or woman who relied upon divine aid, and the magician who, however powerful, acted with demonic assistance. Magic was to prove inferior in any confrontation with genuine divine power: magical creatures dissolved before the sign of the cross, the books of the Holy Writ, or a sincere prayer, and sorcerers (like medical doctors) had to yield to the greater power of a saint. Another distinction, an internal one, lay in the nature of the act performed: the sorcerer concentrated on fulfilling sexual desires, producing ludicrous situations or objects, creating fake riches or secular knowledge, and inflicting harm, whereas the saint acted as healer and protector of men and animals, and countered the eruption of the evil forces of the cosmos (earthquakes, flood, locusts, etc.). The struggle against magic is one of the main topics of HAGIOGRAPHY (H.J. Magoulas, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 228–69).

The ambivalent attitude toward magic was typical even of intellectuals: Niketas Choniates records numerous cases of the efficient exercise of sorcery (the magic power of letters and words, hypnotic effects, knowledge of the future) but condemns them as futile, unchristian activities. The church fought against sorcery until the very end of the empire (e.g., C. Cupane, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 237–62), but various forms of magic were nonetheless accepted in Byz. daily life (the idea of beneficial and harmful days, dream interpretation, fortune-telling) and even in criminal procedure (ordeal by hot iron, the examination of an alleged thief by a "magic eye").

SOURCE. *Papyri graecae magicae*<sup>2</sup>, ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74).

LIT. P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York 1972) 119–46, and criticism, J.O. Ward,

*Prudentia* 13 [1981] 93–108. M. Smith, "How Magic was Changed by the Triumph of Christianity," *Graeco-arabica* 2 (1983) 51–58. Trombley, "Paganism" 341f, 344. Troianos, "Mageia kai dikaio sto Byzantio," *Archaiologia* 20 (1986) 41–44. A.A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1964) 100–25. D. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 3–17. —A.K., F.R.T.

**MAGICIANS** (μάγοι), sorcerers (*goetai*), and witches existed in both urban and rural society and in all social and economic classes of the late Roman Empire; pagans and Christians alike appealed to them for help: the vita of George of Choziba (7th C.) mentions a wrestler who resorted to a magician to alleviate the effects of poison, and the sorcerer Albicerius helped the young St. Augustine find a silver spoon. Political trials, esp. numerous in the 4th C., were often interwoven with accusations of sorcery, and political biographies of this period frequently include a magician's attack.

In the Hippodrome of Constantinople (5th–9th C.), members of the factions paid magicians to destroy the charioteers of their enemies. High officials suffering from maladies attributed them to the sorcery of magicians hired by their competitors for rank and promotion in the imperial administration; these officials recuperated at monasteries like that of St. Hypatios at ROUPHINIANAI in Bithynia, where the saint's blessings and EULOGIAI were thought to counteract sorcerers.

The nature of INCANTATIONS (preserved in Egyptian papyri), inscribed AMULETS, and magic books all presuppose literacy among sorcerers. Their ability to procure papyrus and metal for amulets suggests the financial viability of their profession. In popular belief, magicians were usually, but not always, connected with Egypt.

Christianity viewed the magician as a rival of the holy man, and hagiography encouraged the negative image of the sorcerer, usually described as a Jew, heretic, or heathen, who might direct hordes of locusts against tilled fields, practice poisoning, make love potions, and own magic books full of spells against men, animals, and houses. Nevertheless, practitioners of sorcery were active until the end of the empire. Tradition endowed even some biblical personages (SOLOMON) with witchcraft and power over DEMONS. The Iconoclast JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS was proclaimed

magician par excellence, and in the Khludov marginal PSALTER he is shown being trampled by Patr. Nikephoros I, just as the nearby figure of the sorcerer Simon Magus is trampled by St. Peter (fol.51v). —F.R.T., A.C.

**MAGISTER EQUITUM.** See **MAGISTER MILITUM.**

**MAGISTER MILITUM** (στρατηλάτης), commander in chief of the armies in the late Roman Empire. According to a historian of the 5th–6th C. (Zosim. bk.2.33.3), Constantine I removed the PRAETORIAN PREFECT from military command, entrusting the SCHOLAE PALATINAE to the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and the regular army to the STRATELATAI of the cavalry and of the infantry; the Latin terms, *magister equitum* and *magister peditum*, are known only from the period after Constantine. The distinction between the two kinds of troops, mounted and foot, was more theoretical than real. Constantius II created three posts of local *magistri militum* for both troops: for Oriens (350/1), Gallia (355), and Illyricum (ca.359). The next step in the division of military power occurred in 364, when the empire and the army were split between Valentinian I and Valens.

Thereafter several *magistri militum* existed in both the West and East, some at court (*magistri praesentales*) and some in the provinces (A. Hoepffner, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 483–98). Theodosios I tried to reduce the number of *magistri militum*, and Arkadios attempted to abolish them altogether, placing military power in the hands of the eunuch EUTROPIOS, but the post was soon reestablished. The distinction between cavalry and infantry disappeared by 370, when the title of *magister utrius militiae* was introduced, although the former designations continued to exist; in the West the *magister peditum* seems to have dominated.

The *magistri militum* were recruited mainly from Germanic peoples, in the 4th C. often from the lower strata, in the 5th primarily from princely families. Besides direct military functions and the right of conscription, *magistri militum* possessed judicial authority over their officers. Western *magistri militum* (like STILICHO) held supreme power; in the 5th C. they either appointed emperors or gained the throne themselves. In the East the

omnipotence of *magistri militum* was crushed, some of their functions being assigned to the QUAESTOR and the *magister officiorum*. In the 6th–7th C. the title *stratelates* was depreciated and later lost its technical significance (J. Durliat, *BZ* 72 [1979] 306–20).

The service costume of *magistri militum* in the 5th C. consisted of a sword, lance, *chlamys* (a richly embroidered tunic), and, at least on the diptych of Stilicho, a shield decorated with the emperors' busts.

LIT. A. Demandt, *RE* supp. 12 (1970) 556–790. D. Hoffmann, "Der Oberbefehl des spätrömischen Heeres im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Actes du 9e Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines* (Bucharest-Cologne 1974) 381–97. A.E.R. Boak, "The Roman *Magistri* in the Civil and Military Service of the Empire," *HSiClPhil* 26 (1915) 117–64. —A.K., A.C.

**MAGISTER OFFICIORUM** (μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφφικίων), master of the offices, the head of the central civil administration in the late Roman Empire. The office (first mentioned in 320) was created by Constantine I with the aim of restricting the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. Originally, the *magister officiorum* had under his control three chief *scrinia* (bureaus), the AGENTES IN REBUS, and the SCHOLAE PALATINAE, although he never exercised military functions. The increasing role of the *agentes* and the imperial bodyguards enabled the *magister officiorum* to become the central figure at court, a member of the CONSISTORIUM with control over the *cursus publicus*, the state police, diplomatic negotiations, and armament factories.

The master of offices had judicial powers and some authority over everyday affairs in the palace, tending the lamps and introducing people to the *consistorium*. To some extent he collaborated with the QUAESTOR but had no influence over fiscal services. The attempt to assign military functions to the *magister officiorum* failed in the West, but in the East he acquired control over the LIMITANEI and the border strongholds. Under Justinian I the struggle between the praetorian prefect (JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA) and *magister officiorum* (TRIBONIAN to 535) ended in the defeat of the latter official. In the 7th C. the *magister officiorum* was shorn of most functions (Bury, *Adm. System* 29); the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON assumed command over the bodyguard, and the office of *magister officiorum* eventually involved only the conduct of

imperial ceremony. Although in the late 9th C. Stylianos ZAOUTZES was occasionally called *magistros ton ophphikion*, from the 9th C. the office of *magister officiorum* in reality ceased to exist and MAGISTROS became merely a title.

LIT. M. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum in der Spätantike* (Munich 1980). Boak-Dunlap, *Two Studies* 1–160. G. Purpura, "Il 'magister officiorum' e la 'schola agentium in rebus,'" *Labeo* 25 (1979) 202–08. —A.K.

**MAGISTER PEDITUM.** See **MAGISTER MILITUM.**

**MAGISTROS** (μάγιστρος), a high-ranking DIGNITY. The word is etymologically connected with the Latin MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, but the Byz. *magistros* had nothing in common with the late Roman functionary. The first certain mention of *magistros* as a title is in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, who places *magistros* above the ANTHYPATOS. Bury (*Adm. System* 30) notes the omission of *magistros* from the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, but Oikonomides (*Listes* 47) considers this a scribal error. There were several *magistroi*, one of whom was called *protomagistros*; Stylianos ZAOUTZES, among others, was granted this title. The number of *magistroi* was fewer than 12 at the beginning of the 10th C. but reached 24 by the time of the embassy of LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA. Simultaneously, the title began to lose its significance. It probably disappeared by the mid-12th C.; a 14th-C. ceremonial book in verse (in pseudo-Kod. 338.124) mentions it among obsolete dignities. One of the last *magistroi* bore the name of Rousopoulos, indicating his ethnic origin (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.124). The female title *magistrissa* is also known—a seal of the *magistrissa* Maria Bryennissa is dated by Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no.119) to ca.1080. The term *magistros*, usually in the vernacular spelling MAISTOR, was also used to designate a craftsman or teacher.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: L'ordre (taxis) des Maîtres," *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 14–28. —A.K.

**MAGNAURA** (Μαγναύρα, from Lat. *magna aula*), ceremonial hall situated on the periphery of the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, east of the Augustaion. It had the form of a basilica with apses



to the east and two lateral aisles supporting galleries. In the central apse stood Solomon's Throne flanked by lions. The west façade opened onto a courtyard planted with alleys of trees. The Magnaura had, therefore, approximately the same situation and the same architectural form as the SENATE HOUSE rebuilt by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.10.6–9), and one may wonder whether they were one and the same, the more so as the Senate House is never mentioned after the reign of Justinian.

The Magnaura was restored by Herakleios after 628 (*AnthGr* 9:655). It was later used for receptions of foreign ambassadors, who were impressed by the hall's AUTOMATA. In the reign of Michael III the Magnaura became the seat of a school. It was also the normal venue on occasions when the emperor addressed the people. These considerations indicate that the Magnaura was easily accessible from outside the palace. Another Magnaura was located in the suburb of HEBDOMON.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 68–76. Guillard, *Topographie* 1:141–50. Mango, *Brazen House* 57f. —C.M.

**MAGNENTIUS** (Μαγνέντιος), more fully Flavius Magnus Magnentius, usurper (from 18 Jan. 350) and augustus (from 1 Mar. 350); born Amiens ca.303, died Lyons 10/11 Aug. 353. Of Germanic origin, Magnentius rose in the army to the position of *comes rei militaris* in charge of the palatine legions. He conspired with the *comes rei privatae* Marcellinus and overthrew and killed Constans I. Gaul, Britain, and Spain joined him. Taking advantage of the absence of Constantius II on the Eastern frontier, Magnentius marched toward Illyricum. The Roman aristocracy tried to organize resistance, proclaiming Nepotianus as emperor on 3 June 350. In Illyricum the general Vetrano was elevated on 1 Mar. 350 as "*salvator rei publicae*"; he attempted to negotiate between Magnentius and Constantius. Magnentius defeated Nepotianus and had him executed. He enacted some measures against the wealthy that caused senators to flee to Constantius and Vetrano. Although himself a pagan, Magnentius planned an alliance with the Orthodox in Egypt against the Arian Constantius.

In 351 Constantius appeared in Illyricum, where he gained the support of Vetrano. His attempt

to enter northern Italy failed and in the summer of 351 Magnentius marched via Siscia to Sirmium, near which, at Mursa, he was defeated in a bloody battle on 28 Sept.; 54,000 soldiers reportedly perished. Magnentius then withdrew to Gaul, where Constantius again defeated him (end of summer 353) at the battle of Mons Seleucus. Magnentius soon thereafter took his own life. The empire was united under Constantius II.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:138–41. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 445–52. J. Šašel, "The Struggle between Magnentius and Constantius II for Italy and Illyricum," *Živa antika* 21 (1971) 205–16. P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de Magnence*<sup>2</sup> (Wetteren 1983). —T.E.G.

**MAGNESIA** (Μαγνησία, now Manisa), city of Lydia in western Asia Minor, at the foot of Mt. Sipylus. Magnesia became important in the 12th C. It developed further under the Laskarids when it was functionally capital of the empire of NICAEA, whose rulers resided nearby at NYMPHAION and maintained their treasury and mint at Magnesia. In the 13th C. Magnesia was a market for local and foreign trade and site of an imperial palace. It was the center of a rich agricultural district that contained the important monastery of Sosandra founded by John III Vatatzes. Theodore II received the Seljuk sultan at Magnesia in 1257, and Michael VIII was there confirmed in power in 1258. By the late 13th C., Magnesia was increasingly exposed to attack. It was the base of Michael IX's campaign against the Turks in 1302, during which it withstood a long siege. In 1304, Magnesia was used by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, who so oppressed the citizens that the gates were shut against them; the city resisted their consequent attack. In 1313, the Turks of SARUHAN took the city. Magnesia was a suffragan bishopric of Ephesus, frequently contested with Smyrna. Remains of the walls and citadel appear to be the work of John III.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 44–47. C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Foundations in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 306–09. —C.F.

**MAINA** (Μαίνα in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Fr. le Grande Magne), castle in the MANI region in southern Greece. Although the castle is mentioned frequently in texts of the 13th–14th C. and was one of the major strongholds ceded to

the Byz. by the treaty of Constantinople in 1262, its precise location is still disputed (P. Kalonaros, *HellCont* 3 [1939] 375–80). Some have identified it with Zarnata, but this seems unlikely, while others have suggested Tigani on the west coast (N.B. Drandakes et al., *PraktArchEt* [1978] 183–91).

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 502–07.

—T.E.G.

**MAISTOR** (μαίστωρ), one of several vernacular forms of the classical *magistros* (Lat. *magister*). While *maistros* was used (by authors or by later scribes) to describe the MAGISTER MILITUM or MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, *maistor* was understood (e.g., in the *Souda*) to mean teacher. The word was extended to designate the leader of an atelier or team of ARTISANS: thus it is applied to Gerontios, a woodworker and "the best of his profession," by Theodoret of Cyrillus. Texts included in the *Patria of Constantinople* mention *maistores* and their apprentices (MISTHIOI). The term *protomaistor* designated the head of a GUILD. It could also refer to an expert performer and teacher of sacred chant (pseudo-Kod. 190.7, 359.20); the most famous of them, John KOUKOUZELES, is frequently cited in the MSS simply as "the *maistor*." *Megas maistoras* was the Greek translation of the title of the head of a Western monastic order.

LIT. E. Kriaras, *Lexiko tes mesaionikes Hellenikes demodous grammateias* 9 (Thessalonike 1985) 270, 285f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111f. —A.K., A.C., D.E.C.

**MAISTOR TON RHETORON** (μαίστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων), "master of the rhetoricians," one of the DIDASKALOI of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL in Constantinople. It is not quite clear when the office was introduced; the novel of Alexios I of 1107 mentions only three didascalical positions and does not include the *maistor* of the rhetoricians. In the late 11th C., however, Theophylaktos of Ohrid is attested as *maistor* before becoming archbishop, if indeed the lemma to the vita of Clement is authentic. The first *maistor* mentioned in an official list is Basil in 1166, whereas the list of 1156 does not include this office (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 529.13). Browning ("Patriarchal School" 39) lists several *maistores* before 1166, some questionable but two more or less certain. Choniates (Nik.Chon. 211.92–93) describes MICHAEL RHETOR as "adorning the

rhetorical throne." A certain "Mouzalon" (Browning, *ibid.* 14) is called in the title of his speech "a rhetorician under [an unspecified] patriarch Nicholas." In the second half of the 12th C. many *maistores* are named, including writers such as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES. The *maistor* was considered to be a deacon and a member of the group of five patriarchal teachers, but unlike his colleagues he was an imperial appointee. A Moscow MS (Moscow, Hist. Mus. 53/147) published by Čičurov defines the functions of the "rhetorician" as producing encomiastic speeches in honor of the *basileus* on Christmas Day and on the "bright Sunday" (Easter); the oratorical samples contain the speeches of the *maistor* primarily at Epiphany (for the emperor) and Lazarus Saturday (for the patriarch).

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926) 40f. I.S. Čičurov, "Novye rukopisnye svedeniia o vizantijskom obrazovanii," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 238–42. —A.K.

**MAJESTAS DOMINI** (Lat., lit. "Majesty of the Lord"), the conventional name for a highly synthetic visual image showing Christ's majesty at the end of time. Blending elements from the various apocalyptic and prophetic VISIONS (Is 6:1–4, Ezek 1:4–28, Rev 4:2–9), it shows CHRIST—youthful, mature, or as the Ancient of Days—right hand raised in speech and book in left hand, enthroned on a rainbow in a MANDORLA from which project the four beasts and often the wings studded with eyes, the fiery chariot, and angels. It is first seen in the apse of HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike, where prophets witness to Christ in a paradisiac landscape; in BAWĪT (Chapels 26, 51); at SAQQĀRA; and on an icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.16). The inscriptions used in these early versions indicate that the image owes its particular blend of elements to invocations of Christ's majesty in the liturgy. Popular in the 9th–10th C., the image appears in Cappadocian apse compositions of the Prophetic Vision, reflecting the Iconophile emphasis on visions as proof of the visibility of God. Komnenian Gospel books use the image as a frontispiece, invoking the Gospel prefaces that discuss "him who sits upon the Cherubim." The *Majestas Domini* recurs in Palaiologan miniature and icon painting in versions showing both the youthful

Christ with prophets, as at Hosios David, and the lone, mature Christ.

LIT. Ihm, *Apsismalerei* 42–51. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Theophanies-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," in *Synthronon* 135–43. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 55–73. —A.W.C.

**MAJORIAN** (Μαυριανός), more fully Flavius Julius Valerius Majorianus, Western emperor (1 Apr. 457–2 Aug. 461); died Liguria 7 Aug. 461. Of an Italian senatorial family, Majorian served in the army under AETIUS, but retired temporarily before 451. In 454 Valentinian III recalled Majorian to court. After the emperor's murder he was considered a possible successor. He served as a high military commander under PETRONIUS MAXIMUS and EPARCHIUS AVITUS and cooperated with RICIMER in the overthrow of Avitus in 456. In 457 he was appointed *magister militum*, probably by Leo I, then acclaimed by his troops as augustus, and on 28 Dec. recognized by the senate in Ravenna. Leo I accepted him as emperor by May 458. Majorian tried to support the urban curiae, improve the system of taxation, and enhance the old Roman virtues. He had to deal with a threat in Gaul, where he found strong opposition (B. Czúth, *Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis* 19 [1983] 113–22), and in Africa, which had been conquered by the Vandals; Prokopios preserved a legend that Majorian visited the court of GAISERIC incognito (G. Max, *BS/EB* 9 [1982] 58–63). Majorian prepared expeditions against the Vandals in 460 and 461, but in both cases Gaiseric attacked the Roman ships before they set out and the attempts failed. In 461 Majorian was deposed and executed by order of Ricimer.

LIT. Kaegi, *Decline* 31–35. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 584–90. H. Meyer, "Der Regierungsantritt Kaiser Majorians," *BZ* 62 (1969) 5–12. —T.E.G.

**MAJUSCULE.** See **UNCIAL**.

**MAKARIOS/SYMEON**, or pseudo-Makarios, monastic writer who probably lived in Mesopotamia or eastern Anatolia at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th C. Makarios/Symeon has become the conventional name for this author, whose works include 50 *Spiritual Homilies* that were attributed to the 4th-C. Egyptian monk

MAKARIOS THE GREAT in some MSS. Certain pieces by this author have also been assigned in the MS tradition to "Symeon," identified by Dörries (*infra*) with the Symeon who was the leader of the MESSALIAN heresy condemned by the Councils of Side (390) and Ephesus (431).

In addition to the homilies Makarios/Symeon wrote the *Great Letter*, *erotapokriseis*, and collections of *logia*. His works emphasize the constant spiritual struggle toward perfection and the supreme importance of prayer. Messalian elements (others prefer Gnostic) have been detected in the mystical nature of the *Homilies*, esp. as there are verbal accords with the Messalian *Ascetic Book*. Makarios/Symeon was also influenced by Basilian monasticism and by Gregory of Nyssa. The works of Makarios/Symeon were translated into Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Latin, and Church Slavonic.

ED. PG 34. *Oeuvres spirituelles*, ed. V. Desprez, vol. 1 (Paris 1980). Eng. tr. G.A. Maloney, *Intoxicated with God: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies of Macarius* (Denville, N.J., 1978). *Epistola magna*, ed. R. Staats (Göttingen 1984). For complete list of ed., see CPG 2, nos. 2410–27.

LIT. H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Überlieferung der messalianischen "Makarios"-Schriften* (Leipzig 1941). Idem, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon* (Göttingen 1978). V. Desprez, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 20–43. W. Strothmann, *Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios* (Wiesbaden 1981). —B.B., A.M.T.

**MAKARIOS OF PHILADELPHIA.** See **CHRYSOKEPHALOS**, **MAKARIOS**.

**MAKARIOS OF ROME**, saint; principal feast-days 23 Oct., 19 Jan., and others. Son of a Roman senator named John, Makarios ran away from home during his wedding, which had been arranged by his father. According to his Life, the angel Raphael led him to the ends of the earth, where he lived in a cave in peace with wild beasts. Makarios's vita takes the unusual form of a traveler's romance: three monks—Theophilos, Sergios, and Hygieinos—set off from a monastery in Mesopotamia to see the edge of the sky "at the iron pillar." The sober description of their route via Jerusalem to Ctesiphon gives way later to images of fabulous rivers, mountains, animals, and people in India and farther east. Finally they encountered Makarios, his body hidden by his white hair, his fingernails and toenails as long as a leopard's claws. He briefly told the monks his story and explained that they were not allowed to

proceed further, since 20 miles from Makarios's cave were two walls—one of iron and another of bronze—surrounding Paradise. Many MSS from the 11th C. onward preserve the legend; the editor, A. Vassiliev, proposed a dubious *argumentum ex silentio*—that the legend originated in the 5th–6th C. since it does not mention the Arabs. The legend is very important for reconstructing early medieval geographic perceptions.

**Representation in Art.** One of the very rare portraits of this saint is that in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.334), where he appears as an elderly monk standing alongside MAKARIOS THE GREAT; the two are celebrated together on 19 Jan.

SOURCES. *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, ed. A. Vassiliev (Moscow 1893) 135–65. Russ. tr. Poljakova, *Viz. leg.* 37–45.

LIT. BHG 1004–1005p. J. Trümpf, "Zwei Handschriften einer Kurzfassung der griechischen Vita Macarii Romani," *AB* 88 (1970) 23–26. F. Halkin, "Une rédaction inconnue de la légende de s. Macaire le Romain," *AB* 92 (1974) 344. S. Kimpel, *LCI* 7:479f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MAKARIOS THE GREAT**, or Makarios the Egyptian (to distinguish him from Makarios the Alexandrian or Politikos), saint; born Upper Egypt ca.300, died Sketis ca.390; feastday 15 or 19 Jan. He became the leader of an eremitic group in Sketis (WADI NATRUN) in which the monks lived in separate shelters and gathered only for worship and guidance from the leader. He was ordained in 340. As a supporter of the Nicene policy of ATHANASIOS, he was exiled under Loukios, the Arian bishop of Alexandria.

The anecdotes about Makarios stress his strict asceticism and ability to work miracles. His ascetic practice aimed at complete detachment from bodily functions: for example, PALLADIOS (*Lausiac History* 18.28) recorded that Makarios had not spat since he was baptized. Many writings in Greek as well as in Syriac, including the works of pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, were incorrectly attributed to him.

LIT. BHG 999g–999y. G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomas-evangelium und das Lied von der Perle* (Leiden 1967). E. Lanne, "La 'prière de Jésus' dans la tradition égyptienne," *Irénikon* 50 (1977) 163–203. —J.A.T.

**MAKEDONIOS CONSUL**, 6th-C. poet. The GREEK ANTHOLOGY preserves 43 of his epigrams, coming from the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. They are mainly anathematic, ekphrastic, erotic, and satir-

ical, largely unremarkable in subjects and style. J.A. Madden (*Mnemosyne*<sup>4</sup> 30 [1977] 153–59) detects evidence of Christian belief in one poem (bk.9, no.649), but the sentiment is entirely neutral and commonplace (B. Baldwin, *Mnemosyne* 37 [1984] 451–53). Makedonios (Μακεδόνιος) has been identified both with a former referendarios reported by MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR to have been purged for paganism in 529, and with a *vir illustris* who was an imperial official of 531; reconciliation of the two is not impossible. Since his name is not in the official *fasti*, his consulate must have been honorary.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "The Fate of Makedonius Consul," *Eranos* 79 (1981) 145f. —B.B.

**MAKĪN, AL-**, more fully Jirjis al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, Christian Arab historian; born Cairo 1205 (or 1203?), died Damascus 1273. Following in the footsteps of his Coptic father, al-Makīn became a civil servant of the Ayyūbids in Damascus. After a long and eventful service (he was twice thrown into prison), al-Makīn spent the rest of his life in that city. He composed a universal chronicle in Arabic entitled *The Blessed Collection*. The first part of this work begins with Adam and ends with the eleventh year of the rule of HERAKLEIOS. The second part covers the period of Islam, beginning with Muḥammad and ending with 1260. It refers to Muslim contacts with the Byz., e.g., the confrontation at MANTZIKERT, which consists of an abbreviated version of the account found in SIBṬ IBN AL-JAWZĪ (C. Cahen, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 618). The work of al-Makīn was used by the famous Egyptian Muslim historian al-MAQRĪZĪ as his main source of information about the Christians.

TR. C.F. Seybold, "Zu El Makīn's Weltchronik," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 140–53. T. Erpenius, *Historia Saracenica* (Leiden 1625).

LIT. Graf, *Literatur* 2:348–51. C. Cahen, R.G. Coquin, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 6:143f. Vassiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:188–91. —A.S.E.

**MAKRE** (Μάκρη, anc. Telmessos, now Fethiye), coastal city of western LYCIA. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 14.16, ed. Pertusi 78) still knew it as the "famous polis Telmisos," but in a notitia of ca.800 it appears as "Telmissos or Anastasioupolis" (*Notitiae CP* 2.310). The name *Telmissos* disappears from notitias by the 10th C., when the name *Makre* emerges (*Notitiae CP*, p.



76), but already in 451 a bishop of the *polis* of Telme and of the island of Makra attended the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi 7:433D).

The history of Byz. Makre is unknown. In al-Idrīsī and in Latin texts of the 13th C. it appears as an important commercial center, and in 1106 Daniil Igumen described it as a center of production of perfumed essences. At the end of the 12th or in the 13th C. the area fell to the Turks.

Preserved at the site are fortifications of the 8th C., enlarged in the 12th. The center of a coastal region, Makre's remains attest considerable growth and prosperity in late antiquity, the result of its location on the main trade routes between Constantinople and the East. Numerous sites in the vicinity preserve the remains of churches and houses but few civic buildings; most are datable to the 6th C. and were abandoned in the 7th/8th C. (R. Carter, *Archaeology* 38.3 [1985] 16–21).

LIT. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* (1982) 193–95. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (Vienna 1891) 43–45. —C.F., A.K.

**MAKREMBOLITES** (Μακρεμβολίτης, fem. Μακρεμβολίτισσα), a family of civil functionaries, probably of Constantinopolitan origin; Makros Embolos ("Long Portico") was a district in Constantinople. The first known Makrembolites, whose death LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS predicted (AASS Nov. 3:539E), apparently lived in Constantinople. John Makrembolites, a conspirator against Michael IV in 1040, belonged to the aristocracy of the capital: he married the sister of MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, and his daughter, EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, wed Constantine X Doukas. The Makrembolitai remained influential in the 12th C.: Demetrios was Manuel I's envoy to Conrad III and Louis VII in 1146–47; John served as *megas droungarios tes viglas* in 1157; Eumathios, *sebastos* and eparch (died ca. 1185), was a grandson of Eudokia's nephew, according to his epitaph by Theodore Balsamon (K. Horna, *WS* 25 [1903] 182f). Both John and Eumathios are known by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 896, 1041). Theophylaktos of Ohrid corresponded with a certain Makrembolites, *archon* of Prespa (on his name, G. Litavrin, *IzvInstBulglst* 14–15 [1964] 521), and characterized him as a man who skillfully acquired alien property. Some family members also held

high ecclesiastical posts: Theodore was metropolitan of Methymna in the early 12th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.3, no. 1798). The Makrembolitai corresponded with some *literati*. Eustathios or Eumathios Makrembolites wrote the romance *On Hysmine and Hysminias*. Alexios Makrembolites was a writer in the 14th C. (see MAKREMBOLITES, EUSTATHIOS and MAKREMBOLITES, ALEXIOS).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 16351–53.

—A.K.

**MAKREMBOLITES, ALEXIOS**, writer; died after 1349 or 1353. All that is known of his life is that he was in the service of the *exisotes* Patrikiotes (a financial adviser of John VI Kantakouzenos) and was a teacher and member of a group of *literati*. His works include orations on the Genoese War of 1348–49 and anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic polemics. His worldview is tragic, portraying a society torn between the poor and wealthy people, whose moral principles are perverse (M.A. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 8 [1972] 95–107; 10 [1973] 251–54); the Genoese exploit the empire, the Turks incessantly attack it, and gloomy omens portend the imminent end of the world (Eadem, *ADSV* 18 [1981] 135–40; 11 [1975] 87–98). A realist who was well aware of the decline of Byz., Makrembolites attributed the success of the Ottomans to their moral character, in contrast to the sinful Byz., who oppressed the poor. Makrembolites' language is rhetorical, and concrete interpretation of his work is difficult. Lj. Maksimović (*ZRVI* 20 [1981] 99–109) suggests that "the rich" in Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor* (of 1343) are financiers in the milieu of Alexios APOKAUKOS. At any rate, the *Dialogue* is not a revolutionary manifesto, and Makrembolites looks to intermarriages between rich and poor as the solution for social inequality. Eschatological lamentations about the plight of the empire in his *threnos* on the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia are harmonized with the expectation of the advent of Christ. Makrembolites drew on the Bible rather than classical authors for literary allusions. In his commentary on *Lucius or the Ass* of LUCIAN he allegorically interprets the text as a story of salvation through toil and purification (M.A. Poljakovskaja, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 137–40).

ED. and LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,'" *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 187–228, with Eng. tr. S.I. Kourouses, "Hai antilep-

seis peri ton eschaton tou kosmou," *EEBS* 37 (1969–70) 223–40. E.V. Maltese, "Una fonte bizantina per la storia dei rapporti tra Costantinopoli e Genova alla metà del XIV sec.: il 'Logos Historikos' di Alessio Macrembolite," *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di storia patria* 14 (1980) 55–72. *PLP*, no. 16352. —A.K., A.M.T.

**MAKREMBOLITES, EUSTATHIOS**, or Eumathios (Georgios, according to Dölger [*Diplomatik* 31]), *protonobilissimos*, writer. Usually he is dated in the second half of the 12th C., but S.V. Poljakova endeavored to demonstrate that he lived before Nikephoros BASILAKES and Theodore PRODROMOS (*VizVrem* 30 [1969] 113–23; 32 [1971] 104–08), i.e., in the late 11th or early 12th C. His identity with the eparch Eumathios Makrembolites, the addressee of BALSAMON (ca. 1185?), cannot be proved. His prose romance (*drama*) *Hysmine and Hysminias*, although imitating ACHILLES TATIUS, introduced significant innovations in narrative technique: according to Poljakova (in *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* [Moscow 1972] 380–86), he simplified the plot, rejected everyday scenes, and attained sublimity and abstraction; in contrast, M. Alexiou sees his originality in the bold eroticism, humor (even parody), and psychological insight (*BMGS* 3 [1977] 23–43). An important role in the romance is played by *ekphraseis*, esp. of the garden of a certain Sosthenes with figures of the 12 months represented as a *stratiotes*, shepherd, peasants, man in a bathhouse, etc., symbolizing Time in general and various stages of life. Under the name of Makrembolites is also preserved a collection of RIDDLES. Identification of Makrembolites with EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (A. Heisenberg, *RhM* 58 [1903] 430) is not valid, nor is an attempt to see in Makrembolites the author of a version of DIGENES AKRITAS (A. Chatzes, *Athena* 54 [1950] 134–76; 55 [1951] 189–224).

ED. *Erotici scriptores graeci*, ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig 1859) 159–286. *De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus libri XI*, ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna 1876). Russ. tr. S.V. Poljakova, *Vizantijskaja ljubovnaja prosa* (Moscow-Leningrad 1965) 46–110. *Quae feruntur aenigmata*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1893).

LIT. Poljakova, *Roman*. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:137–42. A.C. Palau, "La tradition manuscrite d'Eustathe Makrembolites," *RHT* 10 (1980–81) 75–113. —A.K.

**MAKRES, MAKARIOS**, sometimes called Asprophrys ("with white eyebrows"); monk and writer; born Thessalonike ca. 1383, died Constantinople 8 Jan. 1431. His biography is known from the

vita written by an anonymous monk (ed. Argyriou, *infra* 185–236). After receiving a secular education, Makres (Μακρῆς, Μακρύς) went to Athos at age 18 and became a hieromonk at the Vatopedi monastery. He and his second spiritual director, David, were invited by MANUEL II to Constantinople, where they remained for two years (1419–21). Makres returned briefly to Athos, but was then recalled to the capital by the emperor in 1422; shortly thereafter, apparently at the instigation of George SPHRANTZES (ed. Grecu, 48–50), he became superior of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY and *protosynkellos* of the patriarchate (1424). Although he was accused of being a Latinophile by Patr. JOSEPH II, he remained in the confidence of Emp. JOHN VIII. Circa 1429/30 he went on an embassy to Pope Martin V (1417–31) in Rome and proposed the convocation of an ecumenical council. He died shortly after his return to Constantinople.

Makres wrote on a variety of topics, including *ekphraseis* of icons (H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 125–40), funeral orations, and polemics against Latins and Muslims. He had a special interest in hagiography and wrote *enkomia* or vitae of David of Thessalonike, Andrew of Crete, Maximos Kausokalybites, and Gabriel, archbishop of Thessalonike. Many of his works remain unpublished. The attribution of some of his works is still debatable; a number of them had been erroneously ascribed to Manuel II (R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 15 [1949] 185–93).

ED. A. Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'Islam* [= ST 314] (Vatican 1986). *Enkomion of David*—ed. V. Latyšev, *Zapiski imp. Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 30 (1912) 236–51. Vita of Andrew of Crete—ed. B. Laourdas, *KretChron* 7 (1953) 66–74. For complete list, see Argyriou, 10–25.

LIT. *PLP*, no. 16379.

—A.M.T.

**MAKRINITISSA MONASTERY**, a 13th-C. Thessalian foundation dedicated to the Theotokos tes Oxeias Episkepseos ("of swift visitation"). Only fragments of the original buildings now survive in the village of Makrinitisa on the slopes of Mt. Pelion near Volos. The monastery of Makrinitissa (Μακρινίτισσα) was established in the early 13th C. by Constantine MALIASENOS, the ruler of Demetrias, and is first mentioned in a document of February 1215. The monastery's status as a STAUROPEGION was challenged on several occasions by

the bishops of Demetrias but reaffirmed by Patr. Germanos II and Arsenios. Constantine eventually became a monk at Makrinitissa and died there ca. 1256. His son, Nicholas Maliasenos (*PLP*, no. 16523), succeeded him as second κτитор and by 1266 had retired to Makrinitissa as the monk Ioasaph. The monastery flourished in the 13th C., acquiring several METOCHIA, including the Hilarian monastery at Halmyros.

In 1271/2 Nicholas also founded the Nea Petra monastery at nearby Dryanoubaina, together with his wife Anna Komnene Doukaina Maliasene. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist (Prodomos), it was also located on the slopes of Mt. Pelion, above the modern village of Portaria. Nea Petra was originally a nunnery, to which Anna retired between approximately 1274 and 1276 as the nun Anthousa, but within a few years it was converted into a male monastery. The monastic complex still survives, but the original Byz. church has been replaced by a 19th-C. structure. The monastery was a *stauropegion* under patriarchal jurisdiction; it was exempted from paying taxes and from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Demetrias.

A deluxe illuminated MS of 1282–86 (Turin, cod. gr. 237), which preserved a copy of the charters of both monasteries, was destroyed by fire in 1904; it contained a portrait of Nicholas-Ioasaph and his wife (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 188f, 248, figs. 141–42). The cartulary provides important information on the properties of the Maliasenoi and on sales and donations of land to the two monasteries, in addition to recording their disputes with the bishops of Demetrias (B. Pančenko, *IRAIK* 9 [1904] 173–81).

ED. Acts—MM 4:330–430.

LIT. F. Barišić, "Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira Makrinitisa i Nea Petra," *ZRVI* 16 (1975) 69–103. B. Ferjančić, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 31–48. N.I. Giannopoulos, "Hai para ten Demetriada byzantinai monai," *EEBS* 1 (1924) 210–40; 2 (1925) 227–41. Idem, "Les constructions byzantines de la région de Démétrias (Thessalie)," *BCH* 44 (1920) 181–209. —A.M.T.

**MALAGINA** (Μαλάγινα, later Μελάγγεια), district of BITHYNIA in the central Sangarios valley. Malagina first appears in history when Empress Irene sent an army there against the Arabs in 786. In 798 Arabs captured the royal saddle and horses at Malagina; they attacked again in 860 and ca. 875. Malagina was the site of the main

imperial stables where mounts were obtained for campaigns in the east. The first APLEKTON on the road to the frontier, it was where the *strategoi* of THRAKESION and OPSIKION joined imperial expeditions. In 1074 John DOUKAS had his palace in the vicinity, and in 1145 Manuel I restored its central fortress of Metabole after a Turkish attack. Manuel gathered troops at Malagina for his attack on DORYLAION in 1175. Its people supported the pseudo-Alexios against Alexios II. Malagina became the center of a province administered by a *doux kai stratopedarches* in the late 12th C. (Angold, *Byz. Government* 245). Attested as an archbishopric in the 12th C., Malagina became a metropolis under the Laskarids. Its powerful fortifications, overlooking the Sangarios near Pamukova, show two periods, probably of the 7th and 12th C.

LIT. S. Şahin, "Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasien, II: Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios," *Epigraphia Anatolica* 7 (1986) 153–66. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 140, 148f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 338f. —C.F.

**MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA TREASURE**, a group of more than 200 gold and silver objects as well as weapons and clothing, found in 1912 on the banks of a tributary of the Dnieper River, near Poltava in the Ukraine. The finds included Byz., Sasanian, and Avar pieces and others of disputed origin. The oldest Byz. object is a silver paten with control stamps of Anastasios I and an inscription noting that it was "renovated" by Bp. Paternos, possibly the early 6th-C. bishop of Tomis (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no. 142). Other finds included silver utensils with stamps of Emp. Maurice, a massive gilded silver amphora (early 7th C.?), and 69 solidi from Maurice to Constans II (V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantijskich monet na territorii SSSR* [Moscow 1962] no. 250), indicating a date after the mid-7th C. for the burial of this diverse assemblage. Effenberger (*infra*) suggested that the objects came from a grave rather than a hoard; others have argued for and against the thesis that it belonged to a Khazar or Bulgar leader such as KUV RAT.

LIT. *Súkrovišče na chan Kubrat* (Sofia 1989) 42–53. M. Kazinski, J.-P. Sordini, "Byzance et l'art 'nomade,'" *RA* (1987) 71–83. A. Effenberger in *Silbergfäße* 33–35. B.I. Maršak, K.M. Skalon, *Pereščepinskij klad* (Leningrad 1972). J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Munich 1984), rev. M. Schulze-Dörlamm, *BjB* 187 (1987) 852–54. K. Horedt, "Die Völker

Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Probleme und Ergebnisse," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich-Berlin 1987) 11–26. —A.C.

**MALAKES, EUTHYMIOS**, metropolitan of Neopatras (from before 1166), writer; born Thebes ca. 1115, died before 1204. Malakes (Μαλάκης) was related to the TORNIKIOI (his sister probably married the *logothetes* Demetrios). He belonged to the circle of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL in Constantinople and was closely connected to intellectuals such as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, whose monody Malakes eventually wrote, and Michael CHONIATES. In his speeches he praised the military exploits of MANUEL I and the heroism of Alexios KONTOSTEPHANOS; he ridiculed those who climbed the social ladder without acquiring the values of friendship and love for motherland and family (Bonis [1937], *infra* 62f); he criticized the "chief tax collector" (*architelones*) Bardas for his cruelty (p. 50.23–25). As a metropolitan, he tried to impose discipline on the monks of his diocese. Malakes' rhetoric remained conventional, although he introduced some vivid features in his portrait of Manuel: the emperor carried stones for the construction of Dorylaion; during expeditions he slept on straw, using his shield for a pillow and his armor for a blanket (Bonis [1941–48], *infra* 533.25–28, 538.1). Darrouzès ("Notes" 155–63) attributed to Malakes three speeches published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Noctes Petr.* 142–87) under the name of Euthymios TORNIKIOS, Malakes' closest friend and author of a monody on Malakes.

ED. *Ta sozomena*, ed. K. Bonis (Athens 1937). K. Bonis, "Euthymiou tou Malake metropolitou Neon Patron (Hypates) dyo enkomiaastikoi logoi," *Theologia* 19 (1941–48) 524–58.

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome 1934) 306–12 [184–90]. —A.K.

**MALALAS, JOHN**, chronicler; born ca. 490, died 570s. The name *Malalas* (Μαλάλας) means *rhétor* or *scholastikos* in Syriac. Malalas was educated in Antioch and evidently worked there as a bureaucrat; he probably moved to Constantinople in the 530s or soon after 540. The city of Antioch figures prominently in his *Chronicle*, an 18-book world history covering the Creation to the era of Justinian I. The sole Greek MS breaks off in 565; the narrative may have subsequently been extended

to 574 (E. Chrysos, *JÖB* 15 [1966] 147–52). Book 18, which describes the reign of Justinian, shows more interest in Constantinople and fewer hints of Monophysite sympathies than the rest of the chronicle; it seems grafted on, either by the author himself, with his views and residence changed, or by another. The suggestion of J. Haury (*BZ* 9 [1900] 337–56) that the author be identified with JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople, is now rejected.

The work is important as the first Byz. universal CHRONICLE; as such it exercised great influence, as it was also translated into Church Slavonic (M. Černyševa, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 221–26) and Georgian. It is of great linguistic interest, written largely in an undemanding vernacular (presumably for a popular audience), a refreshing change from Atticist pretensions. One positive aspect of the chronicle is the constant and unusual citing of sources by name, esp. in books 1–14, although many look secondhand. Books 15–18 derive more from oral sources and the author's personal experience. Greek MYTHOLOGY is constantly rationalized. The Justinianic section seems often to be based on imperial propaganda, giving the official point of view (R.D. Scott, *DOP* 39 [1985] 99–109).

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn 1831). Books 9–12—ed. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaiser-geschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart 1930). Eng. tr. E. & M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne 1986). Eng. tr. of Slavonic tr.—M. Spinka, G. Downey, *Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII–XVIII* (Chicago 1940).

LIT. *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott (Sydney 1990). E. Jeffreys, "The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers Towards Ancient History," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 199–238. Z.V. Udalt'cova in *Kul'tura Vizantii* (Moscow 1984) 248–60. E. Höring, *Mythos und Pistis: Zur Deutung heidnischer Mythen in der christlichen Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas* (Lund 1980). A.-J. Festugière, "Notabilia dans Malalas," *RPhil* 52 (1978) 221–41; 53 (1979) 227–37. —B.B.

**MALATYA**. See MELITENE.

**MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA** (probably in Syria), successful sophist in Constantinople; fl. 5th–6th C. Malchos (Μάλχος) wrote a history called *Byzantiaka*, whose contents are uncertain. Most of the extant fragments come from the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine VII (see EXCERPTA). Other fragments from the SOUDA, with and without his name, are variously ascribed to Malchos or to KANDIDOS ISAUROS, whose his-



tory covered Leo I and Zeno. The surviving extracts, emphasizing Eastern events, do much to justify the enthusiasm of PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.78), who thought Malchos a paradigm of historical writing in style and content. Photios was, however, cool towards Malchos's religious position, observing that he was "not outside the Christian faith," a comment that has led various scholars to label Malchos a Neoplatonist, a pagan, or a flirter with heresies, but that may only mean that he was studiously neutral on all religious issues.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:71–85, 124–27; 2:402–62, with Eng. tr. *Frammenti: Malco di Filadelfia*, ed. L.R. Cresci (Naples 1982), with Ital. tr.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Malchos of Philadelphia," *DOP* 31 (1977) 89–107. M. Errington, "Malchos von Philadelphia, Kaiser Zenon und die zwei Theoderiche," *MusHelv* 40 (1983) 82–110. —B.B.

**MALEINOS** (Μαλείνος), a family probably originating from Charsianon (Ch. Loparev, *VizVrem* 4 [1897] 358–63), although S. Papadimitriou considered the name non-Greek (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 734). In 866 the first known Maleinos, the general Nikephoros, crushed the mutiny of Smbat, a close relative of Caesar Bardas (*TheophCont* 680.15–20). Eustathios Maleinos was also a general; his grandson evidently administered Cappadocia for many years in the mid-10th C. (L. Petit, *ROC* 7 [1902] 551.6–9). Constantine's brother Michael Maleinos was an influential church leader and the spiritual adviser of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, his nephew (see MALEINOS, MICHAEL). Another Eustathios, one of the richest Byz. magnates, fought in 976 against Bardas SKLEROS but in 986 effectively supported Bardas PHOKAS. Basil II, impressed by his wealth, took Eustathios to Constantinople, confined him, and after his death confiscated the Maleinos estates. Eustathios is thought to be the patron of a silver-gilt STON, a shrine or reliquary now in the cathedral treasury at Aachen; only the first name is inscribed. According to E. Honigsmann (*AIPHOS* 4 [1936] 268–71), Arab itineraries for Asia Minor note the Maleinos estates that stretched from Klaudioupolis to the Sangarios River for about 115 sq. km. Several seals of the Maleinoi of the 11th C. have survived; they bore titles of *patrikios* and *proedros*; Niketas Maleinos was *hypatos* and *strategos* in the mid-11th C. (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 274f). Thereafter the Maleinoi lost the role of military commanders: in 1084 Stephen Maleinos

was a modest landowner in Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.45.8), and, under Andronikos I, Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. *Thess. Capture* 56.15) described a certain Maleinos as noble, although Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 296.76–78) considered him neither noble nor rich.

A branch of the family existed in Calabria: a *protospatharios* Gregory Maleinos, perhaps a relative of NEILOS OF ROSSANO, served in the Byz. administration in the 10th C.; family members were landowners, administrators, and church leaders in 11th- and 12th-C. Calabria (Falkenhansen, *Dominazione* 154f). The family is unknown in late Byz.

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 191. —A.K., A.C.

**MALEINOS, MICHAEL**, saint; baptismal name, Manuel; born Charsianon ca.894, died Mt. Kyminas, Bithynia, 12 July 961. Born to the noble MALEINOS family, he received the title of *spatharokandidatos* at an early age. At 18, however, he left the imperial court and retired to the monastery of Kyminas, where he served as a waiter (*trapezites*). After his father's death Maleinos ceded his vast property to his brother Constantine and lived several years on a rock and then in an isolated location. In 921 he returned to cenobitic life: first in the monastery of Xerolimne, then ca.925 in Kyminas, where he became priest and *hegoumenos*. He had great influence on NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, who was his nephew, and on ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

His Life was written by a Theophanes, whom L. Petit identified with the Theophanes mentioned in the Life as a calligrapher and the disciple of Maleinos for 40 years; at any rate, the Life was apparently written by a contemporary. The author eulogizes the aristocracy: he criticizes ROMANOS I and describes with pride the Maleinos genealogy. He depicts social conflicts, such as an attempted murder of Maleinos by the monk Kyriakos. Theophanes included several visions, one of which concerned the Byz.-Bulgarian war; since the victory in the dream is ascribed to the black dog and the man in black dress (i.e., to Bulgarians), it is probable that Theophanes wrote before the Byz. victories over the Bulgarians under JOHN I TZIMISKES.

SOURCE. L. Petit, ed., "Vie de saint Michel Maléinos," *ROC* 7 (1902) 543–68.

LIT. BHG 1295. Ch. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotorykh grečeskikh žitij svjatykh," *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 358–63. —A.K.

**MALIASENOS** (Μαλιασηνός, fem. Μαλιασηνή), a 13th-C. noble family in Thessaly, confused by some scholars with the MELISSENOI. The Maliasenoi may have been related to the *sebastos* Nicholas Maliasen[s?], a participant in the council of 1191. Constantine Maliasenos supported MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and married his daughter. Constantine's son Nicholas changed sides, married Anna Palaiologina, Michael VIII's niece, ca.1267, and became imperial *gambros*. Nicholas (monastic name Ioasaph) and Anna built or rebuilt several monasteries and churches in Thessaly, including MAKRINITISSA and Nea Petra. In 1274 Anna became a nun under the name of Anthousa; she died probably before 1276. Slabs from her elaborate sarcophagus, identified by its inscription, are preserved at Nea Petra and at Ano Volos. A portrait of Nicholas and Anna in a collection of monastic charters (Turin, cod. gr. 237) was destroyed by fire in 1904 (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 188f, 248, figs. 141–42).

LIT. B. Ferjančić, "Porodica Maliasina u Tesaliji," *Zb-FilozFak* 7.1 (1963) 241–49. Idem, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 33–48. *PLP*, nos. 16521–23. —A.K., A.C.

**MALIKSHĀH** (Μελίκης), Seljuk sultan (1073–92); born Aug. 1055, died Baghdad Nov. 1092. Son of ALP ARSLAN, Malikshāh ruled Iran, Iraq, and northern Syria and claimed control over the Turkomans in Anatolia. In 1074 MICHAEL VII, seeking an alliance, exchanged embassies with Malikshāh, while Psellos wrote a treatise on the Incarnation addressed to Malikshāh, praising his tolerance. The alliance proved ineffective. About 1086 or 1087, after Abu'l-Kāsim had secured possession of Nicaea, Malikshāh sent Bursuk with an army against him. He also sought alliance with ALEXIOS I, who, however, chose to support Abu'l-Kāsim. In 1092 Malikshāh sent Buzan to Anatolia to subdue Abu'l-Kāsim and proposed the marriage of the sultan's son to a daughter of Alexios, restoration of Byz. territory in Anatolia, and aid against the Turkomans. Alexios declined the marriage proposal; his embassy to Malikshāh was frustrated by the latter's death. The ensuing fragmentation of Seljuk territories allowed the First

Crusade's success and the Byz. reconquest of parts of Anatolia.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Un aspect des relations byzantino-turques en 1073–1074," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:15–25. P. Gautier, "Lettre au Sultan Malik-Shah rédigée par Michel Psellos," *REB* 35 (1977) 73–97. C.E. Bosworth, *El<sup>2</sup>* 6:273–75. —C.M.B.

**MALTA** (Μελίτη), island lying 80 km off the southeast coast of SICILY. Probably ruled by the Vandals from ca.455 until it was taken over by the Ostrogoths at an uncertain date. It was conquered by the Byz. ca.535. By 592 it was the seat of a bishopric within the Sicilian province, initially under papal jurisdiction, but transferred to the patriarchate of Constantinople ca.756. Although attached to the administration of Sicily, it had its own *doux* by 637 (Nikeph. 25.23). G. Schlumberger's association of the seal of an *archon kai droungarios* (*REGr* 13 [1900] 492, no.203) with Malta has led to the suggestion that, owing to its strategic position and excellent harbor, a fleet was stationed there. Archaeological evidence is scanty and in Byz. sources Malta figures most often as a remote place of exile. Probably after a series of Arab attacks it fell to the Aghlabids from North Africa on 29 Aug. 870. Destruction of Christian sites and near complete Islamicization followed; a Byz. attempt at reconquest ca.1050 failed. Even after its conquest by the Norman count ROGER I in 1090 the Islamic presence remained strong.

LIT. T.S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources," in *Medieval Malta*, ed. A.T. Luttrell (London 1975) 71–87. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 87. M. Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide, 184–296 (800–909): Histoire politique* (Paris 1966) 475f. —T.S.B.

**MAMAS** (Μάμας), saint; feastday 2 Sept. The earliest panegyrics by BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:589–600) and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (PG 36:620f) are devoid of factual information: they only call Mamas a poor shepherd; Gregory reports that Mamas, who used to milk the deer, "now pastures the people of a metropolis." The so-called encyclical *passio*, preserved only in Latin (although the authors assert that it was written in Greek), develops the theme of Mamas's pastoral life among animals: when he was arrested and thrown to wild beasts, the lions and leopards knelt at his feet. The *passio* locates Mamas in time and space: supposedly *puer* (servant?) of T[h]aumasios,

an absolutely unknown bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, he was about 17 when he was discovered in the wilderness, brought to trial, and executed in the reign of Aurelian (270–75). A Greek legend describes Mamas as born in Gangra, son of a senator named Theodotos, and martyred at age 15. The legend of Mamas is also known in Syriac and Armenian versions.

**Representation in Art.** There are several different types of images of Mamas, the type varying with the context in which the portrait appears. Plain portraits show him clad in a short tunic and long cape, with a crook or a knife in his hand, sometimes standing among sheep. In the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.5) and other *CALENDAR CYCLES*, the martyrdom of Mamas is chosen (he is speared in the stomach). In illustrated MSS of the works of Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory's homily on Mamas is frequently accompanied by the image of the shepherd boy, kneeling to milk a doe or merely seated among animals on a hillside (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 100–03). The images of Mamas astride a lion may reflect *EULOGIAI* distributed at his shrine (A. Marava-Chatzenikolaou, *DChAE* 2 [1960–62] 131–36).

SOURCE. H. Delehaye, "Passio sancti Mammetis," *AB* 58 (1940) 126–41.

LIT. *BHG* 10172–1022. A. Marava-Chatzenikolaou, *Ho hagios Mamas* (Athens 1953), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 71 (1953) 467–69. N. Klerides, "Prolegomena kai keimenon tes akolouthias tou hagiou endoxou megalomartyros Mamantos tou thaumatourgou," *KyprSp* 15 (1951) 91–145. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:483–85. S. Gabelić, "Predstave sv. Mamanta u zidnom slikarstvu na Kipru," *Zograf* 15 (1984) 69–75.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

**MAMAS, MONASTERY OF SAINT**, located in the southwestern section of Constantinople near the gate of Xylokerkos. Byz. tradition assigned the original foundation of the monastery variously to Pharasmanes, a chamberlain of Justinian I (Zon. 3:300.23–26), or to Gordia, the sister of Emp. Maurice (Preger, *Scriptores* 3:274.4–5). The church served as a private mausoleum for the family of Maurice, containing the tomb of the murdered emperor and his wife.

By the late 10th C. Mamas had fallen into decline and was restored under SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN. According to tradition, he served as *hegoumenos* for 25 years; ca.996–98, however, a group of monks briefly rebelled against his authority. By the mid-12th C. the condition of the

monastic complex had deteriorated once again, reportedly on account of the abuses of *charistikarioi*. It was rescued by the *mystikos* George Kappadokes, who rebuilt the monastery and secured a chrysobull from Emp. Manuel I Komnenos declaring its independent and self-governing status. In 1158 the *hegoumenos* of Mamas, Athanasios Philanthropenos, composed a *typikon* of 48 chapters based largely on the 11th-C. *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. Although the monks were theoretically limited in number to 20, 29 signed the *typikon*. The monastery is last attested in 1399.

SOURCE. S. Eustratiades, "Typikon tes en Konstantinoupolei mones tou hagiou megalomartyros Mamantos," *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 245–314, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 7 (1930) 399–405 and V. Laurent, *EO* 30 (1931) 233–42.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Les Saint-Mamas de Constantinople," *IRAIK* 9 (1904) 261–316. Janin, *Églises CP* 314–19.

—A.M.T.

**MAMAS, REGION OF.** See BOSPOROS.

**MAMIKONEAN** (Μαμακουνιανός), leading family of early ARMENIA, said to have been descended from the Čenk'. The latter were traditionally identified with China, but recent scholarship has identified them with either the Tzans of the Caucasus or an Asiatic group in the vicinity of the Jaxartes. During the 4th and 5th C., the Mamikoneans were hereditary commanders-in-chief (*sparapetk'*) of the Armenian forces and royal tutors (*dayeakk'*). As such, they were able to play kingmaker for the dynasty of the ARSACIDS (pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND, bk. 5, chs. 37–44) and were Persian viceroys after the fall of the dynasty. Their domains included TAYK'/TAO and TARŌN and they inherited lands belonging to the Church at the death in ca.438 of the last hereditary patriarch, through the marriage of his only daughter to Hamazasp Mamikonean.

Politically, the Mamikoneans usually sided with Byz. despite occasional compromises with the Persians and the Arabs. In 368/9, Mušet Mamikonean collaborated with imperial troops to replace PAP on the Armenian throne. The 5th- and 6th-C. revolts of Vardan I and II Mamikonean served Byz. interests because they were directed against Persia and because Vardan II sought refuge in Constantinople after his defeat, even though Justin II's promised help had not come. Vardan's unsuccessful revolt and flight were repeated by

Grigor Mamikonean in 748, during his revolt against the Arabs.

From the 7th C. onward, the power of the Mamikoneans waned. They lost command of the army and their lands to the rival BAGRATIDS. The death of Mušet Mamikonean in battle against the caliphate ca.772, the subsequent murder of his sons, and the marriage of his daughter to the Arab freebooter Jahhaf marked the end of the main line in Armenia, though some minor branches survived.

Even though Greek texts do not employ the family name of Mamikonean, many scholars (e.g., Toumanoff, Adontz) have suggested that certain Byz. noble families of Armenian origin (MOSELE, ARTABASDOS, even PHOKAS) were descendants of the Mamikoneans. The Mamikonean connection was also ascribed to some emperors, such as Hera-kleios and Philippikos, Empress Theodora, and her brother caesar BARDAS. Attractive though it is, this thesis cannot be proven for want of sources.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 209–11. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, ed. and tr. N.G. Garsoïan (Lisbon 1970) 183–251. K. Mlaker, "Die Herkunft der Mamikonier und der Titel *Cenbakur*," *WZKM* 39 (1932) 133–45.

—N.G.G.

**MAMISTRA.** See MOPSUESTIA.

**MAMLÜKS** (Μαμελούκοι, from Ar. *mamlūk*, "slave"), a dynasty of sultans that ruled over Egypt from 1250 to 1517 and in Syria from 1260 to 1516. The Mamlüks originally were Turkish slaves who formed the bodyguard of the AYYŪBID sultan in Cairo. Taking advantage of the crisis caused by the Crusade of Louis IX (1249–50), the Mamlüks murdered the last Ayyūbid sultan Tūrānshāh in 1250 and seized effective political control; for a period of ten years, however, they installed a series of nominal Ayyūbid rulers, among them a woman Umm Khalil Shadjar al-Durr. The real founder of the Mamlūk sultanate was al-Zahīr Baybars (1260–77), who established his position by defeating the invading Mongol army of Hulaqu at 'Ayn Jalut, near Nazareth, in 1260. Baybars and his immediate successors subjugated independent lords in Syria, conquered Crusader fortresses such as Caesarea and Antioch, and finally drove the Crusaders from their last stronghold at Acre ('Akka) in 1291. The sultanate re-

mained a great power through the mid-14th C., when al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1341–51, 1354–61) tried to play the role of an autocratic ruler; thereafter incessant usurpations and Turco-Mongol attacks created a precarious situation, and in the early 16th C. the sultanate fell to the Ottomans.

The Mamlūk sultans were natural allies of Byz. in the confrontation with the Latins and Turks. The treaty of 1281 (M. Canard, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 669–80), signed by Michael VIII and Kalāwūn (1279–90), established eternal peace between Constantinople and Cairo and guaranteed security of both envoys and merchants. Exchanges of ambassadors continued under Andronikos II Palaiologos; Andrew LIBADENOS served as undersecretary on one of these embassies, sometime before 1328. In 1349 John VI dispatched to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan an embassy led by Lazaros, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Manuel Sergopoulos, asking for the reestablishment of a Greek quarter (Hārat al-Rūm) in Cairo, protection of the Christians in Jerusalem, release of captives, etc. (*Reg* 5, no.2950). Sometime between 1425 and 1428 John VIII corresponded with the sultan Barsbay (1422–38), seeking an alliance against the Ottomans (Gy. Moravcsik, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 105–15). Nonetheless there was occasional persecution of Christians in Mamlūk lands. At the beginning of the 14th C. Theodore METOCHITES wrote a *Logos* (no.12) on the neomartyr Michael who had been recently executed in Egypt, just at the time of a Byz. embassy (ed. H. Delehaye, *AASS* Nov. 4 [1925] App. 670–78).

LIT. D. Ayalon, P.M. Holt, *ET* 6:314–31. H. Lammens, "Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mam-louks d'Egypte et les puissances chrétiennes," *ROC* 9 (1904) 151–87, 359–92. F. Dölger, "Der Vertrag des Sultans Qalā'ūn von Ägypten mit dem Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos (1281)," in *Serta Monacensia: Franz Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss dargebracht* (Leiden 1952) 60–79. P. Schmid, "Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Konstantinopel und Kairo zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Munich 1956). P. Schreiner, "Byzanz und die Mamluken in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Der Islam* 56 (1979) 296–304.

—A.K., A.M.T.

**MAMRE, OAK OF** (Μαμβρή ή δρύς, also called *Τερέβινθος*, lit. "turpentine tree"), the LOCUS SANCTUS near Hebron associated with the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM when he provided hospitality to the three angels. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*Demonstr. evang.* 5.9.7, ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*



6:232.5–8) mentions that Terebinthos was considered holy by the local people. Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 2.4.2–4) describes an annual fair (*panegyris*) at the site in which Jews, pagans, and Christians participated equally. The feast included libations, incense, and animal sacrifice. The celebrants dwelt in communal tents but strictly abstained from sex and disorderly behavior. According to Eusebios (*VC* 3.53.2), Constantine I ordered the altar there destroyed and statues burned and had a church built on the spot, which was also marked by the sacred oak beneath which the angels sat. Remains of this 4th-C. basilica, later rebuilt, have been excavated.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 173f. *EAEHL* 3:776–78. Ovdiah, *Corpus* 131–33. —G.V., Z.U.M., A.K.

**MA'MŪN** (Μαμουν), caliph of the 'ABBĀSIDS (813–33); born Sept. 786, died Tarsos 7 Aug. 833. He was the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Under Ma'mūn the study of ancient Greek works enriched the caliphate's flourishing cultural life. Ma'mūn esp. patronized philosophy and science, funding translations of such authors as Aristotle and Ptolemy into Syriac and Arabic and sending to Constantinople and Sicily for MSS. He unsuccessfully attempted to have LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN visit Baghdad (Lemerle, *Humanism* 174f). For most of his reign Ma'mūn avoided direct attacks on Byz., although he supported the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV. In 829/30 he received the embassy of JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS. Hostilities flared in March 830, when Ma'mūn led an army into Byz. territory, probably pursuing the general MANUEL and reacting against Byz. support for the Khurramites led by Bābak (J. Rosser, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 265f). With his brother MU'TAŠIM in 831 Ma'mūn launched another invasion, during which his son al-Abbās defeated Emp. Theophilos. Ma'mūn refused the emperor's peace entreaties and in July 833 invaded Asia Minor, where he died, having proclaimed Mu'tašim his successor.

LIT. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI* 3:221–23. P.K. Hitti, *Makers of Arab History* (New York 1968) 76–94. Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate* 164–75. —P.A.H.

**MANASSES, CONSTANTINE**, writer at the courts of the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE and of Manuel I, eventually metropolitan of Naupaktos; born

Constantinople ca.1130, died ca.1187. Manasses (Μανασσής) wrote various conventional panegyrics (eulogies of Manuel I and the *logothetes* Michael Hagiotheodorites, a monody on Nikephoros Komnenos, etc.), and *ekphraseis*. His erotic verse romance, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, is preserved only in fragments. Manasses also wrote the *Hodoiporikon*, a verse description of his participation in the embassy of the *sebastos* John Kontostephanos to Palestine in 1160; his personal impressions and observations permeate the entire narrative. In an *ekphrasis* of bird hunting, Manasses concentrated on the elderly and bold leader who looked fierce and behaved disgracefully (L. Sternbach, *Eos* 7 [1901] 181–86). One can hypothesize that Manasses was alluding to ANDRONIKOS I, esp. because he reportedly caught the whole flock of birds, so that no messenger (Angelos) remained.

Manasses created a new genre of verse chronicle, his *Chronike synopsis* that encompasses the period from Adam to 1081. He followed ZONARAS primarily but omitted the reign of Alexios I (treated so critically by Zonaras), proclaiming himself unable to present the exploits of the Komnenoi. The sympathies of Manasses lie with the nobility, and he condemns Nikephoros III for his support of smiths, woodcutters, merchants, and other "craftsmen" (vv.6706–13). Manasses stresses the erotic element in the relations of Zoe with the young Michael the Paphlagonian. The playful approach of the *Chronicle* is emphasized by the abundance of Homeric images, by the rhetorically artificial vocabulary, and by uncouth expressions. The *Chronicle* was very popular; besides a great number of MSS of the original, there is a vernacular paraphrase, a continuation, and a 14th-C. Bulgarian translation with rich illuminations.

ED. *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1837). PG 127:219–472. I. Bogdan, *Die slavische Manasses-Chronik* (Munich 1966). K. Horna, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses," *BZ* 13 (1904) 325–47. O. Mazal, *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967). See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 495–97.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:419–22. O. Lampsidis, "Die vier Handschriften der Ausgaben der Chronike Synopsis von K. Manasses," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 654–59. *Demosieumata peri ten Chroniken Synopsis Konstantinou tou Manasse* (Athens 1980). Jeffreys, "Chronicles" 199–238. O. Lampsidis, "Zur Biographie von K. Manasses und zu seiner Chronike Synopsis," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 97–111. I. Dujčev, *Miniatjurne na Manasievata letopis* (Sofia 1962). —A.K.

**MANAZKERT**. See MANTZIKERT.

**MANBIJ**. See HIERAPOLIS.

**MANDAEANS** (from Aramaic *manda* [γνώσις], "knowledge"), a sect whose teachings are based on Gnosticism, also known as Nasoreans or St. John Christians; it apparently already existed in Syria in the 1st and 2nd C. and still survives today in Iraq and Iran. Teachings of the Mandeans, contained in works such as the *Ginza* (Treasure), are DUALIST and resemble MANICHAISM: the soul is imprisoned in the body and will be freed by *Manda d'Hayyē*, a personification of the "Knowledge of Life." Mandeans stressed frequent baptism and paid special honor to John the Baptist, causing some scholars to argue that they were disciples of the Baptist. The Mandeans were opposed to practices such as celibacy and baptism in still water. Their historical importance lies in their survival as a group, allowing insight into a living Gnostic tradition that is otherwise largely extinct.

ED. *Ginza, der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer*, ed. M. Lidzbarski, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1925). E.S. Drower, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandeans* (Leiden 1959), with Eng. tr.

LIT. E.S. Drower, *The Secret Adam* (Oxford 1960). K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1960–61). *Der Mandäismus*, ed. G. Widengren (Darmstadt 1982).

—T.E.G.

**MANDATE** (ἐντολή, *mandatum*), a transaction whereby an authorized person (the mandatary) was empowered and obligated to act for another. A mandate was issued when the mandatary was to appear, on behalf of the person who authorized him, before a court, state authorities, or at a transaction. There seems to have been no attempt to work out any theory of legal representation. Therefore, the distinction is fluid between the representative in court (*entoleus*, cf. *Nov. Just.* 71) who appeared for a single case and the administrator of an estate (*epitropos*, *procurator*) who served for a long time or even continuously on another's behalf in various ways. The custom of entrusting by will a close relative or spouse with the administration of the estate for the survivors led in the post-Justinianic period to a type of mandatary known as an *epitropos*, whose role must be variously interpreted according to context: as guardian, administrator, or executor of a will (see *Peira*,

15; *Ivir.* 1, no.12.8–12, a.1001; *Lavra* 3, no.160.1–2). —D.S.

**MANDATOR** (μανδάτωρ), subaltern official employed for special missions. The TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. distinguish between imperial *mandatores* and those of high-ranking military and civil functionaries; a seal records the *mandator* of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.472). The term *mandator* is first used in a 9th-C. chronicle (Theoph. 182f) for Justinian I's spokesman during the Nika Revolt of 532. *Mandatores* also had police functions—according to the (late 10th-C.?) vita two of them were sent to arrest MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (PG 90:109C). The seals of imperial *mandatores* are of the 7th–9th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 257–68); *mandatores* are also mentioned in the mid-9th-C. *taktikon* of Uspenskij and in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. In chrysobulls of the end of the 11th C. *mandatores* of the *dromos* function as guides for foreign envoys (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.45). The chief of the *mandatores* was called *protomandator*; a seal of the *protomandator* George Pekoules is dated to the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.256). The office of *mandator* disappeared thereafter; according to Guiland (*Institutions* 1:597), it was replaced by TZAOUSIOS.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 113.

—A.K.

**MANDORLA** (It., lit. "almond"), a conventional term for the aureole shown surrounding an entire figure to indicate the presence of the power of God. Usually almond-shaped, it may be round for seated figures. Seen first in 5th-C. art—Old Testament scenes at S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; apse of Hosios DAVID, Thessalonike—it then envelops Christ in scenes of his TRANSFIGURATION and ASCENSION and the Virgin in Glory in 6th-C. art. Rooted in Jewish and Antique literary images, the mandorla unites ideas of enveloping light and enveloping, protective cloud. Applied initially to varied instances of the "glory of God" (Septuagint *doxa*—W. Loerke, *Gesta* 20 [1981] 15–22), it was eventually restricted to Christ and the Virgin Mary as a sign of their celestial glory. It surrounds the figure of Christ in the ANASTASIS from the 10th C. onward and in the DORMITION from the late 12th C. In Palaiologan art, the mandorla was

understood primarily as light and was extravagantly developed in images associated with HESYCHASM, as in, for example, the miniature of the Transfiguration in Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Rice, *Art of Byz.* pl.39).

LIT. O. Brendel, "Origin and Meaning of the Mandorla," *GBA* 25 (1944) 5-24. —A.W.C.

**MANDYAS** (μανδίας), originally a light Roman cloak (attested from ca.200), resembling the CHLAMYS. Both Hesychios of Alexandria and Eustathios of Thessalonike assert that it originated with the Persians. The term came to designate the long, dark, plain cloak worn over the monastic tunic by both men and women. Hanging from the shoulders, it opens in front and stretches down to the knees; it is fastened at the neck and below the waist by drawstrings. According to monastic *typika*, a new *mandyas* was distributed to monks every two years (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.610). The term *mandyas* can also refer to the cloak that is worn by a bishop except when he dons the OMOPHORION to celebrate the liturgy; the episcopal *mandyas* may be more elaborate, with embroidered panels at its four corners from which spread rays called *potamoi* ("rivers"). In the 14th C., the emperor donned a gold *mandyas* during the coronation (pseudo-Kod. 261.3).

LIT. F. Kolb, "Römische Mäntel: *paenula*, *lacerna*, *mandys*," *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973) 69-167. Walter, *Art and Ritual* 30. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 136. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:450. —N.P.S.

**MANDYLION** (μανδύλιον), the Holy Towel, a precious ACHEIROPOIETOS said not only to have been an authentic likeness of Christ but one which Christ himself willingly produced. It was thus often cited both as proof of the reality of his incarnation—as it had been in contact with his body—and as justification for the ICONOPHILE position: Christ thereby endorsed the making of his images.

The existence of the Mandylion is first mentioned in the 6th C. According to one of several versions of the story, Abgar, a 1st-C. king of EDESSA, had fallen ill and begged Christ to come and cure him; instead, Christ gave the King's messenger a towel that he had pressed to his face and that retained the impression of his features.

(In some reports Christ sent a letter instead. Both relics were honored in Edessa.) The king was cured by the miraculous image, which, after being lost and then miraculously rediscovered, remained in the city even after its conquest by the Arabs. In 944, John KOURKOUAS besieged Edessa and obtained the Mandylion as a condition of his withdrawal. The Mandylion was carried in a triumphal procession to Constantinople that same year to the Pharos chapel in the GREAT PALACE. Its arrival is described in the *Story of the Image of Edessa* (PG 113:421-54) attributed to Emp. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, and the event was celebrated thereafter annually on 16 Aug. (V. Grumel, *AB* 68 [1950] 135-52). The Mandylion may have been one of the relics purchased by King Louis IX in 1247 and taken to Paris; these were housed in the Ste. Chapelle until lost during the French Revolution.

The extent of the influence exerted by the relic on other images of Christ after its arrival in Constantinople remains to be explored. Its original aspect can be reconstructed through its many copies. Although Christ's features on the Mandylion image are those of the Pantokrator, the Mandylion image is not a bust: it shows the nimbed head of Christ and part of his neck, but not his shoulders. The face is painted as though imprinted on a horizontal fringed strip of white cloth, which is sometimes woven with a diaper pattern or stripes of ornament. The earliest surviving example is on a 10th-C. icon at St. Catherine's monastery, Sinai, celebrating the Abgar story (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons* B.58).

As the *Story of the Image* was incorporated into the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, some 11th-C. illustrated MSS of the *menologion* also contain images of the Mandylion and even short narrative cycles illustrating the story of the relic and of its arrival in the capital. Longer cycles appear in the 14th C.: on a scroll in the Morgan Library (S. Der Nersessian, *IzvBulgArchInst* 10 [1936] 98-106; *Illuminated Greek MSS*, no.56), on ten silver panels that frame a 14th-C. painted icon of the Mandylion in Genoa (Grabar, *Revêtements*, no.35), and in the Serbian church of Matejić (V. Petković, *PKJIF* 12 [1932] 11-19). A curious miniature in the Madrid Skylitzes MS shows Emp. Romanos I receiving and embracing the Mandylion, here represented not as a piece of im-

printed cloth but as the disembodied head of Christ resting on a towel (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, fig.158).

In monumental painting, the Mandylion was a popular theme in all quarters of the empire and beyond, including Cappadocia (N. Thierry, *Zograf* 11 [1980] 16-18) and Georgia (T. Velmans, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 74-78). It has no fixed place in church decoration, but often forms a pendant to the KERAMION. The Mandylion image was also known in the West where, with certain differences of detail (Christ's neck is not included, the crown of thorns is eventually added), it developed as the "Veronica."

LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 102-96, 158-249\*, 29-129\*\*. Av. Cameron, "The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story," *Okeanos* 80-94. J.M. Fiey, "Image d'Edesse ou Linceul de Turin," *RHE* 82 (1987) 271-77. K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *CahArch* 11 (1960) 163-84. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 134-46. A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon* (Prague 1931). —N.P.S.

**MANFRED**, king of Sicily (1258-66); born 1232, died Benevento 26 Feb. 1266. The illegitimate son of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, Manfred was elected king of Sicily in 1254 after the death of his half-brother Conrad IV. He was not crowned until 1258, however, after overcoming papal opposition. Manfred continued his ancestors' policy of conquest of the Balkans. Although his sister Constance-Anna was married to JOHN III VATATZES, Manfred abandoned his father's alliance with the empire of NICAIA after the death of THEODORE II LASKARIS and formed a coalition with the despotate of EPIROS. On 2 June 1259 he married Helena, daughter of MICHAEL II KOMENOS DOUKAS of Epiros (M. Dendias, *EpChron* 1 [1926] 219-94). Michael confirmed Manfred's possession of coastal lands that he had previously seized in Albanian Epiros. Manfred joined the anti-Nicene alliance of Michael and WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN and sent 400 German knights to fight at PELAGONIA, but did not himself participate in the battle (D.J. Geanakoplos, *DOP* 7 [1953] 101-41). After the defeat of the coalition, the victorious MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS offered to marry Manfred's sister Anna, but she refused. Manfred was killed at Benevento in battle against CHARLES I OF ANJOU, who succeeded him as king of Sicily. Manfred's daughter Constance was mar-

ried to Peter III of Aragon, thus providing the latter with a claim to Sicily (see SICILIAN VESPER). —A.M.T.

LIT. E. Merendino, "Manfredi fra Epiro e Nicea," 15 *CEB* 4 (Athens 1980) 245-52. M. Dendias, "Le roi Manfred de Sicile et la bataille de Pelagonie," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:55-60. *PLP*, no.16779. Nicol, *Epiros I* 166-82, 192-94. B. Berg, "Manfred of Sicily and the Greek East," *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 263-89. —A.M.T.

**MANGANA**, region of Constantinople, named after a depot of military engines (μάγγανα), situated on the east declivity of the Acropolis hill. The family of Michael I Rangabe owned a mansion there, transformed by Basil I into a crown domain with far-flung landed possessions to defray the expenses of the imperial table. Constantine IX Monomachos developed the area: he built a monastery of St. George, a palace (later destroyed by Isaac II), and a hospital, and established a law school there. The monastic church, cloister, and surrounding garden were constructed on a lavish scale by Constantine, who was subsequently buried there in 1055. The imperial court visited the church annually on 23 Apr., the feast of St. GEORGE. Constantine IX granted the "pronoia of Mangana" to the future patriarch CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDS, but the meaning of the term PRONOIA here is debatable (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 291-94).

After brief occupation by Latin monks during the 13th-C. Latin Empire of Constantinople, the monastery was restored to the Greeks under Michael VIII. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS lived at Mangana for a while after his abdication. Greek monks continued to inhabit Mangana until 1453, when Turkish dervishes occupied it. Soon thereafter the monastic complex was destroyed to accommodate the fortified circuit of the seraglio. Archaeological exploration has revealed a complex of substructures among which the remains of the Church of St. George are recognizable.

During the 14th C. the monastery housed the relics of Christ's Passion, which attracted numerous visitors, including pilgrims from Rus'. It held second place in the hierarchy of Constantinopolitan monasteries. A number of MSS have survived from its library; at least two were copied at Mangana in the 14th C.

LIT. R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (Paris 1939). Janin, *Églises CP* 70-76. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 273-83. N. Oikonomides, "St. George of the Man-



gana, Maria Skleraina and the 'Malyj Sion' of Novgorod," *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81) 239-46. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 366-72. E. Malamut, "Nouvelle hypothèse sur l'origine de la maison impériale des Manganes," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:127-34. —C.M., A.M.T.

**MANGLABITES** (μαγγ(γ)λαβίτης), member of the *manglabion* (lit. "cudgel"), a detachment of imperial bodyguards (along with the HETAIREIA). *Manglabitai* preceded the emperor at ceremonies and had to unlock certain gates of the palace every morning. They were armed with swords (*De cer.* 576.1). The first mention is in the 9th-C. vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL—his son John was *spatharios* and *manglabites*. The etymology is under discussion: M. Canard (*Byzantion* 21 [1951] 405, n.1) has associated the word with the Arabic *mijlab*, a whip, while others have suggested the combination of Lat. *manus*, "hand," and *clava*, "cudgel" (*De adm. imp.* 51.61-62); the verb *manglabizo* was used for flogging (Ph. Koukoules, *Thessalonikes Eustathiou ta laographika* [Athens 1950] 2:114, n.6). The term *rabdouchoi*, "bludgeon-carriers," in the vita of IGNATIUS THE DEACON (PG 105:529C), was probably a synonym for *manglabitai*.

*Manglabitai* fulfilled special assignments, sometimes to kill or capture an imperial adversary; because of their closeness to the ruler they would occasionally be involved in conspiracy against him. Their commanders, sometimes called *epi tou manglabiou* or *protomanglabitai*, held a high position in the 10th C., whereas a simple *manglabites* could be illiterate (*Lavra* 1, no.16.49, a.1012). According to Oikonomides (*Listes* 328), imperial *manglabitai* disappeared by the end of the 11th C. On the other hand, *manglabitai* of the Great Church are known only from seals of the 11th-13th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 142-43).

LIT. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies. Commentaire*, vol. 1 (Paris 1935) 32. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 206-09. Schlumberger, *Sig.* 537-43. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:200. —A.K.

**MANI** (Μάνη, Μαῖνη), the mountainous central "finger" of the Peloponnesos extending southward into the Cretan Sea and terminating in Cape Tainaron (Matapan). The region has an unusually rough and rocky terrain formed by the southern reaches of Mt. Taygetos, which plunges sheer into the sea at many points; as a result it tended to be isolated from the rest of the peninsula, and its

population has a tradition of resistance to control by a central authority.

In the 4th and 5th C. the Mani was ravaged by invasions of Goths and Vandals, and also suffered from severe earthquakes. In the late 6th C. began the invasions of the Slavs, some of whom settled permanently and came to be known as the EZERITAI and MELINGOI. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.*, 50.71-75), the Maniots were ethnically Greek ("the descendants of the ancient Romans who even to this day are called 'Hellenes' by the local inhabitants") and retained their allegiance to the Byz. Empire during the period of the Slavic invasions. Byz. political control over the Mani was reasserted in the 9th C.; the Mani was part of the theme of the Peloponnesos. In the 13th C. the Mani was briefly under the control of the Franks who constructed great castles at Passava and MAINA; the Byz. recovered Mani by the treaty of 1262, but their authority over the region remained nominal. The Ottomans added Mani to their territory after the fall of Mistra in 1460.

Christianity penetrated into Mani by the 5th C. and at least four churches built there in the 5th and 6th C. are known. Nonetheless, there must have been considerable reversion to paganism during the time of Slavic settlement in the peninsula, and Constantine VII states that Maniots were considered by some [Christian] "local inhabitants" as idol worshipers; he says that they were converted to Christianity by Basil I. Strangely enough, the conversion of the Maniots is not mentioned in the VITA BASILII, and missionaries (notably NIKON HO "METANOEITE") were active in the Mani in the 9th and 10th C. The churches built in the 10th C. and thereafter are remarkable for their number and their state of preservation, although it is unclear whether this should be attributed to the wealth of the area in Byz. times or to its modern isolation. Most of these churches are small versions of the cross-in-square plan although local features, such as the vault of the nave projecting into the narthex, are evident, as at St. Theodore, Vamvaka, dated by inscription to 1075. Among the most elaborately painted are the Church of Hagios Strategos at Voularioi (12th C.) and St. Nicholas at Kambinari near Platsa, whose first program of decoration was commissioned by Constantine Spanes, military governor (*tzaousios*) of the region in 1337.

LIT. D.E. Rogan, *Mani, History and Monuments* (Athens 1973). P. Calongaros, "A travers le Magne: Les châteaux francs de Passava et du Grand Magne," *HellCont* 3 (1938) 375-80. N.B. Drandakes et al. in *PraktArchEt* (1979) 156-214; (1980) 188-246; (1981) 449-578. N.B. Drandakes, *Byzantinai toichographiai tes Mesa Manes* (Athens 1964). H. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture in Mani," *BSA* 33 (1932-33) 137-62. D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens 1975).

—T.E.G., A.C.

**MANI** (Μάνης), religious leader and founder of MANICHAEANISM; born Babylonia 14 Apr. 216, died 2 Mar. 274 or 26 Feb. 277. According to a legend, he was flayed alive by authorities of the Sasanian state and his "passion" or "crucifixion" lasted 26 days. The Byz. had a negative view of Mani and regarded him as a particularly noxious heretic rather than as the founder of a separate religion; some theologians (e.g., APHRAHAT) admitted, however, that he did recognize the unity of the Godhead. His name was derived by the Byz. from the verb *mainomai*, "to be furious or mad" (e.g., Titos of Bostra, PG 18:1077B). The Byz. legend of Mani, differing from that of Muslim sources, is developed in the ACTA ARCHELAI; some details were added by Epiphanius of Salamis, Cyril of Jerusalem, Kedrenos, etc. According to this legend, Mani's real name was Skythianos; in the days of the apostles, he settled among the Saracens; his wife, an Egyptian prostitute, urged Mani to go to Egypt, where he met a certain Terebinthos who became his disciple and recorded Mani's doctrines in four books—*Mysteries*, *Chapters*, *Evangelion*, and *Treasure*. Epiphanius relates that Mani-Skythianos was killed when a roof fell on his head; Cyril locates his death in Judea; Sokrates (*HE* 1.22.4) states that Terebinthos assumed the name of Buddha.

LIT. G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (London 1965) 23-58. H.C. Puech, *Le manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris 1949). O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (Prague 1962) 217-400. C. Riggi, *Epifanio contra Mani* (Rome 1967). —T.E.G., A.K.

**MANIAKES, GEORGE**, general and usurper; died Ostrovo near Thessalonike between Apr. and early June 1043 (Shepard, "Russians Attack" 174, n.4). Of low birth, Maniakes (*Μανιάκης*) impressed even his opponents by his great size, courage, and military skills. In 1030, as *strategos* of TELOUCH, he saved his town from Arab attack; in 1031 or

1032, as *strategos* of the cities of the Euphrates (Samosata in Yahyā—V. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca* [St. Petersburg 1883] 72), he won Edessa and sent to Constantinople Jesus' purported letter to Abgar (see MANDYLION). He governed Vaspurakan ca.1034 or 1035. About 1037 Michael IV sent him to Italy as *strategos autokrator*. In 1038 he attacked Sicily with forces that included VARANGIANS (with HAROLD HARDRADA) and 500 Normans. Maniakes conquered eastern Sicily. But in 1040, falsely accused, he was recalled and imprisoned in Constantinople. Released by Michael V, he went as *katepano* to subdue the Normans in southern Italy (arrived Apr. 1042), where he behaved with great cruelty. His feud with Romanos SKLEROS (their estates abutted in Anatolia) culminated when the latter influenced Constantine IX to recall Maniakes (Sept. 1042). Outraged, Maniakes rebelled, crossed to Dyrrachion (Feb. 1043), and marched on the Byz. capital. He fell at the moment of victory; his head was paraded through Constantinople. Maniakes' career is depicted at length in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 500f, 519-21, 545-47). Descendants of his former troops, called Maniakatai, are attested in the late 11th C. (An.Komn. 2:117.3); a *protospatharios* George Maniakes (the same or a grandson?) held land in central Greece (Svoronos, *Cadastré* 69). K. Konstantopoulos (*EEBS* 9 [1932] 123-28) denies that the seal published by G. Schlumberger (*L'épopée byzantine* [Paris 1905] 3:457) belonged to Maniakes.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 60, 74, 95f. A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *BS* 32 (1971) 14-21. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:107f.

—C.M.B., A.C.

**MANIAKION.** See TORQUE.

**MANICHAEANISM**, a system of belief that spread throughout the Roman Empire, the Near East, and as far east as China: the remnants of Manichaean writings have been found in Tebessa (Theveste), North Africa (P. Alfarié, *Revue d'histoire et littérature religieuses* 6 [1920] 62-98), in Fayyūm, and in northwestern Turkestan (E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *JSav* 18 [1911] 499-617). The system was allegedly formulated by the Persian religious leader MANI. It was uncompromis-

ingly DUALISTIC and grew out of ZOROASTRIANISM; the latter, however, presented the primeval conflict between Light and Darkness primarily as that of the forces of nature, whereas Manichaeism emphasized the struggle of ethical principles—Good and Evil; while Zoroastrianism was optimistic, Manichaeism tended toward pessimism. It was influenced, at least in its western manifestation, by Gnosticism and Judeo-Christianity.

The search for the roots of EVIL made Manichaeism popular: even Augustine was temporarily an adherent (A.I. Sidorov, *VDI* [1983] no.2, 145–61). According to Manichaean teaching, the history of the cosmos consists of three periods: the past when the Spirit was not yet mixed with Matter; the present when these two principles are mixed, creating tension and conflict; the future when Evil (Darkness) and Good (Light) will be separated in two different zones, Good in the north and Evil in the south. Each of the two principles has its king—the Father of Light and the Prince of Darkness; the Prince of Darkness is surrounded by demonic forces, whereas Light sends its divine emanations—the Mother of Life, the Friend of Life, the Friend of Light, or Demiurge, the Messenger of Salvation, the Longing of Life, Jesus the Luminous, who suffered on earth and whose apostle Mani opened the final way to salvation. Adherents of Manichaeism were divided into grades (the Elect and the Hearers), each professing different levels of asceticism. Manichaeism maintained eschatological expectations: the sect was to spread and prosper until all light (except for a tiny bit) was liberated and this would be followed by a universal conflagration lasting 1,468 years and leading to the triumph of Good.

Manichaeism met strong opposition from both Zoroastrianism and Christianity. The Neoplatonist Alexander of Lykopolis (ca.300) wrote a treatise against Manichaeism and many Christian theologians followed suit: Serapion of Thmuis, Titos of Bostra, Epiphanius, Germanos I, John of Damascus, and others; the ACTA ARCHELAI was the major refutation of the sect. Christian criticism of Manichaeism was based on the idea that there can be only one principle, *monas*, and not two; Evil is not a being but the lack of existence, and Matter is not necessarily evil since it brings forth good fruit: otherwise, as John of Damascus points out (*Contra Manichaeos* 76.3–6, ed. Kotter,

*Schriften* 4:392), the Pantokrator would surely have destroyed it. The Christian law codes regard Manichaeism as the most noxious of heresies, but the testimony of St. Ephrem and Mark the Deacon show that Manichaeism remained strong in Syria and Mesopotamia. The Byz. systematically identified later dualistic movements (BOGOMILS, etc.) as Manichaean, although there was probably no direct link between them.

SOURCE. Alexandre de Lycopolis, *Contre la doctrine de Mani*, ed. A. Villey (Paris 1985).

LIT. M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* (Paris 1981). S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester 1985). I. Rochow, "Zum Fortleben des Manichäismus im byzantinischen Reich nach Justinian," *BS* 40 (1979) 13–21. P. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 59 (1969) 92–103.

—T.E.G., A.K.

**MANIERA GRECA.** See ART AND THE WEST.

**MANKAPHAS, THEODORE**, nicknamed "Morrotheodore" ("Theodore the Fool"); fl. ca.1188–1205. Apparently a prominent personage of Philadelphia, ca.1188 Mankaphas (Μαγκαφᾶς) secured the allegiance of its inhabitants and neighboring provincials, took the imperial title, and minted silver coinage. I. Jordanov attributed a series of billon trachy coins found in Bulgaria to Mankaphas, but E. Pochitonov (*BS* 42 [1981] 52–57) assigns these to the contemporary Peter of Bulgaria. Grierson (*Byz. Coins* 235f) and Hendy (*Economy* 439) ascribe them to Mankaphas.

Isaac II besieged Mankaphas in Philadelphia (June 1189), but the advance of Frederick I forced a compromise: Mankaphas gave up his imperial title and offered hostages but retained control in Philadelphia. Basil Vatatzes, *doux* of Thrakesion, forced Mankaphas ca.1193 to flee to Kay-Khusraw I at Ikonion. The sultan allowed him to recruit Turks with whom he ravaged southwestern Anatolia. Isaac persuaded the sultan ca.1194 to sell him Mankaphas, on condition that Mankaphas suffer no corporal punishment. Mankaphas was imprisoned, but by 1204 free and again powerful in Philadelphia. Following the Fourth Crusade, he created an independent state around Philadelphia. Mankaphas brought a large force to counter HENRY OF HAINAULT, who had occupied Atramyttion, but was defeated on 19 Mar. 1205. Mankaphas soon lost his territories to Theodore I Laskaris.

LIT. J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210)* (Munich 1974) 66–68, 99f. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 60–63. J.-C. Cheynet, "Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182–1206," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 45–54. —C.M.B.

**MANKIND.** The unity of the human race is the presupposition in Byz. theology for Christology, SOTERIOLOGY, and the doctrine of THEOSIS. The prototypes of this unity are Adam and Christ who, along with CREATION and the INCARNATION, are cited as the inner basis for the unity of the human race. In some Christological texts one encounters the view that the "human reality" (commonly called *sarx*) of Christ assumed by the Logos is the "full human nature," that is, humanity as a whole, and not a particular human individual. The latter would be considered a person, but one cannot present the humanity of Christ as a human person without falling into NESTORIANISM.

LIT. H.C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1965). —K.-H.U.

**MAN OF SORROWS** (ἡ ἄκρα ταπείνωσις, lit. "the peak of humiliation," from Is 53:8). Known in the West as the Imago Pietatis, or the Christ of Pity, this image shows the upper body of Christ naked, upright in a sarcophagus, arms visible only to the elbow and hanging down at his sides (or, from the 14th C., crossed), eyes closed, his head bent in death. The cross is placed directly behind him in the background. Essentially a combination of elements drawn from scenes of Christ's PASSION, particularly his deposition and entombment, the theme existed as a separate image as early as the 12th C. (e.g., an icon from Kastoria [*Holy Image*, no.9]) and was a response to developments taking place in the HOLY WEEK liturgy, notably that of GOOD FRIDAY, over the course of the 11th and 12th C. The importance of the Virgin and her laments in this liturgy inspired a pendant image, that of the mourning Virgin; often the two were paired as wings of a diptych or on either side of a bilateral icon, esp. in the 14th C. The association of the icon type with Good Friday is reflected in images of St. PARASKEVE THE ELDER, who holds an icon of the Man of Sorrows. The image of the Man of Sorrows was used in MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group to accompany the Gospel passages read on Good Friday and deco-

rated some EPITAPHIOS textiles. It was also used in monumental painting in a more strictly Eucharistic context, for example, in the PASTOPHORIA, esp. the *prothesis* (S. Dufrenne, *REB* 26 [1968] 297–310). It appears on mosaic ICONS; one of the earliest of these (ca.1300), housed in Santa Croce in Rome, gave birth to the long tradition of the image in the West.

LIT. H. Belting, "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 1–16. Idem, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1981) 142–98. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 197–289. —N.P.S.

**MANOUALION.** See LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL.

**MANPOWER.** It is generally accepted (even though there is no direct data from DEMOGRAPHY) that the economic crisis of the later Roman Empire was caused by a decrease in manpower that affected both military institutions and the economy. It is argued that the government tried to solve the former problem by recruiting foreigners, primarily Germanic mercenaries and FOEDERATI; it dealt with the insufficiency of farmers, craftsmen, etc., by attaching the COLONI to the soil, the tradesmen to their GUILDS, and the CURIALES to their cities. It is also generally accepted that in the 7th–9th C. the crisis of manpower was overcome and that by the 10th C. the empire had "an ample demographic reservoir" (Vryonis, *infra*); the hypothesis of Russian Byzantinists (V. Vasil'evskij, etc.), who proposed that this demographic upsurge was a result of the settlement of the Slavs in Byz., is now rejected for lack of evidence. One can affirm, however, a significant shift of population by the mid-7th C. from the city to the countryside that may have contributed to the increase of manpower within the fiscal and agricultural sector.

It is also assumed that from the 11th C. onward a new crisis of manpower developed as a consequence of social (the growth of great landownership) and ethno-geographical (primarily, the Turkish invasion) causes. This assumption can be challenged, however, since the growth of urban centers in this period seems certain, whereas the desertion of the countryside is questionable, at least up to the 14th C., when the *praktika* provide the earliest dependable data for southern Mace-



donia. Even in the 14th C., however, the land was not less valuable than the workers, and the great landowners tended to acquire rather than dispose of deserted or escheated fields. The constant influx of foreigners and refugees from the regions occupied by the Turks helped to preserve a certain balance of manpower.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 126–40. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 223–98. Jacoby, *Société* pt.III (1962), 161–86. —A.K.

**MANŠÜR IBN SARJŪN**, high-level administrator in Damascus; a member of a prominent Syrian Melchite family; died after 636. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 365.23–24) mentions a certain Sergios, son of Manšūr, "general *logothetes*" in the reign of Justinian I. Probably promoted to a high post by Maurice, Manšūr (*Μανσουρ*) retained his position at the time of the Persian occupation of Damascus in 613. When Herakleios entered Damascus in 630, he required Manšūr to pay again "100,000 dinars" that the city had already given in taxes to the Persians. Manšūr's dislike of Herakleios intensified from that moment. According to Eutychios of Alexandria, Manšūr still held his position at the time of the Muslim invasions in 635. The Byz. general Vahan attempted to secure provisions from Manšūr in the summer of 636. Manšūr claimed that the city's resources were insufficient. Eutychios says that Manšūr subsequently created a ruse, using noisy civilians in the night to frighten encamped Byz. soldiers. In that case, Manšūr contributed to the disorder of the Byz. army on the eve of the battle at YARMUK. Possibly, however, this incident is confused with a different group of military actions prior to the first Muslim capture of Damascus in 635. Manšūr surrendered Damascus to the Muslims, for which he was allegedly excommunicated. His son Sarjūn ibn Manšūr was public and private secretary to Caliph Mu'awiya and a friend of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. Manšūr's grandson was JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

LIT. Caetani, *Islam* 3:368–76. J. Nasrallah, *St. Jean de Damas* (Paris 1950) 14–29. —W.E.K., A.K.

**MANTIC ARTS.** See DIVINATION.

**MANTZIKERT** (*Μαντζικέρτ*, Arm. Manazkert), city north of Lake Van. Already an important episcopal see in the 4th C., Mantzikert was the site of a council of union between the Armenian and the Syrian churches in 725/6 and is still recorded as an episcopal see in the 11th C. The 9th–10th C. marked the apex of Mantzikert's prosperity as a military and trade center and as the site of a mint under the Arab Kaysite emirs. In 968/9, however, the Byz. retook and razed the city, later granting it to DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO. It reverted to the empire at his death in 1000.

LIT. S. Favoglu, *ET*<sup>2</sup> 6:242f. B. Coulié, "Manzikert ou Mantzikert? Note sur le De Administrando imperio," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 342–48. —N.G.G.

**MANTZIKERT, BATTLE OF** (Aug. 1071), the first encounter of the Byz. with the regular army of the Seljuk sultan ALP ARSLAN. The battle is described in various Greek sources (primarily AT-TALEIATES and NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOS) as well as by oriental (MICHAEL THE SYRIAN, MATTHEW OF EDESSA, SIBT IBN AL-JAWZĪ) and even Western historians (WILLIAM OF APULIA); their information is, however, contradictory. After victories in skirmishes with separate Turkish bands, the emperor ROMANOS IV in the spring of 1071 led an enormous expedition into Anatolia to clear the eastern provinces of the Seljuks. His army included numerous foreign contingents (Franks, Rus', Pechenegs, Uzes, Caucasians) and was, according to the late Muslim historians, 200,000–400,000 strong; Cheynet (*infra*) lowers this figure to roughly 60,000. For Alp Arslan's army the Muslim sources give 15,000. The armies met on 19 or 26 Aug. someplace on the road between MANTZIKERT and Chliat (mod. Ahlat).

Romanos evidently underestimated his adversary. He divided his forces and sent the Norman general ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL and Joseph Tarchaneotes to Chliat; they did not participate in the battle, however, but fled westward as soon as the fighting began. The first phase of the battle was a cavalry attack by the Byz. The Turks retreated, feigning flight, then suddenly turned, entrapping and annihilating their pursuers; the main portion of the Byz. army attacked the Seljuks, forced them to withdraw, and safely returned to their camp. The next day Alp Arslan

managed to attract some contingents of the Uzes to his side, but he was far from victory and suggested a truce; Romanos's conditions, however, were unacceptable to the Turks. When fighting resumed, the Byz. army advanced in the center, under command of Romanos himself; but at that moment Andronikos Doukas, the emperor's old rival, spread the rumor that Romanos had been defeated. Doukas then fled from the battlefield and caused a general retreat. Romanos was surrounded and fought desperately but was taken captive. One reason for the Turkish victory was their skillful use of mounted archers (W. Kaegi, *Speculum* 39 [1964] 105f).

The battle itself was not such a great disaster as it is usually presented by modern historians. The Byz. had insignificant losses, and Romanos was chivalrously treated by Alp Arslan and signed an honorable peace. His enemies in Constantinople, however, took advantage of Romanos's captivity to proclaim a new emperor, Michael VII Doukas. The uncertainty of the political situation enabled the Seljuks to occupy rapidly the larger part of Asia Minor.

LIT. C. Hillenbrand, *ET*<sup>2</sup> 6:243f. Vryonis, *Decline* 96–104. A. Friendly, *The Dreadful Day* (London 1981). C. Cahen, *Turcobaïzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974), pt.II (1934), 628–42. J.C. Cheynet, "Mantzikert: Un désastre militaire?" *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 410–38. —A.K.

**MANUEL** (*Μανουήλ*), contracted form of the biblical Emmanuel (lit. "God is with us"), whose birth was prophesied by Isaiah (7:14). In Matthew (1:22–23) Isaiah's words are applied to Christ and, accordingly, Byz. rhetoricians considered Manuel as *christonymos*, "Christ-named" (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 100). As a personal name Manuel appeared relatively late: *PLRE*, vols. 1–2, does not have it; Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 338.20–27) mentions only one Manuel, an Armenian, who under Herakleios was the governor (*augustalis*) of Egypt. Theophanes Continuatus mentions several Manuels: one of them was definitely of Armenian extraction (*TheophCont* 110.1–3); another belonged to the Armenian lineage of KOURTIKIOS; we may assume that the third Manuel in this chronicle, author of a book on the exploits of John KOURKOUAS, was also Armenian. The name, whether or not it was of Armenian origin, was not among the most fashionable, al-

though Skylitzes mentioned 11 Manuels, Anna Komnene four, and Niketas Choniates eight. In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), only eight Manuels are to be found, as many as NIKETAS; in the more numerous acts of vols. 2–3 of *Lavra*, (13th–15th C.), they number 62 (compared with 350 Johns) and hold the ninth place among male names. The emperors and patriarchs who bore this name are of the 12th–15th C. —A.K.

**MANUEL**, Armenian general who served both Byz. and the Arabs; died 27 July 838 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 182f). Manuel was *protostrator* under Michael I; Leo V appointed him *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Armeniakon theme, where he apparently served also under Michael II. In late 829, after the accession of Theophilos (not before, as suggested by E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 10 [1901] 297), Manuel fled to the Arabs, apparently fearing court intrigues. In 830 he campaigned for MA'MŪN with Byz. captives against the Khurramites. The embassy of JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS to Ma'mūn in winter 829/30 was likely intended to recall Manuel, who returned to Byz. territory in autumn (J. Rosser, *BS* 37 [1976] 168–71). Theophilos made him *magistros* and *domestikos ton scholon*. Manuel campaigned with Theophilos in 837, when they took Zapetra. Wounded on 22 July 838 at the disastrous battle of Dazimon, Manuel died five days later and was buried in his palace in Constantinople by the cistern of Aspar (Janin, *CP byz.* 384). Some scholars, identifying Manuel with a *magistros* Manuel who was apparently the uncle of Empress THEODORA, believe that Manuel survived the battle, became *protomagistros* of the army, served as tutor to Michael III, and died ca.860 after saving Michael's life in another battle at Dazimon (rejected by F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 9–11).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:436f. Grégoire, "Études" 520–24. Idem, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183–204. —P.A.H.

**MANUEL I KOMNENOS**, emperor (1143–1180); born Constantinople 28 Nov. 1118 (Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:205, n.13), died Constantinople 24 Sept. 1180. Youngest son of John II and the Hungarian princess Irene, Manuel was proclaimed heir to the throne in Cilicia, even though his elder brother

Isaac was still alive. Manuel reached Constantinople on 27 June but required time to establish his rights; he was probably not crowned until 28 Nov. One of the most contradictory figures among the Komnenoi, chivalrous and courageous, Manuel imitated a Western way of life and therefore contemporaries considered him a Latinophile. He used Latins as soldiers and diplomats rather than as generals, however; some of his military commanders were of Turkish origin. His willingness to appease the Turks is revealed in his negotiations with KILIC ARSLAN II and in his attempts to find a conciliatory formula relating to "the god of Muhammad."

At the same time Manuel endeavored to entrench himself on the Mediterranean coasts in Cilicia and Antioch. In 1158–59 he subdued T'OROS II and Renaud of Châtillon. Efforts to gain suzerainty over the kingdom of JERUSALEM became meaningless after the failed siege of Damietta (1169). The Second CRUSADE caused Byz. difficulties but did not change the situation in Asia Minor. Thereafter Manuel had to face a coalition of Normans, Serbs, Hungarians, and Kievans. Manuel experienced some successes. He allied himself with CONRAD III against the Normans, placed BÉLA III on the Hungarian throne, and, probably with the support of JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, gained a footing on the Sea of Azov (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 346–48). His temporary success aroused opposition in the West, esp. when FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA succeeded Conrad. Although a Byz. invasion of Italy failed (1155–57), Manuel financially supported the Lombard League against Frederick (1167) and negotiated with the pope for the Western imperial crown (P. Classen, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Sigmaringen 1983] 147–70, 176–83). Relations with Venice worsened: Manuel favored Pisa and Genoa (G. Day, *Journal of Economic History* 37 [1977] 289–301; idem, *Byzantion* 48 [1978] 393–405) and on 12 March 1171 he arrested Venetians throughout the empire, confiscating their property. An expedition against Kilic Arslan also failed. Manuel was defeated at MYRIOKEPHALON. He repelled attacks on the Meander valley and Klaudioupolis in 1180 (P. Wirth, *BZ* 50 [1957] 68–73), but lacked resources for a new, large-scale war.

Manuel's domestic policy experienced difficulties. He had to contend with rivalry within his own "clan." His brother Isaac, the *sebastokratorissa*

Irene KOMNENE (widow of another brother), and esp. the future Emp. ANDRONIKOS I caused trouble. Manuel sought support in the church, helping its struggle against heretics such as Soterichos PANTEUGENOS and DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. His piety is suggested by a MS of the acts of the council of 1166, devoted to the nature of Christ, in which the emperor and empress are portrayed (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig. 155). As a sort of Christological pun on his name, Manuel placed the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins. He reestablished the office of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON as an intellectual censor. But Patr. MICHAEL III would not tolerate his pro-Western inclinations, and the emperor had to give in (at least according to the *Dialogue* between him and the patriarch), as later he had to compromise on his attempt to conciliate potential Muslim converts. Many contemporary writers, esp. John KINNAMOS and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, glorified Manuel, whereas Niketas CHONIATES, while praising his energy, stressed his failures and immorality. At the end of Manuel's reign, the seeds of a crisis were sown; the minority of his heir, Alexios II, troubled by hostile factions, brought catastrophe closer.

Manuel was married twice: to BERTHA OF SULZBACH and after her death to MARIA OF ANTIOCH. Manuel was the greatest patron of art of his dynasty. Creations such as the refectory in the monastery of St. Mokios, Constantinople, decorated with images of his ancestors, and the *triklinia* he built at the Blachernai and in the Great Palace, both filled with HISTORY PAINTING, epitomize the Komnenian use of art for political and dynastic purposes.

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:195–663. Angold, *Empire* 161–243. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, 2 vols. (Rome 1955–57). Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C.," 132–51, 162–77. R. Hiestand, "Manuel I. Komnenos und Siena," *BZ* 79 (1986) 29–34. — C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

**MANUEL I KOMNENOS**, emperor of Trebizond (1237/8–Mar. 1263). Although data concerning his reign are scarce, it is plausible that Manuel, like his contemporary John III Vatatzes of Nicaea, was successful in fortifying his small state. PANARETOS calls him warlike and fortunate, while Joinville, a historian of Louis IX (1266–70), describes Manuel as great and rich (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly [Paris 1867] 346f). Even though Manuel was compelled to pay tribute

to the Seljuks, and after 1243 to the Mongol Ilkhanids, TREBIZOND remained independent; Manuel minted coins and styled himself *autokrator*. In 1253 when Manuel's envoys met Louis IX at Sidon, the French king attempted to attract the Trapezuntine emperor to an alliance with the Latin Empire against Vatatzes. Manuel refused, however, to join the Latins. By 1260 he agreed to a tentative compact with Nicaea, gaining such privileges as the right of the Trapezuntine metropolitan to appoint local bishops (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no. 1351).

Manuel married three times. Two of his wives, Anna Xyloloe (died 1245 or 1250) and Irene Syrikaina (who survived him), were of local noble families that evidently supported Manuel, while Rusudan (died before 1253) was a Georgian princess. Anna bore to him Andronikos II, his successor (1263–66); Rusudan produced Theodora, who usurped the throne in 1284/5; and Irene gave birth to GEORGE KOMNENOS and JOHN II KOMNENOS.

The date when Manuel built the Church of Hagia Sophia near Trebizond is unknown. A fresco portrait, sometimes identified as the emperor, survived in the church until the 19th C.

LIT. K. Barzos, "Hoi treis gamoi kai ta tekna tou Manouel (A') Megalou Komnenou," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 55–74. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 152f. S. de Vajay, "Essai chronologique à propos de la famille du Grand Comnène Manuel (1238–1263)," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 281–91. L. Petit, "Acte synodal du patriarche Nicéphore II sur les privilèges du métropolitain de Trébizonde (1er janvier 1260)," *IRAIK* 8 (1903) 163–71. *PLP*, no. 12113. —A.K., A.C.

**MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS**, emperor (1391–1425); born Constantinople 27 July 1350, died Constantinople 1425 probably on 21 July (Barker, *infra* 383f, n. 161). Second son of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and Helena Kantakouzene, Manuel was named co-emperor and heir to the throne in 1373 after the rebellion of his older brother ANDRONIKOS IV. When Andronikos again rebelled and seized the capital, Manuel was imprisoned in Constantinople from 1376 to 1379, together with his father and younger brother THEODORE (I) PALAIOLOGOS. In 1381 John V was forced to recognize Andronikos IV as his heir. Manuel, excluded from the succession despite his loyalty to his father, established himself as independent emperor in Thessalonike (1382–87). He defended the city

against the Turks until it was forced to surrender in Apr. 1387. When JOHN VII claimed the throne after the death of his father Andronikos IV, Manuel again supported John V and succeeded him as emperor in 1391; the next year he married Helena Dragaš and was formally crowned (cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 416–36).

Manuel's career was marked by alternating policies of accommodation with the Turks and the search for Western military aid to fight them. As an Ottoman vassal he had to accompany sultan BAYEZID I on campaign in Anatolia in 1391. From 1399 to 1403 Manuel visited western Europe, seeking assistance against the Turks who were besieging Constantinople (1394–1402). His search was fruitless, but the Turks withdrew after the defeat of Bayezid by TIMUR at Ankara (1402). Manuel was an energetic ruler who went on campaigns, conducted diplomatic negotiations, and supervised the reconstruction of the HEXAMILION at the Isthmus of Corinth (1408, 1415). He suffered a stroke in 1422 and died three years later as the monk Matthew.

Manuel had a penchant for study and literary discussion and left a significant corpus of writings: correspondence, theological treatises, rhetorical exercises (including a description of a tapestry in the Louvre), a funeral oration for his brother Theodore (Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 309), etc. His 68 surviving letters are of particular interest; although rhetorical in style, they provide information on the Turkification of Asia Minor, the campaigns of Bayezid, Manuel's visit to Europe, and contemporary literary circles and criticism. Manuel, Helena Dragaš, and their sons John (VIII), Theodore, and Andronikos are depicted in the MS Louvre, Ivoires 100, a copy of the works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 139–43). According to its colophon, written by Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, the emperor sent the book to the monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, in 1408, a few years after his visit there. He is also portrayed in the manuscript of the funeral oration for his brother (ibid. 233f).

ED. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. G.T. Dennis (Washington, D.C., 1977). E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem "Perser"* (Vienna 1966). Fr. tr. T. Khoury, *Manuel II Paléologue: Entretiens avec un Musulman: 7e Controverse* (Paris 1966). For full bibl., see Barker, *infra* 426–39, 554f.

LIT. J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425)* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969). G.T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel*



*II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Rome 1960). Ostrogorsky (1958), *Byz. Geschichte* 235-44. —A.M.T., A.C.

**MANUEL III KOMNENOS**, emperor of Trebizond (20 March 1390-1416); born 16 Dec. 1364, died 5 Mar. 1417? (Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 208 n.191). Son of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, Manuel was connected with the Georgian royal family by his first marriage in 1377 (M. Kuršanskis, *BK* 34 [1976] 118-21) to Koulkan-Eudokia (died 1395), daughter of David VII, and with the Byz. nobility through his second marriage to Anna Philanthropene. Manuel ruled the empire of Trebizond during the troubled years of the Mongol invasion of Anatolia. In 1402 he provided the Mongol khan TIMUR with 20 galleys to support his campaign against the Ottomans. After Timur defeated BAYEZID I at the battle of Ankara that same year, he did not annex Trebizond but forced it to pay tribute, as noted by the Castilian envoy CLAVIJO during his visit to the city in 1404. Manuel was on good terms with the Venetians, confirming their trade privileges in 1391; relations with the Genoese were less amicable. In 1401 Patr. Matthew I censured Manuel for simony because he tried to secure the election of the hieromonk Symeon as metropolitan of Trebizond (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3236). About 1409/10 Emp. MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS of Constantinople sent Manuel of Trebizond a copy of some of his writings (ep.53, ed. Dennis, 150-53).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 61, 70-79. *PLP*, no.12115. —A.M.T.

**MANUEL ANGELOS**, emperor at Thessalonike (1230-ca.1237); born 1186 or 1188, died ca.1241. A younger brother of THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he escaped capture at the battle of KLOKOTNICA in 1230 and secured control of Thessalonike with the connivance of the victor JOHN ASEN II, whose illegitimate daughter, Maria Beloslava, Manuel had married in 1225. He held the rank of DESPOTES, but affected the imperial title and prerogatives, which laid him open to ridicule. To protect the church of Thessalonike from Bulgarian claims, he first sought papal backing, but then turned to the Nicaean patriarch. In 1232 the longstanding breach with the church in Nicaea was healed (A.D. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros* (1217-1233) [Thessalonike 1973]

87-95). John Asen II released Theodore ca.1237. In vain Manuel looked for help from GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN, prince of Achaia, whose suzerainty he was willing to recognize. Forced into exile in Attaleia, Manuel was able to return in 1239 with Nicaean backing. He recovered control of parts of Thessaly and came to terms with his brother, but died soon afterward.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 113-27. Polemis, *Doukai* 90, no.43. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:637-56, no.169. —M.J.A.

**MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS**, *despotes* of the Morea (25 Oct. 1349-10 Apr. 1380); born ca. 1326?, died Mistra. Second son of John VI Kantakouzenos, he served briefly as governor of Berroia (1343-47) and Constantinople (1348). In 1348 Manuel was named ruler of the despotate of MOREA, newly created by his father. He assumed his duties in late 1349 upon his arrival in the Peloponnesos. He was a capable and conscientious governor who successfully established order among the rebellious local Greek *archontes*, who both fought each other and joined in revolt against the *despotes*. When John VI abdicated in late 1354, John V Palaiologos attempted to replace Manuel with two governors, Michael and Andrew Asan. Manuel, however, successfully resisted their efforts to take control of the Morea and was eventually confirmed in his position by John V. He maintained amicable relations with his Latin neighbors in the Peloponnesos, esp. with the principality of ACHAIA. In the 1360s he even joined a Greco-Latin alliance to combat the ever-increasing danger of Turkish attack on the Peloponnesos. Manuel encouraged the immigration of ALBANIANS to settle as farmers in the depopulated Morea and to serve as mercenary soldiers. He sponsored the construction of the Church of Hagia Sophia at MISTRA.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:95-113, 335-38. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 122-29. *PLP*, no.10981. —A.M.T.

**MANUELATON** (*νόμισμα μανουηλάτον*), one of several terms (cf. TRIKEPHALON) used in the late 12th and early 13th C. for the one-third HYPERPYRON or electrum TRACHY, a denomination last struck in any quantity under Manuel I and taking its name from him. It is more common in its Latin form (*manuellatus* or variant) than in Greek.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 19f, 23, 27, 225f. —Ph.G.

**MANUMISSION** (*ἀπελευθέρωσις*, also *eleutheria psycharou*). The concept of emancipation was well developed in classical Roman law, to which late Roman emperors introduced some alterations: thus Constantine I (*Cod.Theod.* IV 7.1) simplified manumission by allowing masters to give liberty to their slaves by making a public statement in a church (*in ecclesia*); Justinian I established that all valid manumissions made slaves *cives Romani*; according to another Justinianic law, the slave became a citizen if a will appointed him heir to his master even if it did not mention his liberation. Justinian stressed that emancipation was irrevocable. Slaves who became priests or monks, undertook military service, received imperial dignities, suffered from certain cases of mistreatment, or informed against a master's murder or a counterfeiter had to be freed.

Byz. law preserved the Roman principles of manumission. Acts of emancipation are known from formularies (Sathas, *MB* 6:617f), charters of manumission (A. Kazhdan, *Srednie veka* 17 [1960] 319f), wills (e.g., of Eustathios BOILAS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE), and hagiographical texts. They usually stressed that SLAVERY is an institution contrary to the law of nature and that freedmen were transformed by emancipation into Roman citizens with freedom to travel; sometimes acts of manumission also provided slaves with LEGATA. In practice, freedmen remained in a state of dependency on their former masters, although some emancipated slaves (esp. those of the emperor) might climb high on the social ladder.

LIT. W.W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge 1908) 449-701. A. Dain, "Une formule d'affranchissement d'esclave," *REB* 22 (1964) 238-40. P. Mpoumes, "He apeleutherosis ton doulon," *EETHSA* 24 (1980) 695-708. —A.J.C.

**MANUSCRIPT.** See BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION; CODEX; PALAEOGRAPHY.

**MANUSCRIPT TRADITION**, term describing the systematized relationship between extant MSS of a given text. The purpose of the study of MS tradition is to approach as closely as possible the original form of the text, and to study the history of the copying and editing of the text in the Byz. and immediately post-Byz. periods. The author's original is scarcely ever available, except in the case of charters and similar documents and very

occasional autograph copies of works by Byz. authors. The study of the MS tradition proceeds by elimination of MSS that can be demonstrated, by internal or external evidence, to be copied directly or indirectly from other extant MSS; it then goes on to try to construct a "family tree" or *STEMMA* of the latter based on shared textual variants and finally aims to reconstruct the common ancestor or archetype of all surviving MSS.

Some texts have been preserved in almost uniform copies with only minor deviations and scribal errors; others show a complex MS tradition, sometimes reflecting different versions by the author as well as reworkings by later scholars or copyists (variant recensions or redactions). Documents may survive in the original, in official copies close to the original, in private and often much later copies (the text of which may have been deliberately "doctored"), and in paraphrases in narrative sources. Inscriptions sometimes survive only in later copies or paraphrases. The indirect MS tradition includes translations into foreign languages, sometimes made from an original much older or better than surviving MSS, CATENAE, and quotations; polemical works may contain citations from "nonconformist" texts later destroyed or lost. The results of the study of the MS tradition are usually presented in the form of a *stemma codicum*, a list of MSS to be eliminated, and a critical apparatus, in which the variant readings of significance for the constitution of the text are recorded.

LIT. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*<sup>2</sup> (Florence 1952). B.A. van Groningen, *Traité d'histoire et de critique des textes grecs* (Amsterdam 1963). A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1964). *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1, ed. H. Hunger (Zürich 1961) 423-510. A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Las Palmas 1983). —A.K., R.B.

**MAP, WALTER**, Welsh courtier and raconteur; born ca.1140, died 1 Apr. 1209/10. Map studied at Paris, became a royal clerk to Henry II (1170s), participated in Lateran Council III (1179), and was chancellor of Lincoln by 1186, canon at St. Paul's, London (1192), and archdeacon of Oxford (1196/7). From ca.1181 to ca.1193 he composed *De nugis curialium* (Courtiers' Trifles), a collection of entertaining anecdotes and satirical tales. The semimythical Byz. that emerges is rich in silk and gold (bk.5, ch.5 [ed. James et al., p.450]) but degenerate. A garbled, unfinished history of the

later Komnenoi describes how Andronikos I (his wickedness outdid Nero: 5.3 [p.410]) gained access to Constantinople through the "gate of the Dacians" and criticizes the Byz. knightly class for having lost its prowess after the Trojan War; Western emigrés at Constantinople are "fugitive phalanxes" of inborn vice (2.18 [pp. 174–78]). Map retells the legend of the "whirlpool of Satalia" (Attaleia) apparently brought back by Crusaders (cf., e.g., ROGER OF HOVEDEN, *Gesta*, ed. Stubbs, 2:195–96), in which the necrophiliac Byz. knight appears as the "haunted shoemaker of Constantinople" who, to win his love, became a robber baron and emperor (4.12 [pp. 364–68]).

ED. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke, R.A.B. Mynors, *Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles* (Oxford 1983), with Eng. tr. —M.McC.

**MAPHORION** (μαφόριον), a garment covering the head and shoulders, mentioned in papyri of the 4th–6th C. (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:55); the term was occasionally used for an element of monastic dress for men and women (PG 34:1220A, 87:3688A). A civil official, such as the *praipositos* of the Senate, could wear a *maphorion*, which apparently covered his head and entire body (*De cer.* 529.20–22). The inventory of the Petritzos monastery (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 123.1736–37) lists seven *maphoria*, some of silk and one bearing an image (outlined?) in pearls.

A distinguishing feature of the costume of noble women, the *maphorion* became the traditional attire given the Virgin Mary and holy women in artistic representations. The Virgin's *maphorion* or "veil," usually blue, brown, or purple, may be decorated with gold dots or pellets in the form of a cross; the *maphorion* of Eve is generally red.

Whether the *maphorion* of the Virgin is the same article of clothing as the Virgin's "robe" is unclear. George Hamartolos (ed. de Boor 2:617.5–10) says that the Virgin's robe (*esthes*) was found in Jerusalem by a pious Jewess and deposited in the Blachernai Church during the reign of Leo I. The deposition of the honorable robe was celebrated annually in Constantinople on 2 July (*Synax.CP* 793.5–9). In the text of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the pious Jewess was replaced by two *patrikioi* and Jerusalem by a village in Galilee. Pseudo-Symeon Magistros, in the 10th C., relates

that it was the *maphorion* preserved at Blachernai that Photios used in 860 as a talisman to repel an attack of the Rus' (*TheophCont* 674.23), whereas other versions of the chronicle (*Leo Gramm.* 241.8, *TheophCont* 827.6) have OMOPHORION instead. In the 14th C., Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos was familiar with the version of the *Synaxarion* but characterized the relic of Blachernai as a shroud—*entaphia spargana* (PG 147:69D), *peristolia* (401D)—that was preserved there alongside a part of her girdle and headgear.

LIT. *DOC*, ed. Grierson, 3.1:170. Oppenheim, *Monchs-kleid* 78, 132f. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:473. Janin, *Églises CP* 163, —N.P.Š., A.K. 169.

**MAPPA** (μάππα), a badge of consular authority, the white handkerchief that the consul tossed as a signal to begin the circus games; the word was also transferred to the games or races themselves (e.g., Malal. 412.13). On consular DIPTYCHS the consuls are often depicted holding the *mappa* in their right hand and a SCEPTER in their left (e.g., Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, pls. 2, 6, 16, 20, etc.). A special official, the *mapparios*, was introduced; his role was to strike a gong (*semantron*) as the signal to begin the games (pseudo-Chrysostom, PG 59:570.7–8). Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:297.15–19) states that the *mapparios* picked up the cloth after the consul threw it. In a burlesque presentation of games ca.1200, the *mapparios* was responsible for starting the foot races (Nik.Chon. 509.10–13).

By the 6th C. the emperor assumed the consular function of giving the signal to start the games, and thus the *mappa* became a symbol of imperial authority: on coins of Phokas and Constans II the emperors are depicted holding the *mappa* in a raised hand as if ready to throw it (*DOC* 2.1:87). A. Alföldi (*MDAI RA* 50 [1935] 34–36) hypothesized that the transfer to the emperor of the function of throwing the *mappa* was connected with the change of the circus factions from sporting organizations into political bodies. By the 8th C. the *mappa* was replaced by the AKAKIA in representations on coins (*DOC* 3.1:133).

LIT. M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung* (Athens 1964) 143. —A.K.

**MAPS.** See CARTOGRAPHY; MADABA MOSAIC MAP.

**MAQDISĪ, AL-** (al-Muqaddasī), more fully Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, traveler and Arab geographer of the systematic school (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS); born Jerusalem 946, died ca.1000. His *Best Classification for the Knowledge of Regions* (published 986, revised 989) is a comprehensive regional, economic, and human geography of the Islamic world. It is based mostly on his observations and interviews during extensive travels in Muslim lands; he only infrequently incorporates material from earlier geographers, despite his familiarity with these and his "extensive research in various royal libraries." His varied experience included witnessing Byz.-Arab naval warfare.

Although his scheme deliberately excludes non-Muslim lands, he refers to Byz., "for some Muslims reside in Constantinople and knowledge of routes thereto is needed for envoys, ransoming of prisoners, military expeditions, and trade." He refers to Byz. treatment of Muslim PRISONERS OF WAR: if skilled, they would be forced to work; they could also attend races in the Hippodrome as spectators. He describes several routes through Asia Minor including two through "the country of the MALEINOS family." He considers Constantinople as possibly smaller than Baṣra, reiterates certain popular notions about the Byz. capital, and contemptuously calls the emperor "the dog of the Rūm." He ignores Tarsos and the other towns, "since they are in Byz. hands."

ED. Aḥsan al-Taḡāsīm fī-Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm<sup>2</sup>, ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 3 (1906)]. Partial Fr. tr.—A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces* (Damas-cus 1963).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 210–18. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxxiv, 313–30. —A.Sh.

**MAQRĪZĪ, AL-**, more fully Taqī al-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās al-Maqrīzī, Arab writer, teacher, jurist, and preacher; born Cairo 1364, died there 9 Feb. 1442. In the 1420s, following a multifarious public career in Egypt and Syria, al-Maqrīzī retired to Cairo and devoted the rest of his life to extremely prolific literary activities. Thorough analysis and copious quotations from earlier authorities characterize his works. They cover a wide chronological and topical range mainly focused on Islamic Egypt. Best known is his monumental work, *Admonitions and Observations on the History of the Quarters and Monuments*. It deals with the historical geography and archaeological legacy of

Egypt, placing special emphasis on the topography of its capital cities. No less important are al-Maqrīzī's contributions in the field of political history, for example, his history of the FĀṬIMIDS and his chronicle of Egypt from 1181 to 1436, which refer to Egyptian contacts with the Byz., the Crusaders, and other non-Muslim peoples. His literary legacy also includes major biographical works and specialized treatises dealing with economic crises in Egypt, numismatics, and metrology.

TR. *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, tr. U. Bouriant, P. Casanova, 4 pts. in 4 vols. (Paris-Cairo 1895–1920). *Histoire d'Égypte*, tr. E. Blochet (Paris 1908).

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur*, 2:47–50. F. Rosenthal, *ET*<sup>2</sup> 6:193f. —A.S.E.

**MARAŞ.** See GERMANIKEIA.

**MARBLE** (μάρμαρον), generic name for any number of limestone varieties in crystalline state capable of taking a high polish. Hard, durable, and costly, marble was the favorite material for ostentatious architecture and sculpture in antiquity. Diocletian's Price Edict lists 19 varieties (M.H. Ballance, *JRS* 60 [1970] 134–36). The most important and popular marble in Byz. times came from the quarries of PROKONNESOS. It is characterized by its white color, with bluish-grayish veining, and was shipped throughout the Mediterranean world (see MARBLE TRADE). Following Roman practice, the Byz. continued to use multicolored marbles, most impressively in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople. This spectacular display captivated PAUL SILENTIARIOS, who devoted much space to the description of different types of marbles and their sources. Production and widespread use of marble declined after the 6th C. but never disappeared, while the use of SPOLIA became common. Aesthetic fascination with polychrome marble interiors continued to be attested, as, for example, by the description in the *Vita Basilii* of the so-called Kainourgion built by Basil I in the GREAT PALACE. Equally telling is the widespread practice in and after the 11th C. of using fresco to emulate marble REVETMENTS.

LIT. R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana* (Rome 1988) 10–25, 35–54, 81–94. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Roman Garland Sarcophagi from the Quarries of Proconnesus (Marmara)," in *Smithsonian Report for 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1958) 455–



67. A. Dworakowska, "Rozdział *De marmoribus* edyktu Dioklecjana o cenach maksymalnych," *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 3 (1984) 399–406. —S.C.

**MARBLE TRADE.** Difficulties of shipping heavy material such as MARBLE required above all that QUARRIES be located near rivers, coast, or on islands. Half-finished sarcophagi, architectural elements (basket capitals), and even statues have been found at PROKONNESOS; these partially worked marbles were exported in specially built boats. The shipment of prefabricated marble is remarkably attested by the cargo of columns, capitals, etc. contained in a wreck off Marzamemi, Sicily (G. Kapitän, *Archaeology* 22 [1969] 122–33). Both underwater ARCHAEOLOGY and texts (e.g., Lemerle, *Miracles* 239.18–240.13) inform us of ships carrying prefabricated marble furnishings for churches and stopping at North African ports. In much of the central and western Mediterranean, the Roman marble trade had come to an end by the mid-7th C., but Phrygian onyx and Thessalian verd antique, among other stones, still supplied Justinian I's huge building programs, and as late as ca.670 a North African bishop was able to buy an ambo, a ciborium, and other marbles for his church from ships trading along the coast (ibid., 1:235f). Similar imports are reported in the *Vita Basilii* but, thereafter, claims of such imports all but vanish from the sources. Only objects such as the "serpentine" (i.e., Lakonian green porphyry) medallion, inscribed with the name of (Nikephoros) Botaneiates and now in London (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.208), support the belief that small amounts of semiprecious stones may have continued to be transported. Outside such luxuries, the medieval marble trade consisted largely of SPOLIA, most notoriously in the case of Venetian loot from Constantinople in and after 1204.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Dalmatia and the Marble Trade," *Disputationes Salonitanae*, ed. Z. Rapanić (Split 1975) 38–44. Idem, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *BSR* 35 (1980) 23–69. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 110f. Idem, "Le commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, I. IVe–VIIe siècle* (Paris 1989) 163–86. —A.C.

**MARCELLINUS COMES**, 6th-C. Latin chronicler; born Illyria, perhaps near Skopje. After coming to Constantinople to seek his fortune, Marcellinus served Justinian I as *kankellarios* be-

fore the latter's accession in 527 and subsequently received the rank of *comes* and title of *vir clarissimus*. These honors may have been rewards for his writing. He composed a chronicle extending initially from 379 to 518 in formal continuation of JEROME, later adding a sequel down to 534; a second supplement to 548 is not by him. The viewpoint of his chronicle is eastern, its focus Constantinople. Apart from providing many interesting and important details, Marcellinus stands out as seemingly the first perpetrator of the notion of the fall of Rome in 476 (B. Croke, *Chiron* 13 [1983] 81–119). CASSIODORUS, who recommends Marcellinus's chronicle as the best of the Jerome continuators, also mentions two lost works, *The Description of Constantinople and Jerusalem*, an apparent travelogue, and *On the Nature of Eras and on the Locations of Places*, of uncertain subject, but pronouncedly Christian.

ED. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:37–108.

LIT. O. Holder-Egger, "Die Chronik des Marcellinus Comes und die oströmischen Fasten," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichte* 2 (1877) 49–109. A. Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* 2 (Rome 1958) 33f. B. Croke, "Marcellinus on Dara: A Fragment of His Lost *De Temporum Qualitatibus et Positionibus Locorum*," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 77–88. —B.B.

**MARCIAN** (Μαρκιανός), emperor (from 25 Aug. 450); born Thrace ca.392, died Constantinople 27 Jan. 457. A common soldier, Marcian rose in the ranks, becoming *tribunus* and then *domestikos* under ASPAR. Upon the death of Theodosios II, his sister PULCHERIA offered Marcian the throne and her hand. Marcian was an efficient administrator and left a full treasury at his death. His policy favored the senatorial class. He abolished the land tax, the so-called *collatio glebalis*, and reduced the payments that high-ranking officials made at their investiture. Marcian supported Orthodoxy against the Monophysites; he convoked and presided over the Council of CHALCEDON, provoking resistance esp. in Egypt and Palestine. Relations with Italy were tense and his accession was officially recognized in Rome only on 30 Mar. 451. After Valentinian III's death Marcian did not acknowledge either PETRONIUS MAXIMUS or EPARCHIUS AVITUS. His foreign policy was otherwise successful: peace on the eastern frontier was interrupted only by victorious skirmishes with the Blemmyes and Saracens; Constantinople intervened in internal rivalry in Lazika. While Italy suffered from Van-

dal raids, Marcian limited himself to sending an embassy to the Vandals asking for the return of Eudoxia, Valentinian III's widow, and her children who had been captured by the Vandals. He refused to send tribute to ATTILA and managed to divert him westward; after Attila's death Marcian's generals defeated Hunnic troops and settled peoples that had been subjugated by the Huns on the northern frontier of the empire.

The Byz. preserved a favorable impression of Marcian's reign: as a pious ruler he was compared to Constantine I and Theodosios I; Theophanes the Confessor describes his rule as a golden age. Legends relate predictions Marcian received that he would be emperor. His marriage with Pulcheria was praised for the preservation of her virginity. He reportedly participated on the very eve of his death in a 10-km religious procession.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:236–39. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 1514–29. B. Croke, "The Date and Circumstances of Marcian's Decease, A.D.457," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 5–9. P. Devos, "Saint Jean de Lycopolis et l'empereur Marcien," *AB* 94 (1976) 303–16. R.L. Kohlfelder, "Marcian's Gamble. A Reassessment of Eastern Imperial Policy toward Attila AD 450–453," *American Journal of Ancient History* 9 (1984) 54–69. —T.E.G.

**MARDAITES** (Μαρδαῖται), a people inhabiting the Amanus mountains and the Taurus region in the 7th C.; called Jarājima in Arabic sources (M. Moosa, *Speculum* 44 [1969] 597–608). The origins and ethnic composition of the Mardaites are obscure; they may have been Armenian (Bartikjan, *infra*) or Persian. They were Christian, probably Monophysite or Monothelite. In the late 630s the Arabs hired the Mardaites to guard the border north of Antioch, but they more often served Byz. interests. In 677 their invasion of Syria "as far as Jerusalem" (Theoph. 355.7), probably directly supported by Constantine IV, forced MU'AWIYA to raise his siege of Constantinople and agree to a disadvantageous treaty. A decade later the Mardaites, encouraged by Justinian II, again invaded Syria and compelled 'ABD AL-MALIK to renew MU'AWIYA's treaty, but 'Abd al-Malik stipulated that Justinian resettle them in Byz. territory. They were likely removed to Epiros, Kephallenia, the Peloponnesos, and Asia Minor, where they later served prominently in various thematic fleets (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 399f). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 363.19–20) condemned Justinian for evacuating the border regions, but many Mar-

daites remained and continued to raid Arab territory. In 707/8 MASLAMA captured their stronghold of Jurjūma and resettled numerous survivors throughout Syria. He allowed them to remain Christian but pressured them into the army: the Mardaites fought under him in Iraq in the early 720s.

LIT. Hr. Bartikjan, "He lyse tou ainigmatos ton Mardaiton," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:17–39. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:40–48. M.A. Cheira, *La lutte entre Arabes et Byzantins* (Alexandria 1947) 150–76. M. Canard, *ET* 2:456–58. —P.A.H.

**MARGARIT** (from Gr. μαργαρίτης, "pearl"), a collection of homilies by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM in Slavonic translation, esp. popular in Eastern Slavic territory. Greek collections of patristic "pearls" vary in their composition, but the Slavonic *Margarit* is consistently based on a stable group of 30 homilies, supplemented in some redactions. The homilies are from Chrysostom's *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God* (PG 48:701–48), *Against the Jews* (PG 48:843–56, 871–942), *On Lazarus* (PG 48:963–1016), *On David and Saul* (PG 54:675–708), and the possibly spurious *On Job* (PG 56:563–82). The earliest extant Eastern Slavic MSS of the *Margarit* are from the 15th C., though the translation is thought to date from at least the 13th or 14th C.

ED. Velikie Minei Četii. 14–24 Sent., ed. Makarij (St. Petersburg 1868) cols. 773–1193.

LIT. A. Gorskiy, K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskich rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, 5 vols. (Moscow 1855–1917; rp. Wiesbaden 1964) 2.2:119–31. V. Istrin, "Zamečanija o sostave Tolkovoj palei," *IzvORJaS* 3 (1898) bk.2:478–91. T.V. Čertorickaja, "Margarit," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 258–60. —S.C.F.

**MARGINAL PSALTERS.** See PSALTER.

**MARIA** (Μαρία), Mary (in the New Testament also Mariam), feminine personal name derived from Hebrew. Frequently used in the New Testament (VIRGIN MARY, MARY MAGDALENE, and some others), it means "she who commands," according to JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Expos.fid.* 87.50, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:200). Rare in the 4th C. (*PLRE* 1:558), it became more common in the 5th (*PLRE* 2:720–22), esp. among ladies of Spanish, African, and Italian connections. E. Patlagean (in *Byz. Aristocracy* 25f) notes that the name was rare

in early provincial epitaphs. Theophanes the Confessor mentions only three Marias (including the Virgin), but later the name became the most popular: eight Marias in Skylitzes (more than THEODORA and IRENE) and seven in Niketas Choniates (as many as Irene and more than Theodora). In the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3, Maria holds uncontested first place. —A.K.

**MARIA OF "ALANIA,"** more correctly, of Georgia, Byz. empress (1071/3–81); born ca. 1050, died after 1103. Born Martha, daughter of Bagrat IV of Georgia, and distinguished for her beauty, Maria came to Constantinople ca. 1066 to wed the future MICHAEL VII. The marriage, between ca. 1071 and 1073 or earlier, produced one child, Constantine DOUKAS. On Michael VII's fall, Maria fled with her son to the Petron monastery and then, to protect his position, agreed to marry NIKEPHOROS III. Her favor was sought by Isaac and Alexios Komnenos (the future ALEXIOS I); she adopted the latter and rumor magnified their relationship. When Nikephoros disinherited Constantine Doukas, she supported the Komnenoi, who promised to restore her son's rights. Her warning (Feb. 1081) that their plot had been discovered precipitated their revolt. When Alexios occupied Constantinople, she remained in the palace a week, until the coronation of IRENE DOUKAINA. Although adopting a nun's habit, Maria apparently maintained a court at the Mangana Palace; she patronized THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA. ANNA KOMNENE was in her care (ca. 1090–94) as her son's betrothed. Alexios ignored the part Maria had in Nikephoros Diogenes' plot to kill Alexios in Maria's villa (early 1094). Thereafter she may have entered a convent; Theophylaktos wrote to her at Prinkipo. In 1103 a Georgian synod offered her greetings. Maria appears with her first husband in a psalter in Leningrad, on the Khakhoulis triptych, possibly executed for her coronation, and with either Michael VII or Nikephoros III in the rich Chrysostom MS in Paris, B.N. Coislin 79 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 10f).

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 188–92. M. Mullett, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-Basilissa Maria," *BS* 45 (1984) 202–11. I.M. Nodija (misprinted "Hogus"), "Gruzinskie materialy o vizantijskoj imperatricy [sic] 'Alanki' Marii," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:138–43. —C.M.B., A.C.

**MARIA OF ANTIOCH,** Byz. empress (from 1161); born 1140s, died Constantinople 1182/3. Daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance of Antioch, called "Maria" by William of Tyre, but "Marguerite" in the *Lignages d'Outremer* (RHC *Lois* 2:446), Maria was sought in marriage by MANUEL I after the death of BERTHA OF SULZBACH. The marriage, 25 Dec. 1161, cemented his alliance with ANTIOCH. After Manuel's death, Maria nominally became a nun, Xene, but, as principal regent for her son, ALEXIOS II, effectively ruled the empire. Despite her beauty, her foreign origin and devotion to Latins alienated the populace of Constantinople. Still youthful, she chose Alexios KOMNENOS the *protosebastos* as her chief minister and allegedly her lover. After the victory of ANDRONIKOS I, Maria sought help from BÉLA III of Hungary. Andronikos used her letters to Béla to secure her condemnation. Once her son signed her death warrant, she was strangled.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:459f, 2:461–67. Brand, *Byzantium* 28–32, 45–47. —C.M.B.

**MARICA.** See HEBROS.

**MARICA, BATTLE OF** (26 Sept. 1371), crucial victory of Ottoman Turks over the Serbs. After the unsuccessful attempt of the Byz. emperor John V to obtain Western military assistance, despite his personal conversion to Catholicism in Rome in 1369, Patr. Philotheos Kokkinos proposed an anti-Ottoman alliance of the Orthodox states—Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Russia. This plan was welcomed by the Mrnjačević brothers, king VUKAŠIN of Macedonia, and the *despotes* JOHN UGLJEŠA of Serres, as their territories were directly endangered by the Turkish advance. Uglješa sent an embassy to Constantinople to negotiate a joint campaign against the Turks, but Byz. delays forced Uglješa and Vukašin to set out alone against the Turks in Sept. 1371, with armies numbering perhaps 70,000 men. Approaching from two directions—Vukašin following the Marica valley and Uglješa crossing the Rhodope mountains—they camped on the right bank of the Marica (HEBROS) River at Černomen (modern Ormenion in Greek Thrace), some 25 miles upstream from Adrianople. During the night of 25–26 Sept. the *beylerbey* of Rumelia, Lala Şahin, made a surprise attack on the Serbian army. After a

fierce battle, the Serbs were totally routed; Vukašin and Uglješa were among the many who fell on the battlefield.

The consequences of the Serbian defeat at Marica were of far-reaching importance: for the Serbs, the principality of Serres ceased to exist and Vukašin's heir MARKO KRALJEVIĆ became a Turkish vassal; for the Turks, it opened the way to the West and made possible their eventual conquest of Serbia and Bulgaria; for the Byz., it was a turning point shortly after which John V Palaiologos became a vassal of the sultan and the empire a tributary state of the Ottomans.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 127–46. Soulis, *Dušan* 96–101. —J.S.A.

**MARINA** (*Marīna*), known as Margaret in the West, late 3rd-C. martyr and saint; feastday 17 July. Marina was executed under Diocletian in Pisidian Antioch. Her legend ascribes to Marina victories over a dragon and Satan.

**Representation in Art.** The virgin martyr Marina is easily recognized by her bright red *maphorion*; scenes from her life appear on Cypriot icons and Cappadocian frescoes (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 251–59; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *AIPHOS* 20 [1968–72] 267–71).

SOURCE. *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori*, ed. H. Usener, in *Festschrift zur fünften Säcularfeier der Carl-Ruprechts-Universität zu Heidelberg* (Bonn 1886) 3–53.

LIT. BHG 1165–69d. M.C. Ross, G. Downey, "A Reliquary of St. Marina," *BS* 23 (1962) 41–44. S. Kimpel, *LCI* 7:494f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MARINA**, in Greek versions Maria, legendary saint; feastday 8 or 12 Feb. According to the legend, after her mother's death Maria followed her father Eugenios to a cenobitic monastery, where she lived disguised as a boy named Marininos. When sent on assignment with three other monks, Marina was accused of impregnating the daughter of an innkeeper. Marina did not deny her "guilt," accepted the punishment, and raised the infant. Only when she died did the monks learn that "abba Marininos" was a woman.

The origin of the legend is obscure. Clugnet (*infra*) hypothesized that the original was Latin and that Maria lived in the 5th C. in the area of Tripoli, Syria. Richard (*infra*), on the other hand, considered the Greek *vita antiqua* as the closest to

the original; it bears a strange title—*The Life and Deeds of Eugenios and his daughter Maria*. The original redaction appeared in a written form, Richard thinks, between 525 and 650. It was translated into Syriac, Latin, and probably Armenian, whereas the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions are based on oral tradition and differ substantially from the Greek original. Richard established the existence of several revised Greek versions: the *vita rescripta*, the *vita aucta*, etc. Contrary to the opinion of Clugnet, none of them was Metaphrastic. A Sicilian *vita* of the 12th C. calls the heroine Marina (as do Latin texts) and places her birth in 1062 in the "poor village of Skanion" (Sicily).

**Representation in Art.** The death of Marina and the revelation it brought is depicted in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.394) and in the "imperial" *menologion* MS in Moscow (Hist. Mus. gr. 183, fol.47r).

SOURCES and LIT. *Vie et office de sainte Marine*, ed. L. Clugnet in *BHO* 8 (Paris 1905). Richard, *Opera minora* 3, no.67, pp. 83–115. *Martirio di Santa Lucia. Vita di Santa Marina*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1959) 73–107. BHG 614–615d, 1163, 1165–70. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XI (1976), 601f. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MARK**, saint; author of the second GOSPEL; feastday 25 April. Early tradition presents him as Peter's translator, who wrote the Gospel "according to Peter's instruction" (Eusebios, *HE* 6.25.5); in later tradition, he is "Peter's son and companion of the keeper of heavenly keys" (PG 100:1189A). Church fathers commented little on Mark. Probably after 500 a certain Victor of Antioch compiled a commentary on Mark that is, in fact, a collection of exegetical explanations on Matthew and Luke by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, TITUS of Bostra, CYRIL of Alexandria (to whom, in some MSS, the whole work is attributed), THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, and others. Acts 15:39 links Mark to BARNABAS and his mission to Cyprus.

Byz. legends connect Mark primarily with Egypt: he worked wonders and healing miracles in Alexandria, became the first bishop there, and died as martyr at an Easter festival (PG 115:168C). The cult of Mark in Alexandria is attested in the 4th C. In 828 two Venetian merchants transferred Mark's relics to VENICE (only his head is said to have remained in Egypt), where the basilica of San Marco was erected in his honor; Mark became the patron of Venice. In Constantinople Theo-



dosios I built a Church of St. Mark, which was reconstructed by Romanos I. Several sermons were devoted to Mark; among their authors are a deacon and *chartophylax* Prokopios (9th C.?) and Symeon Metaphrastes. Hagiographers describe Mark as a man of modest stature, with a long nose, thick eyebrows, and large beard; "the virtue of his soul outshone his physical quality" (*Synax.CP* 630.6–11).

**Representation in Art.** Mark is depicted most often in the context of EVANGELIST PORTRAITS as a robust, mature man with dark brown hair and beard. Occasionally shown standing or *en buste*, he is usually seated and writing, dipping his pen, or pausing with his hand on the lectern rising from his desk (see WRITING DESK). Sometimes a second figure joins him; after the 9th C., the accompanying figure is PETER. In 16 surviving codices, a miniature of the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY) accompanies Mark's portrait. His martyrdom is depicted in cycles of the deaths of the APOSTLES. Scenes of his life are rare outside of VENICE, but a group of ivories representing aspects of his biography has been considered to be 8th-C. Byz. work (Weitzmann, "Grado Chair" 43–91).

LIT. BHG 1035–1038t. F. Spadafora, A. Niero, *Bibl.sanct.* 8:711–38. F. Halkin, "Saint Marc dans l'hagiographie byzantine," *StVen* 12 (1970) 29–34. H. Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark," *JThSt* 19 (1918) 350–70. Friend, "Portraits." J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren," in *Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin 1935) 30–34. O. Kresten, G. Prato, "Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus im Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Eine spätere Einfügung," *RömHistMitt* 27 (1985) 381–99.

—J.L., A.K., A.W.C.

**MARKELLAI** (Μαρκέλλαι), a stronghold near the Bulgaro-Byz. border; it is variously called a *phourion* (Nikeph. 56.26–27) or *kastron* (Theoph. 467.28). Its exact location is under dispute, although it can probably be identified with the ruins of Hisarlük, near Karnobad in Bulgaria (Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 19). The stronghold played an important role during the Bulgaro-Byz. wars of the 8th and 9th C.: Constantine V defeated the Bulgars there in 756, in 792 Constantine VI fortified it but was routed by the khan Kardamos, and in 811 Emp. Nikephoros I reached Markellai during his march to Pliska. It is probable that sometime thereafter Markellai was destroyed; a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 2:105.27–29) mentions a valley

between IAMBOL and Goloe where the Pechenegs pitched their tents near "the so-called Markella."

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:57–62, 670. V. Beševliev, "Ein verkannter thrakischer Ortsname," *Izvestija na Institut za Bŭlgarski ezik* 16 (1968) 75–77. G. Taverdet, "Au sujet du toponyme 'Marcellai-Marcellae,'" *RESEE* 7 (1969) 397–99.

—A.K.

**MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA**, bishop of Ankyra (by 314) and opponent of ARIANISM; born ca.280, died ca.374. While Markellos (Μάρκελλος) was a stalwart Nicene in 325, his attack a decade later on the Arian Asterios the Sophist included charges against EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, who responded at once with counteraccusations of SABELLIANISM. A synod at Constantinople in 336 condemned, deposed, and exiled Markellos. Over the next decade the ensuing theological seesaw had him restored in 337, deposed in 339, restored in 343 after proving his orthodoxy to the councils of Rome (340) and Serdica (343), and finally deposed and exiled in 347. He was condemned as a heretic in 381 in canon 1 of the First Council of Constantinople.

Little remains of the voluminous writings ascribed to him by JEROME (*De viris illustribus* 86). The *Profession of Faith* required of him for the council at Rome survives, but only fragments of the diatribe against Asterios. He is probably the author of the tract *On the Holy Church* ascribed to ANTHIMOS OF NIKOMEDEIA (Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.33). Markellos attacked Arianism as polytheistic, himself expounding the theory that the Logos was only in God before the Creation and will likewise be only in God at the redemption, being consubstantial with the Father but ungenerated and not a person, unlike Christ the Son.

ED. *Profession of Faith* and fragment of attack on Asterios—ed. E. Klostermann, G.C. Hansen in *Eusebius Werke*, ed. I.A. Heikel, vol. 4<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1972) 183–215. "Anthimi Nicomediensis episcopi et martyris de sancta Ecclesia," in G. Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (Rome 1901) 87–98.

LIT. J.T. Lienhard, "Marcellus of Ancyra in Modern Research," *TheolSt* 43 (1982) 486–503. T.E. Pollard, "Marcellus of Ancyra, a Neglected Father," in *Epektasis: Mélanges J. Daniélou* (Paris 1972) 187–96. M. Tetz, "Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra," *ZKirkh* 75 (1964) 217–70; 79 (1968) 3–42; 83 (1972) 145–94.

—B.B.

**MARKELLOS THE AKOIMETOS**, saint; born in Syrian (?) Apameia ca.400, died near Constantinople before 484; feastday 29 Dec. Born to a

family of noble birth (*eupatrides*), Markellos was educated in Antioch and worked as a calligrapher in Ephesus. He was invited to Constantinople by ALEXANDER, founder of the wandering community of AKOIMETOI, the "sleepless monks"; when the group settled at Irenaion on the Bosphoros, Markellos became archimandrite of the Akoimeto monastery (before 448). He became involved in political and religious struggles and fought against Monophysites and Arians; with Patr. GENADIOS I, Markellos headed the demonstration in the Hippodrome ca.470 against an attempt to proclaim Patrikios, son of ASPAR, caesar and heir to the throne (Dagron, *infra* 316–18). In 463 Markellos helped to found the STODIOS MONASTERY.

The anonymous Life of Markellos, written in the mid-6th C. according to Dagron (p.278f), tends to play down the involvement of the Akoimeto and Markellos in MESSALIANISM and NESTORIANISM, and to emphasize his orthodox activity. The author describes Markellos's role as an organizer of monastic life; helped by a generous grant by a certain Pharetrios, "the first in the great council," he built a spacious chapel, lodgings for the brethren, a hostel for strangers, and hospitals (p.297.12–18). The service according to the rite of the Akoimeto (*akolouthia ton akoimeton*) was broadly spread at this time. Markellos worked many miracles, for example, assisting the wife of the deacon Eugenios during a difficult childbirth. SYMEON METAPHRASTES (PG 116:705–46) slightly retouched the original Life.

SOURCE. G. Dagron, "La vie ancienne de saint Marcel l'Acémète," *AB* 86 (1968) 271–321.

LIT. BHG 10272–1028.

—A.K.

**MARKET** (ἀγορά), also *phoros*. The term *market* in modern, Western economic parlance denotes both the area in which buyers and sellers meet and the establishment of prices through the forces of supply and demand. The Byz. terms designate the place where transactions occur, either in a specific, geographic sense, or in the more general sense of marketplace; they can also refer to an occasion for carrying out transactions. Thus, according to a chronicle (*TheophCont* 87.16–17), the emperor Theophilos went through the *agora* checking on the price of commodities; Basil I built a church for the use of those who frequented the "agora that was named Phoros" (ibid. 339.1–5).

In the general sense of marketplace, the term is employed, for instance, in Attaleiates (Attal. 270.8), where Nikephoros III Botaneiates is acclaimed by, among others, the most important people of the *agora*, or in Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 223.38–40), where he accuses some monks of frequenting the *agora* more than the church.

The term is frequently encountered in the sense of an occasion for carrying out transactions. Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that markets could be impermanent, occasional, or periodic. Kekaumenos (Kek. 184.12 and 32) uses the term *phoros* interchangeably with *panegyris* to denote a market established on a single occasion. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH talks specifically of the "established market-days" (2.3, cf. 9.7), on which transactions are to take place. While the distinction between market and FAIR is blurred in such cases, the terms for market generally denote a more permanent and more frequent institution than the fair.

Byz. cities had specific areas where commercial activities were concentrated. In Constantinople, the main market was along the Mese (Guilland, *Topographie* 2:69–79).

The role of the market as a mechanism of PRICE formation was considerably tempered by the fact that, for much of Byz. history, the price of important commodities was regulated. While there is evidence of negotiated price formation in every period, it was certainly in the Palaiologan period, and probably also in the 11th–12th C., that the regulatory role of the state decreased and prices were, to a considerable extent, formed in the marketplace. Attaleiates (Attal. 200–04) suggests that grain prices in Rhaidestos were being formed through the mechanism of supply and demand before the reforms of NIKEPHORITZES, while some evidence of reaction to prices by sellers and buyers may be found in a text by Psellos (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 550).

—A.L.

**MARKIANOPOLIS** (Μαρκιανούπολις), Roman city in Bulgaria at Reka Devnia, about 30 km west of VARNa on the road to the Danube. In the late 4th C. Markianopolis was a base in the war against the Visigoths and was for four years the residence of VALENS. Two fierce battles were fought outside its walls in 376 and 377. Justinian I restored the

city walls as part of the defenses of the northern Balkans. Captured and sacked by the Avars in the third quarter of the 6th C., Markianopolis seems to have remained a military post until its final abandonment at the end of the century. The site was never reoccupied. There are substantial remains of a single-naved basilica of the 4th or 5th C., rebuilt and enlarged in the 6th, and of several churches of the Justinianic period.

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 154–56, 267f. B. Gerov, "Markianopolis im Lichte der historischen Angaben und der archäologischen, epigraphischen und numismatischen Materialien und Forschungen," *Studia Balcanica* 10 (1976) 49–72. —R.B.

**MARKIANOS OF HERAKLEIA** (in the Pontos), geographer, probably of the 4th to early 5th C. His biography is unknown. He himself names three of his works: *Periplus of the Outer Sea*, an epitome of Artemidorus of Ephesus, and an epitome of Menippus of Pergamon, the last two being ancient geographers who had described the Inner Sea (Mediterranean). Markianos depended heavily upon his classical predecessors. In the *Periplus of the Outer Sea*, after some general deliberations about the size of the tripartite world (Asia, Libya, and Europe), he describes the "right" sections of the world, from the "Arabian Gulf" to the Indian Ocean, and then the "left" sections, from the Persian Gulf via India to the gulf of the "fish-eating Sinai," that is, the Chinese (GGM 1:537.15). The second half of the book deals with the ocean from Spain to Britain. Of Markianos's other works only fragments survive.

ED. GGM 1:515–76.

LIT. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Oxford 1952) 147–50. F. Gisinger, *RE* supp. 6 (1935) 271–81. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:528. —A.K.

**MARKO KRALJEVIĆ** (lit. "king's son"), eldest son of the Serbian *kralj* (king) VUKAŠIN and popular folk hero; died Rovine 17 May 1395. Following Vukašin's death in 1371 at the battle of MARICA, Marko inherited his father's title and his territories in western Macedonia. At the same time he was forced to become an Ottoman vassal; as such he took part in the battle of ROVINE against Mircea of Wallachia and fell together with CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ. He was the *ktetor* of Markov Manastir near Skopje and the Holy Archangels

Church near his capital Prilep; portraits of Marko and of his father are preserved at both sites.

Although the historical sources on Marko are rather limited, he became the most famous hero of the epic poetry of the Serbians (and other Balkan Slavs). Endowed with supernatural strength, valor, fearlessness, and a sense of justice, he and his single-handed victories are the subject of hundreds of folk songs and ballads. A number of toponyms in the Balkans also bear his name.

LIT. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 162–84. Fine, *Late Balkans* 379–83. T. Popović, *Prince Marko, the Hero of South Slavic Epics* (Syracuse 1988). —J.S.A.

**MARK THE DEACON**, a disciple of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA and allegedly his hagiographer; fl. 5th C. According to the vita of Porphyrios, Mark was originally from the province of Asia. He came to Jerusalem, where he supported himself by working as a calligrapher. After entering the service of Porphyrios, in 395 he accompanied the newly appointed bishop to Gaza, where he himself became deacon. Thereafter he was the constant companion of Porphyrios in his struggle to convert the pagans of GAZA and close their temples.

There has been considerable discussion of the authorship of the vita of Porphyrios. According to its most recent editors, Grégoire and Kugener, its compiler was not Mark, but someone who worked much later, ca. 600, virtually copied the preface to the *Religious History* of Theodoret of Cyrillus, and suppressed Porphyrios's heretical sympathies with Pelagianism. The compiler did, however, use a diary written by Mark and preserved the true pattern of events. Whoever the author, the biography is valuable for its description of pagan-Christian tensions, as well as social life and backstairs intrigue at court and church. It is lucidly and vividly written, almost novelistic. The vita is known in a Georgian version, which, according to P. Peeters (*infra*), derives from a lost Syriac original. Mark claims (ch.88) to have commemorated Porphyrios's debate with the Manichaeans in a separate book, but no such work survives.

ED. *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, ed. H. Grégoire, M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1930), with Fr. tr.; rev. by F. Halkin, *AB* 49 (1931) 155–60 and F. Nau, *ROC* 27 (1929–30) 422–41. Eng. tr. G.F. Hill, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon* (Oxford 1913). P. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne de Saint Porphyre de Gaza," *AB* 59 (1941) 65–216. —B.B., A.K.

**MARK THE HERMIT**, or Mark the Monk, ascetic writer to whom at least 14 works are ascribed in Greek and oriental (Syriac and Arabic) tradition; it is still unclear whether they were works of a single or different authors. Even though Mark was often cited by the church fathers (Dorotheos of Gaza, John of Damascus, Theodore of Studios, etc.), his biography is unknown. GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (599.5) names the ascetic Mark, together with Neilos and Isidore of Pelousion, among the pupils of John Chrysostom—but this evidence seems suspicious. On the basis of his works Mark has been variously dated between the end of the 4th and the 6th C. and situated in Palestine or Egypt; however, there are no data for a convincing conclusion.

The most important point of Mark's doctrine is his rejection of Messalianism, even though he retained some vocabulary of pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON; he esp. underlined the perfect nature of baptism in the spiritual struggle against sin. A treatise *On Melchizedek* or *Against the Melchizedekites* denounces a sectarian view widespread in Egypt and Phrygia that claimed MELCHIZEDEK was the son of God rather than human (O. Hesse, *OrChr* 51 [1967] 72–77). Mark's tract *Against the Nestorians* maintains the notion of hypostatic union; though recognizing the Nestorians as heretical, his tone is one of compromise between Orthodoxy and its opponents. Some later theologians, including Photios, accused Mark of Monophysite leanings.

ED. PG 65:893–1140. *Against the Nestorians*—ed. J. Kunze, *Marcus Eremita* (Leipzig 1895). Germ. tr. O. Hesse, *Asketische und dogmatische Schriften* (Stuttgart 1985).

LIT. J. Gribomont, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 274–83. O. Hesse, *Markos Eremites und Symeon von Mesopotamien* (Göttingen 1973). H. Chadwick, "The Identity and Date of Mark the Monk," *EChR* 4 (1972) 125–30. K.T. Ware, "The Sacrament of Baptism and the Ascetic Life in the Teaching of Mark the Monk," *StP* 10 (Berlin 1970) 441–52.

—B.B., A.K.

**MARMARA, SEA OF** (*Προποντις*), a small sea between Thrace and Asia Minor. Two straits, the BOSPOROS and the HELLESPONT, link it with the Black Sea and the Aegean, respectively. The transformation of ancient Byzantium into Constantinople, capital of the empire, increased the significance of the Sea of Marmara as a trade route and the importance of the ecclesiastical centers on its shores. Thracian HERAKLEIA and SE-

LYMBRIA on the northern shore and LAMPSAKOS and KYZIKOS on the southern shore were important harbors and customs points on the way to Constantinople. Of the Marmara islands the most important were PROKONNESOS (whose marble quarries gave the sea one of its names) and the PRINCES' ISLANDS. A group of churches and monasteries (the Archangels at SIGE/Syke, MEDIKION, PELEKETE, Polichnion/Polychronia, etc.) survived on the southern shore. In the 9th C. the enigmatic office of "archon of the monasteries on Propontis" (PG 105:532B) existed or was created by Photios for one of his favorites. In Feb. 764 Theophanes the Confessor observed an unusual phenomenon—the Sea of Marmara was covered with ice so that children could walk to its islands.

LIT. F.W. Hasluck, "The Marmara Islands," *JHS* 29 (1909) 6–18. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "L'archipel de Marmara comme lieu d'exil," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 27–34 (expanded Polish version in *Polska—Niemcy—Europa* [Poznań 1978] 33–44). C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 235–77. —A.K.

**MARONEIA** (*Μαρόνεια*), city in Thrace on the Aegean Sea near Lake Ismaris, midway between the Nestos and HEBROS rivers. Mentioned by Ammianus (Amm.Marc. 27.4.13) as the second city of RHODOPE, it appears anachronistically in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.36, ed. Pertusi, p.88) as a city in the theme of MACEDONIA. The data on Byz. Maroneia are scanty: a lead seal of the 11th–12th C. defines it as a *kastron* (K.M. Konstantopoulos, *Thrakika* 4 [1933] 35–39). More is known about the ecclesiastical history of Maroneia: it was an autocephalous archbishopric of Rhodope at least from the 7th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 1.45); a notitia indicates that after the death of Andronikos III, "in the time of havoc," it was transformed into a metropolis (17.122.23). It changed status thereafter, being called an archbishopric in a document that may date to 1365 (MM 1:471.12), but a metropolis in 1405 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3270). A mutilated document, perhaps of 1371, referring to the invasions of "godless peoples" that ravaged and burned "the beautiful land" of Maroneia relates that the archbishop of Maroneia was transferred to the "widowed" metropolis of Mesembria (MM 1:594.2–19). Some seals of archbishops of Maroneia have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.819; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.546).



S. Reinach (*BCH* 5 [1881] 88) noted Byz. and Genoese buildings and a fortification made of bricks and *spolia* near the sea, preserved to a height of 4 m. More recent excavations have revealed late Roman and Byz. remains in Maroneia and nearby, on the acropolis of St. George: towers, an underground passageway, bathhouse, ceramics, mosaic floor of an early basilica, and sculptural and architectural fragments.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodes* 115–17. Eu. Tsimpides-Pentazos, "Archaiologikai ereunai en Thrake," *PraktArchEt* (1971 [1973]) 86–118. —T.E.G.

**MARONITES**, a Christian sect in Lebanon. Their early history is obscure. P. Dib believes that they originated from the disciples of the priest and anchorite Maron who lived in Syria II and corresponded with John Chrysostom ca.405; Maron's exploits are described by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. In contrast, M. Moosa asserts that this Maron of the early 5th C. had no connection with the future Maronites; he also denies that a letter of 10 Jan. 518 signed by Alexander, priest and archimandrite of St. Maro, and describing an attack of "rustics" sent by SEVEROS of Antioch against his monastery, is related to the early phase of the Maronite movement. The first indisputable data concerning the Maronites come from DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ (9th C.) and EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (10th C.) who speak of their activity in the 7th and late 6th C., respectively. John of Maron, who may have been the first Maronite patriarch, lived in the 7th C. (sometime between 630 and 707), according to Breydy (*infra* [1985] 76). Many of his works in Syriac survive.

It is plausible that the Maronite politico-religious community was established in the period of the Persian invasion and subsequent Arab conquest of northern Syria when the patriarchs of Antioch sought refuge in Constantinople. The religious affiliation of the Maronites is also under discussion: Dib insists on their orthodoxy, their support of the Chalcedonian creed, and their alliance with Rome, whereas Moosa considers them to be predominantly Monothelite. The Maronites supported the Crusaders' effort to gain control of the Holy Land. WILLIAM OF TYRE relates that they abandoned their ancient Monothelite "heresy" and united with the Latin patriarchate of Antioch in 1187—evidence rejected by Dib.

SOURCE. Jean Maron, *Exposé de la foi et autres opuscules*, ed. M. Breydy, 2 vols. (Louvain 1988).

LIT. P. Dib, *L'église maronite*, vol. 1 (Paris 1930). M. Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse 1986). M. Breydy, *Geschichte der Syro-Arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert* (Opladen 1985). —A.K.

**MAROULES**, or Maroules (Μαρούλ(λ)ης, fem. Μαρουλίνα), a family name that according to V. Laurent (*EO* 30 [1931] 481–84) was of vernacular origin, signifying a vegetable merchant (cf. *maroulion*, "lettuce"). The first known Maroules ("the son of Maroules") was *domestikos ton Hikanaton* under Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 389.5); Skylitzes conveys his first name, Olbianos (Skyl. 203.88). Another Maroules was *katepano* of Italy in 1060/1 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 98f). The family did not hold military offices in the 12th C.: the *protonotarios* Basil attended the council of 1143; John owned a seal that calls him *doulos* of Manuel I. Several family members served in church administration: Constantine was in charge of a patriarchal *sekretion* (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.135); another Constantine (?) Maroules was metropolitan of Thessalonike (*Corpus* 5.1, no.458); John (or Constantine) was exarch in Miletos (MM 6:153.17; cf. *Patmou Engrapha* 2:142f) in the beginning (Laurent: the second half) of the 13th C.; Alexios was chief of the *sakellion* in Smyrna in 1274 (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 114). The 14th-C. members of the Maroules family were generals and courtiers: the *megas archon* Maroules led an army against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:424.2); a purchase deed of 1312 mentions the *sebastos* Maroules as a landowner (*Xerop.*, no.16.9); Phokas Maroules was *domestikos* of the imperial table ca.1328–41; he also founded a convent of the Theotokos in Constantinople before 1341 (MM 1:221–26; 2:424.16–18). A charter of 1384 names John Maroules *archon* (*Docheiar.*, no.49.10). Demetrios Maroules was an "honorable physician" in Thessalonike ca.1322. Peasants of several Athonite monasteries often bore the related name of Maroulas.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 17128–63.

—A.K.

**MARRIAGE** (γάμος). In Roman law marriage was originally a relationship based on the husband's domination over the wife (*manus*) and later a relatively "free marriage" (i.e., union of equals in which divorce was permissible). The radical

Christian sects (Marcionites, Gnostics) attacked marriage as contrary to the Gospels, as fornication, and as the work of the devil. Mainstream Christianity had to work out a compromise between the complete rejection of marriage and the Roman legal concept of "free marriage" following St. Paul's dictum that "it is better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor 7:9). Late Roman legislation shifted back and forth on the question of the permanence of marriage and the possibility of DIVORCE; Justin II in a novel of 566 still maintained the traditional view that divorce could be allowed with the agreement of the two partners. The principal changes occurred (probably under the influence of customary law) by the 8th C., and were formulated in the *Ecloga*. The major aspects of the change were restriction of divorce, strengthening bonds of property within the family, and balancing the rights of the mother and father regarding their children. Later came the prohibition of CONCUBINAGE.

Church fathers considered marriage a divine institution established for the procreation of children and the prevention of fornication. The consent of the bride and groom, and often of their parents or guardians, was necessary for marriage, although in romances marriages were sometimes performed without parental approval. A formal MARRIAGE RITE OR WEDDING was required for the conclusion of a marriage; eventually under Alexios I, the distinction between marriage and BETROTHAL was limited. The minimum age for marriage was puberty, reckoned as age 12 for girls and 14 for boys; normally, the husband was older than the wife. Second marriages were permitted (for lay persons), while a third was undesirable and required an *epitimion* (see REMARRIAGE). The marriage of EUNUCHS was prohibited by Leo VI, and the marriage of slaves was considered illegal until the 11th C. (see SLAVERY). There were various MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS, based on reasons of religion, consanguinity, or affinity. Although highly regarded, marriage was considered inferior to VIRGINITY, and canon law required CELIBACY of monks and bishops; second marriages were prohibited for priests.

The metaphor of marriage was frequently used in Byz. imagery: the church was identified as the bride of Christ, and individual women committed themselves in marriage to the immortal bridegroom Christ (Brock-Harvey, *Women* 71,165).

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Vienna 1864). A. Schmink, "Der Traktat *Peri Gamon* des Johannes Peditasimos," *FM* 1 (1976) 126–74. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 55–105. J. Dauvillier, C. de Clerque, *Le mariage en droit canonique oriental* (Paris 1936). Ritzer, *Mariage* 127–213. A. Laiou, "Consensus facit nuptias—et non," *RJ* 4 (1985) 189–201. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI (1967), 305–25. E. Patlagean in Veyne, *Private Life* 1:597–604. D. Simon, "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier," *FM* 1 (1976) 16–43. O. Kresten, "Datierungsproblem isaurischer Eherechtsnovellen I. Coll. I 26," *FM* 4 (1981) 37–106. M. Angold, "E byzantine ekklesia kai ta problemata tou gamou," *Dodone* 17 (1988) 179–95. —J.H., A.K.

**MARRIAGE BELT**, apparently one of the customary gifts from groom to bride. Unlike the marriage RING and MARRIAGE CROWN, it was associated with the nuptial chamber, rather than the wedding ceremony (A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* [Paris 1889] 12f). Two gold specimens survive, at Dumbarton Oaks (*DOCat* 2, no.38) and in the de Clercq Collection; both date to the later 6th/7th C. and are said to have been found in Syria. Each consists of repoussé medallions—many small ones with Dionysiac figures or TYCHAI (de Clercq) and two large ones at the center that depict the *dextrarum junctio* (see MARRIAGE RITE). Their iconography is that of marriage rings, with Christ as officiating priest,

MARRIAGE BELT. Marriage belt; gold, late 6th to 7th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.



as are their inscriptions; the Dumbarton Oaks example bears "From God, Harmony, Grace, Health," while the de Clercq medallion is inscribed "Wear in Good Health (*Hygienousa phori* [sic]), Grace of God." Their emphasis on health and their association with the bridal chamber suggest that these marriage belts had an amuletic role in facilitating conception and childbirth.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 1-16. —G.V.

**MARRIAGE CROWNS** were usually designated by the generic term for crowns, *stephanoi*. A. Vogt's (*De cer.*, vol. 1.2:25) strict distinction between imperial crown (*stemma*) and nuptial crown (*stephanos*) does not prove valid: in the chapter on the marriage (*stephanoma*) of the augusta, the DESPOTAI are said to have been crowned with the *stemma* (bk.1, ch.50[41], vol. 2:17.15). The habit of crowning newlyweds was known by the end of the 6th C.; describing the marriage of Maurice, Theophylaktos Simokattes (*Theoph.Simok.* 57.17-19) notes that *stephanoi* were employed. Wedding crowns appear on the bezels of 6th- through 7th-C. marriage rings as well as in later MS illumination (e.g., the marriage of Constantine IX and Zoe in the Madrid SKYLITZES—Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.542). Generally, they appear to be wide, simple bands (of metal?), which is consistent with the only known surviving set, in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (P.A. Drossoyianni, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 529-38). These tin-plated copper crowns have an arch bearing a cross over the forehead; each carries an invocation and a quotation from a psalm sung as part of the marriage ceremony. The so-called *Akolouthia of Betrothal and Marriage* (preserved in MSS from the 10th C. onward) prescribes that two crowns be set on the altar, together with a glass wine cup that the bride and groom were to share; after they express their wish to marry, the priest girds a sword around the waist of the groom and puts crowns on the heads of the pair as symbols of imperial power (P.N. Trempelas, *Theologia* 18 [1940] 120-23). The crowns would be hung over the marriage bed for seven days.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:108, 118f, 136-39. C. Walter, "Marriage Crowns in Byzantine Iconography," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 83-91. —G.V.

**MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS.** Marriage with certain categories of people was prohibited; enumerated in Byz. law books mainly under the rubric "On Forbidden Marriages," these people included Jews, heretics, clerics, guardians, rapists, adulterers, those marrying for the third and fourth time (see TOMOS OF UNION), and, above all, relatives. Impeded relatives were at first defined by their kinship designations on a case by case basis. From the 11th C. onward the general rule prevailed that all blood, adoptive, and spiritual relatives to the 7th degree of relationship (see RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF) were prohibited categories (to the 6th degree for those related by marriage). Important sources for the development of the topic are canons 53, 54, and 98 of the Council in Trullo, title 2 of the *Ecloga*, and acts of the patriarchs Sisinnios II, Alexios Stoudites, Michael I Keroularios, and John VIII Xiphilinos, as well as novels of the emperors Alexios I and Manuel I Komnenos. That the topic was of great relevance is attested by the existence in many MSS of various different treatises dealing with it; John PEDIASIMOS and Matthew BLASTARES were esp. concerned with the subject.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 212-600. K.G. Pitsakes, *To kolyima gamou logo syngeneias hebdomou bathmou ex haimatos sto byzantino dikaio* (Athens-Komotini 1985). —A.S.

**MARRIAGE RITE** (στεφάνωμα, lit. "crowning") consisted of two separate parts: BETROTHAL (*mnesteia*), and crowning, originally with a garland, later with a MARRIAGE CROWN of precious metal, which is the marriage proper. Crowning was a traditional element of pre-Christian weddings; hence Christians first discouraged it as pagan, but accepted it by the 4th C., interpreting it in a Christian sense as the crown of victory over concupiscence (John Chrysostom, PG 62:546.51-52). Crowning became a customary part of the ecclesiastical ceremony by the end of the 6th C. (Ritzer, *Marriage* 136). After the rite of BETROTHAL, *stephanoma* follows with the *synapte*, three prayers, the crowning itself, lections (Eph 5:21-33, Jn 2:1-11), the *ekmene* litany, another prayer, the *synapte* with *aiteiseis*, Our Father, a prayer, the ritual procession, removal of the crowns, concluding blessing, and prayers. Some early MSS also have a blessing of the nuptial chamber. The nuptial blessing and crowning were restricted to first marriages up until the 8th C., when the prohibition

against second marriages was relaxed and the church extended its control over all Christian marriages. Only in this period does the ritual take shape. Gradually the church's nuptial blessing became the only acceptable Byz. form of marriage, extended even to slaves by the 11th C. The legislation accompanying these developments is an important part of Byz. jurisprudence (Ritzer, *Marriage* 127-213). From the 11th C. onward, legislation reserved nuptials to the bishop or, with his permission, a priest, though the stipend went to the bishop according to the *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos (*Reg* 2, no.923). There is a commentary on the rite by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:503-16).

**Representation in Art.** The earliest depictions of Christian marriage appear in the 5th C. They show the couple with joined right hands, the gesture of the *dextrarum junctio* common in Roman rite, which symbolized *concordia*. The celebrant is now Christ, replacing the personification of *Concordia*. He places his arms around the shoulders of the couple. A solidus of Pulcheria and Marcian with this image was struck to commemorate their marriage. The same composition appears on marriage RINGS and a MARRIAGE BELT of the 6th-7th C. in Dumbarton Oaks (E. Kantorowicz, *DOP* 14 [1960] 1-16). On the 7th-C. DAVID PLATE on Cyprus, Saul stands as the celebrant between David and Michal, but he is no longer embracing them. From the 11th C. onward the celebrant places crowns on the heads of the couple, for example, Saul marrying David and Michal in the Psalter MS, Vat. gr. 752 (fol.2v: E. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. 3.2 [Princeton 1942] pl.4). When Christ is placing his hands on the crowns of imperial couples, it cannot be determined from the images alone whether a marriage or a coronation is commemorated. Certain scenes in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES are unambiguously marriage ceremonies. The essential elements in these scenes are the bishop or patriarch who is celebrating the marriage rite, the couple, and the MARRIAGE CROWNS (*stephanoi*) either already on the heads of the couple or about to be placed there by the bishop. In the miniature of the marriage of Zoe and Michael IV Paphlagon (fol. 206v) the marriage crowns are joined by a cloth band. Michael also holds Zoe by the wrist, a late example of the *dextrarum junctio*. (For the secular celebration of marriages, see WEDDING.)

ED. P. Trempelas, *Mikron Euchologion*, vol. 1 (Athens 1950) 7-96. A. Raes, *Le mariage dans les églises d'Orient* (Chevetogne 1958).

LIT. D. Gelsi, "Punti di riflessione sull'ufficio bizantino per la 'incoronazione' degli sposi," *La celebrazione cristiana del matrimonio*, ed. G. Farnedi (Rome 1986) 283-306. G. Passarelli, "Stato della ricerca sul formulario dei riti matrimoniali," *SBNG* 241-48. C. Walter, "The Dextrarum Junctio of Lepcis Magna in Relationship to the Iconography of Marriage," *Antiquités Africaines* 14 (1979) 271-83.

—R.F.T., I.K.

**MAR SABA MONASTERY.** See SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF.

**MARTIN I**, pope (July 649-17 June 653) and saint; born Todi, Tuscany, died Cherson 16 Sept. 655; feastday in the Greek calendar 13 Apr. Martin served as papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople, where he supported MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR against official Monotheletism (W. Peitz, *HistJb* 38 [1917] 213-36, 429-58). When he was elected pope, Martin did not receive confirmation from Emp. CONSTANS II. Martin immediately took steps to find backing in Palestine by dispatching John of Philadelphia as his vicar; he summoned the LATERAN SYNOD in 649 to reject the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II. Constans considered these actions political treason and sent the exarch OLYMPIOS to arrest the pope. Olympios, however, made peace with Martin and soon proclaimed himself emperor. The new exarch Theodore Kalliopas entered Rome with an army and forced Martin to submit; the pope was brought to Constantinople on 17 Sept. 653 and tried on 19 Dec., charged with conspiring with Olympios and sending money to the Arabs who were attacking Sicily. His attempt to discuss the *Typos* was not permitted. Condemned to death, Martin was instead exiled to Cherson, whence he sent letters lamenting his fate. The Greek church proclaimed Martin a martyr: the history of his ordeal was described probably by Theodore Spoudaios (R. Devreesse, *AB* 53 [1935] 49-80).

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 186-91. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:553-73. R. Riedinger, "Papst Martin I. und Papst Leo I. in den Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 87f. —A.K.

**MARTINA** (Μαρτίνα), empress; second wife of HERAKLEIOS; born ca.598, died probably Rhodes, after 641/2. The niece of Herakleios, Martina



married him after the death of Fabia/Eudokia in 613/14. Patr. SERGIOS I protested that the marriage was incestuous, and the Greens insulted the emperor when he appeared with Martina in the Hippodrome. Martina produced perhaps ten children, some of them retarded, a fact her enemies interpreted as evidence of God's wrath. Martina was Herakleios's supporter, adviser, and assistant, accompanying him on military expeditions and exercising important influence on his policy. His will left her co-ruler with his son by his first marriage, HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, and Martina's son HERAKLONAS, but the people refused to acknowledge the will of Herakleios. Herakleios Constantine's premature death and Heraklonas's minority gave Martina the reins of power, but she was unable to suppress the opposition of the senate and army: the revolt of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI led to her deposition. She was accused of poisoning Herakleios Constantine, her tongue was slit, and she was banished to Rhodes.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:95f, 2:204f. Dietsen, *Patriarchen* 65–73. —W.E.K., A.K.

**MARTYR** (μάρτυς "witness"), a SAINT who gave his or her life for the Christian faith. Despite the obvious similarity between the Christian image of martyrs, on the one hand, and Jewish veneration of the just or certain Greek mythological themes, on the other hand, the cult of martyrs was a new phenomenon developed by the early church. Moreover, the New Testament use of the word "witness" is not directly linked to the later tradition (N. Brox, *Zeuge und Märtyrer* [Munich 1961]); the traditional meaning of the word was apparently established by the late 2nd C., whereas the first epistle of Clement still uses the verb *martyrein* in the sense of "testify." Tertullian (ca. 150–ca. 230) and Cyprian (ca. 200–58) stressed the difference between red and white (bloodless) martyrdom, between martyr and CONFESSOR, while the literary genre of MARTYRION emphasized the ordeal and execution of martyrs. The cult of martyrs was a reaction to persecution, and its purpose was the heroization of real and legendary victims. Emp. JULIAN tried to compromise the cult of martyrs, presenting it as an imitation of pagan cults. Later, Byz. theologians expanded the concept of martyr (or martyrlike attitude and martyrlike glory) to

other types of holy man (D. Balfour, *Sobornost* 5.1 [1983] 20–35).

**Representation in Art.** A saint was designated as a martyr in art by holding a small cross in one hand. Scenes of martyrdom (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION), frequently preceded by scenes of torture, are esp. developed in CALENDAR CYCLES, where, along with routine beheadings, there are depictions of death by beating, stoning, drowning, crucifixion, incineration, dismemberment, etc., all rendered with considerable devotion to detail.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*<sup>2</sup> (Brussels 1933). F. Halkin, *Martyrs grecs IIe–VIIIe s.* (London 1974). T. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster 1980). C. Pietri, "Les origines du culte des martyrs (d'après un ouvrage récent)," *RACr* 60 (1984) 293–319. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MARTYRION** (μαρτύριον), a term that refers both to a martyr's shrine (Eng. *martyr*) and to an account of a martyr's life.

**Shrine.** A *martyrion* was a building or shrine erected over the grave of a MARTYR or on a site connected with the life of Christ or a saint. The earliest *martyria*—Christian successors to pagan *heroa*—were simple shrines erected at the graves of martyrs, such as the aedicula at the supposed tomb of St. Peter on the Vatican Hill in Rome. Monumental *martyria* appeared ca. 300 as in the large baldachinlike structure that sheltered the "Tomb of St. John" at EPHEBUS. After 312, monumental *martyria* were erected in large numbers throughout the Christian world. Grabar (*infra*) showed that the architectural form of *martyria* derived largely from that of Roman funerary monuments. Many *martyria* were centrally planned—circular, as in the Anastasis rotunda in JERUSALEM; octagonal, as in the structure sheltering the Grotto of the Nativity in BETHLEHEM; or cruciform, as in the Martyrion of St. Babylas near ANTIOCH. The basilica form was also used for *martyria*, for example, the Holy SEPULCHRE basilica in Jerusalem; at the Constantinian Church of St. Peter in Rome, the transept functioned as a *martyrion*. *Martyria* continued to be erected in later periods, as in the case of St. EUPHEMIA in Constantinople, actually a palace converted into a chapel to accommodate the saint's relics in the early 7th C. The distinction between *martyria* and regular churches was gradually lost, beginning in

the mid-4th C., with the first translations of relics to churches that were not specifically built as *martyria*.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 2 vols. (Paris 1946). J.B. Ward Perkins, "Memoria, Martyr's Tomb and Martyr's Church," *JThSt* n.s. 17 (1966) 20–37. —M.J.

**Literary Genre.** A *martyrion* (Lat. *passio*) was also the term for a story of a martyr or a group of martyrs. The *martyrion* was a particular genre of HAGIOGRAPHY, presenting not the life of a saint but rather his or her passion: that is, the saint's questioning by the authorities (Roman, Persian, Arab), torture, and execution. Most *martyria* are placed within the chronological framework of the late Roman Empire (2nd–4th C.); accounts of martyrs of Iconoclasm and the Arab and Turkish invasions are relatively rare. Interpretation of early *martyria* varies from an acceptance of their complete authenticity (Th. Ruinart, 17th C.) to the rejection of their credibility (P. Bezobrazov, *VizObozr* 1 [1915] 117–224; 2 [1916] 1–96, 177–294). The earliest form of *martyrion* seems to be a letter from a Christian community reporting a saint's execution; later, *martyria* acquired the form of a dramatic scene with a liturgical purpose. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA collected a number of *martyria* for his *Church History*. Although *martyria* are often allegedly based on the minutes of the trial (*acta*) and conform to Roman laws of procedure (G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali* [Milan 1973]), many of them are legendary, and the very existence of certain saints (GEORGE, BARBARA) is doubtful.

ED. *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, ed. H. Musurillo (Oxford 1972), with Eng. tr.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels 1921). G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli* (Turin 1956). S. Pezzella, *Gli Atti dei Martiri* (Rome 1965). D. Wendebourg, "Das Martyrium in der Alten Kirche als ethisches Problem," *ZKirch* 98 (1987) 295–320. S. Ronchey, *Indagine sul Martirio di San Policarpo* (Rome 1990). —A.K.

**MARTYROPOLES** (μαρτυρόπολις, Ar. Mayyā-fāriqīn, mod. Silvan in Turkey), city northeast of Amida. Its identification with Tigranocerta, ancient capital of Armenia, is disputed. According to a late legend (J.M. Fiey, *AB* 94 [1976] 35–45), it was founded by Bp. Marutha, an imperial envoy to Persia who, for Byz. propaganda purposes, named it after the Christian martyrs of Persia

whose Acts and relics he brought back with him; their relics were reportedly placed in the city walls. Martyropolis was the administrative center of the province of Sophanene in the 5th C. and of Armenia IV from 536. The Sasanian king KAVĀD took Martyropolis in 502 and held it for several years, but the Byz. reconquered the city, and Justinian I refortified it; according to Prokopios, he doubled the height of the inner enceinte and erected an outer wall. In May 589 the Persians again occupied Martyropolis, their entry enabled by the treason of a subaltern. Although the Byz. besieged the city, they could not take it until CHOSROES II, threatened by a usurper, had to ask Maurice for support; Martyropolis's surrender to the Byz. in 591 is commemorated by a long Greek inscription put up in the name of Chosroes. The city was again under Persian rule from 602 to 622.

The Arabs conquered Martyropolis in 640. The Byz. began to invade the district in the 9th C., and in Oct.–Nov. 863 they defeated the Arab governor of Armenia, whose troops included people from Martyropolis. In Oct.–Nov. 942 John KOURKOUAS temporarily seized Martyropolis, and in June 958 John (I) Tzimiskes invaded the region. Circa 976 the emir of Martyropolis acknowledged his dependence on Byz. During his revolt in 979, Bardas SKLEROS sought refuge in the city. George MANIAKES took Martyropolis in 1032 after the emir of the city had stolen its wealth, including that of the Great Church, and carried it away on camels (Skyl. 387.3–6).

The city walls, which were restored by Islamic rulers, are partially preserved. Marutha's large basilica of 410–20 (?) and a domed church, perhaps of the 6th C., disappeared during the 20th C.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur 'Abdin* 123–30. C. Mango, "Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide," *TM* 9 (1985) 91–104. J.M. Fiey, "Martyropolis syriaque," *Muséon* 89 (1976) 5–38. —M.M.M.

**MARWAZĪ, AL-** (Marvazi), more fully Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, Arab author and court physician of MALIKSHĀH; fl. late 11th–early 12th C. His *Properties of Animals* (written ca. 1120) contains a brief chapter on Byz., among other nations. Based partly on earlier Arabic reports, it refers to the Byz. military hierarchy. His descrip-

tion of Constantinople—its walls, gates, statues, Hagia Sophia, imperial palace, role of the empress, sports in the Hippodrome—supplements that of HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ. He also refers to Byz.'s northern and western neighbors and the survival of Hellenistic learning. His reference to Muslim merchants, rather than prisoners, at Constantinople seems indicative of the contemporary situation.

ED. V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," in his *Medieval Iran and its Neighbours* (London 1982), pt.VIII (1950), 455–69.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur*, supp. 1:903. C.E. Bosworth, *Et*<sup>2</sup> 6:628. —A.Sh.

**MARY MAGDALENE** ("of Magdala"), saint, one of the MYRROPHOROI; main feastday 22 July. Her tomb was located in either Jerusalem or Ephesus, whence her relics were transferred to Constantinople at the order of Emp. Leo VI. Her cult in Byz. never attained the stature it had in the West, where Mary was identified with both Mary of Bethany (sister of LAZARUS) and the anonymous sinner of Luke 7. She was praised, however, by numerous authors, from Gregory of Nyssa to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, and most highly in the Greco-Italian tradition of pseudo-Theophanes Kerameus (probably PHILAGATHOS), which celebrates Mary as the first to see the risen Christ and thus as the "apostle of apostles." In art as in literature, the earliest Eastern works singling out Mary from the other Myrrophoroi have Western associations (*Noli Me Tangere* on the Crusader façade of the Holy Sepulchre, JERUSALEM, and in MS Kiev, Academy of Sciences, gr. 25, [Carr, *Byz. Illumination*, fig.12B11] where it is paired as in Western literature, including pseudo-Theophanes, with the Doubting of Thomas). From the early 13th C. onward (MILEŠEVA), Byz. art gives Mary a central place in images of the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS. Her softly colored garments do not distinguish her from the other Myrrophoroi.

LIT. BHG 1161X–1162C. V. Saxer, "Les Saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Béthany dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale," *RSR* 32 (1958) 1–37. V. Saxer, M. Celletti, *Bibl. sanct.* 8:1078–1107. —A.W.C., A.K.

**MARY OF EGYPT**, saint; feastday 1 Apr. Her chronology cannot be established. A singer in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, Mary fled to the desert, taking a basket of vegetables that

lasted 17 years, according to the Life of Kyriakos by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. E. Schwartz 233f; Fr. tr. A.J. Festugière, *Les moines de Palestine* [Paris 1963] 50f). Before her death Mary told her story to the monk John, who showed her grave to Cyril. MOSCHOS tells a similar tale (PG 87:3049). The story was reworked by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (his authorship is denied by Beck, *Kirche* 435), who dramatized the story, apparently using the Life of Paul the Hermit by JEROME. John was replaced by another narrator, Zosimas; Mary became a licentious woman from Alexandria who suddenly converted to Christianity when a supernatural force prevented her entrance into the Church of the Anastasis; a lion appeared to dig her grave. The author retained certain details; for example, his Mary survived 17 years on three small loaves. This legend stressed the vital topic of repentance, absent in the earlier version. The story of Mary was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES and retold by many writers, for example, Manuel HOLOBOLOS and Manuel II. The legend is known also in Syriac, Armenian, Latin, and other versions.

**Representation in Art.** The figure of Mary is distinctive: gaunt and bony, with long unkempt white hair and no headcovering, she is sometimes depicted without any clothes at all, and her body is covered with hairs or sores. In church programs she appears either among the holy women or opposite the bishop Zosimas, who holds a paten and a spoon with which he offers her communion. The latter scene often occupies a position near the apse (e.g., at ASINOU). In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.68r), Zosimas extends to her his mantle.

SOURCES. PG 87:3697–726. F. Halkin, "Panegyrique de Marie l'Égyptienne par Euthyme le protasecretis," *AB* 99 (1981) 17–44.

LIT. BHG 1041Z–1044E. F. Delmas, "Remarques sur la vie de Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne," *EO* 4 (1900–01) 35–42, and add. in *EO* 5 (1901–02) 15–17. J. Noret, "La vie de Marie l'Égyptienne (BHG 1042) source partielle d'une prière pseudo-Éphrémienne," *AB* 96 (1978) 385–87. A. Stylianou, "The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt and her Death in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 435–41. S. Radojčić, "Una poenitentium. Marija Egipatska u srpskoj umetnosti XIV veka," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 4 (1954) 255–65. K. Kunze, *LCI* 7:507–11. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MARY THE YOUNGER**, saint; born Armenia (?) before 866 (?), died Bizye ca.902/3; feastday 16 Feb. Mary was the youngest daughter of an Ar-

menian family that moved from Armenia to Constantinople during the reign of Basil I. She married a certain Nikephoros, *droungarios* and eventually *tourmarches*, and followed him to BIZYE. The intrigues of Nikephoros's relatives made him jealous of Mary; finally he beat her fatally.

Mary's anonymous Life, preserved only in 14th-C. MSS, was probably written at her monastery in Bizye. Its date of composition is usually assigned to the 11th C., since the hagiographer refers to Basil II; Beck (*Kirche* 565), however, places it soon after 903; in this case, the reference to Basil II is an interpolation. The hagiographer also dwells on the fate of two of Mary's sons and describes miracles performed at her tomb. The Life conveys important information about Byz.-Bulgarian relations up to the death of Symeon. A new type of saintly woman, Mary is a modest matron and housewife who apparently worked no miraculous deeds while alive; rather, the author stresses her works of charity. The hagiographer, quite reasonably, comments that many people may doubt Mary's sanctity; he insists, however, that posthumous miracles at her tomb demonstrate her sainthood. The Church of Hagia Sophia in Bizye had an inscription mentioning the "life-containing tomb" of Mary (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 11f); probably it was the cathedral church in which Mary's corpse supposedly remained uncorrupted for 25 years until transferred to a private chapel. The Life describes Mary's appearance in a vision to an artist in Rhaidestos; she ordered him to paint an icon of her. The icon was sent to Bizye, and the hagiographer stresses its resemblance to Mary (p.699BC).

SOURCE. AASS Nov. 4:692–705.

LIT. BHG 1164. P. Peeters, *Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie orientales*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1951) 129–35. R.M. Bartikjan, "Razmyshleniya o Žitii sv. Marii Novoj," in *Rec. Dujčev*, 62–64. —A.K.

**MASLAMA** (Μασαλμάς), son of 'Abd al-Malik and brother of the caliphs Walid I (705–15), Sulaymān (715–17), and Yazid II (720–24); died between 733 and 744. An exceptional general, in 709 Maslama was appointed governor of Armenia, from where he moved against and took Tyana (710), Amaseia (712), and Melitene (714). In 715–16 Maslama led a great army across Asia Minor to Constantinople, which he besieged with Sulaymān's navy in August 717. Maslama's forces

suffered greatly from GREEK FIRE, famine, and a Bulgarian attack by TERVEL; in Aug. 718 'UMAR II ordered him to lift the siege. In 720 Yazid appointed Maslama governor and sent him to Iraq. A 13th-C. Syrian source states that Yazid also entrusted him with promulgating his decree against images. Maslama renewed his attacks on Byz. in the late 720s, taking Caesarea in Cappadocia (726), but subsequently devoted more energy to campaigning in Armenia and Khazaria.

LIT. M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople," *Journal asiatique* 208 (1926) 80–102. R. Guiland, *Études byzantines* (Paris 1959) 109–33. —P.A.H.

**MASON** (λιθοξόος), worker in stone or marble. In late Roman texts the term *lithoxoos* designated both a stoneworker and a stonecutter in a QUARRY, but primarily had the connotation of sculptor (and in a Christian context specifically a maker of idols). Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:737D) referred to a carpenter who made wooden statues of animals and a *lithoxoos* who carved stone plaques as if they were soft silver. In inscriptions the term *lithoxoos* designated both a workman who installed decorative stonework and a builder (Robert, *infra* 33). In the 5th–6th C. Isaurian masons were esp. famous: they built the Church of St. Sabas ca.501, the monastery of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger between 541 and 551, and repaired the dome of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople ca.558. They formed teams that traveled considerable distances and were a close-knit group, caring for their companions if they fell ill (see BUILDING INDUSTRY). Inscriptions from Cilicia mention marble masons: *marmarios* once (MAMA 3, no.683) and frequently *marmararioi*; esp. noteworthy is the epitaph of the *marmararios* Stephen, the son of the *marmararios* Konon (MAMA 3, no.721). They are also attested in inscriptions from Greece, Cappadocia, Lydia, and other places. From ordinary masons should be distinguished experienced marbleworkers, such as a certain Leontios who worked in a luxurious house in Antioch ornamenting walls with marble plaques and setting a beautiful, perhaps multicolored marble floor (vita of St. THEKLA, ed. Dagron, ch.17.3–6, p.334).

The scanty evidence from later centuries indicates that a *lithoxoos* was an ordinary craftsman: thus Symeon the Theologian (*Traité théologiques et éthiques* 2 [Paris 1967] 166.142–48) lists a *litho-*



*xoos* (ed. reads *linoxoos*) side by side with other such artisans as a jeweler and a smith and equates him with a *tekton* (carpenter). In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.22.1) *marmarioi* were regular construction workers.

LIT. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," in *Polychronion* 358-65. L. Robert, "Epitaphes et acclamations byzantines à Corinthe," *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 28-39. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 75-78. -A.K.

**Masons' Marks.** Masons incised letters, MONOGRAMS, and nonverbal signs on blocks of stone and other architectural members either in the quarry or at the time of their use in construction projects. The collection, let alone the study, of such masons' marks is in its infancy, for example, most of the ca.1500 such marks found by R. van Nice at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, remain unpublished. Marks served a variety of purposes, more often functioning as invocations or records of the name or place of origin of a mason or his workshop than as assembly marks. There were also stamps on BRICKS, probably having a similar function.

LIT. J.-P. Sodini, "Marques de tâcherons inédits à Istanbul et en Grèce," in *AAPA* 2 (1987) 503-18. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2:206-30. -A.C.

**MASONRY.** See ASHLAR; BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

**MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.** See INFANCY OF CHRIST.

**MASTOTS.** See MESROP MAŠTOC'.

**MAS'UD I**, Seljuk sultan of IKONION; died between Apr. and Sept. 1155. Son of KILIC ARSLAN I, Mas'ud (Μασούτ) deposed his brother Shāhānshāh (between 1116 and 1118) but had to flee to Constantinople (ca.1125/6) from his brother 'Arab. Restored with Byz. aid, Mas'ud received Byz. refugees: Isaac, brother of JOHN II (after 1130), temporarily, and Isaac's son John (1140), permanently. Overshadowed by the DANIŠMENDIDS, Mas'ud emerged after 1140 or 1142 as the leading Anatolian Muslim ruler. When, in response to Turkish ravaging in western Anatolia, MANUEL I attacked Ikonion (1146), Mas'ud's forces outside the city prevented a siege. Mas'ud and Manuel

made peace (1147) to confront the Second CRUSADE. In 1152-54, Mas'ud received Byz. subsidies to attack T'OROS II in Cilician Armenia, but was unsuccessful. -C.M.B.

**MAS'UDĪ, AL-**, more fully Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, al-Mas'ūdī, Arab historian; born Baghdad 893?, died al-Fuṣṭāṭ Sept./Oct. 956. Concerned with the broader theoretical implications of social and cultural phenomena, al-Mas'ūdī spent much of his life traveling. He journeyed east to India, visited Arabia and East Africa, and spent his last 30 years in Syria and Egypt, where he did most of his writing. He gathered much information on other lands and cultures during these travels.

Only two of his 36 Arabic works survive: *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, a discursive world history from Creation to 947, and *Elucidation and Overview*, a historical and geographical digest. Both books range over many topics and reflect his keen interest in other cultures. Of these, Byz. is of first importance, due to Mas'ūdī's intense interest in Christianity and his admiration for the empire's political power and venerable tradition of institutions and administration. Mas'ūdī speaks at length about the imperial and ecclesiastical history of Byz., describes Constantinople and the empire's lands, lists the themes and other administrative divisions, and discusses Byz. relations with the Muslim world, the Bulgars, Khazars, Rus', and the West. He treats matters of commerce and culture, as well as the usual military and diplomatic affairs. His accounts, remarkably objective, are well informed and esp. important for events of his own times.

ED. *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris 1861-77) with Fr. tr. Corr. C. Pellat (Beirut 1966-79). Incomplete tr. *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-ischrāf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1894; rp. Beirut 1965). *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, tr. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896-97).

LIT. T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Mas'ūdī* (Albany, N.Y., 1975) 94-98. A.M.H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī and His World* (London 1979) 227-28. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:332-36. -L.I.C.

**MATASUNTHA** (Ματασούνθα), Ostrogothic queen; daughter of AMALASUNTHA; born ca.518, died after 551. While a young girl, she was married against her will to VITIGES in 536/7. More

Roman than Goth in upbringing and culture, Matasuntha became the center of the senatorial opposition to Vitiges, whom she disliked. In 538 she started negotiations with John, the Byz. commander in Ariminum. Rumor even accused her of burning Ravenna's grain when BELISARIOS besieged the city. After Ravenna fell, Vitiges and Matasuntha were brought to Constantinople as prisoners of war. When he died, she married the widowed GERMANOS; this marriage was intended to symbolize the unity of Justinian's court and the AMALI. Wroth (*Western & Provincial Byz. Coins*, xxxvi-xxxvii) attributed to Matasuntha some silver and bronze coins with monograms; these, he surmised, were struck in Constantinople in 550 during the preparation for Germanos's expedition to Italy. These coins are now considered (W. Hahn, *FelRav*<sup>4</sup> 1 [1979] 64) to have been issued by Mastinas, the client king of Mauretania (ca.535).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2180. Wolfram, *Goths* 343f. P. Grierson, "Matasuntha or Mastinas: A Reattribution," *NChron* 19 (1959-60) 119-30. -W.E.K.

**MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS, TEXTBOOKS OF.** The earliest collections of problems in MATHEMATICS appear in Byz. in a series of epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology* under the name of Metrodoros, a grammarian of the early 6th C. (Heath, *Mathematics* 2:441-43); this is followed by a 7th- or 8th-C. papyrus found at AKHMĪM.

The only other known Byz. mathematical problem books were written under the influence of an oriental tradition that goes back to India. These works are an anonymous collection of the early 14th C. and a "letter" of 1341 to Theodore Tzabouches from Nicholas RHABDAS. Another anonymous treatise, written after 1453, also belongs to this oriental tradition. The late Byz. problem books deal with cases of construction work, financial transactions, etc., and contain substantial data for economic history (K.-P. Matschke, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 [1979] 181-204), as well as for the history of language (E. Kriaras, *ByzF* 3 [1968] 141-56).

ED. *Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmīm*, ed. J. Baillet (Paris 1892). *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. K. Vogel (Vienna 1968). *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H. Hunger, K. Vogel (Vienna 1963).

LIT. H. Hermelink, "Arabic Recreational Mathematics as a Mirror of Age-Old Cultural Relations between Eastern and Western Civilizations," *Proceedings of the First Interna-*

*tional Symposium for the History of Arabic Science*, vol. 2 (Aleppo 1978) 44-52. -D.P., A.K.

**MATHEMATICS** in Byz. encompassed four fields: arithmetic (including notation), geometry, optics and catoptrics (that portion of optics dealing with reflected light), and metrology. The Byz. used mathematics in their studies of ASTROLOGY and ASTRONOMY, for the COMPUTUS (to establish the date of Easter), and for financial transactions and architectural construction (see MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS, TEXTBOOKS OF). The Byz. placed great importance on NUMBER SYMBOLISM, esp. in the spheres of theology, art, and architecture.

**Arithmetic.** Teachers at Alexandria, like AMONIOS and John PHILOPONOS, used the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nikomachos of Gerasa (fl. ca.100) as their text. This work also provided the basis for the arithmetical portions of the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8 (with the addition of Euclid) and of that by George PACHYMERES; it continued to be widely read in the Palaiologan period. Nikomachos's book (but not its Byz. commentaries) was translated into Latin by BOETHIUS and into Arabic by Thābit ibn Qurra.

The only other early Byz. work on arithmetic, a reaction against Nikomachos, is the 5th-C. *Handbook of the Introduction to Arithmetic*, composed by Domninos of Larissa (in Syria), who together with PROKLOS had studied with Syrianos. Domninos also wrote a brief tract on removing one ratio from another, the *Pos esti logon ek logou aphelein*.

Thereafter there is a gap in the tradition until the 9th-C. scholar LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, who studied arithmetic (among other subjects) with a teacher on Andros, and later taught arithmetic and geometry in Constantinople. According to Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 185-90), his fame reached the Arab caliph al-Ma'mūn, who consulted him on problems of geometry and astronomy. His library included works of Euclid, Apollonios of Perge (on conics), PROKLOS the Neoplatonist (on geometry), and Archimedes (Lemerle, *Humanism* 195-204).

In the 10th-12th C. the only traces left of the study of arithmetic are in the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8, which should remind us that arithmetic was always included in the school curriculum even if no original treatises were being composed, and from the mid-11th C. a short piece by PSELLOS,

the *On Numbers*. Unlike astronomy and astrology, Byz. mathematics in this period seems not to have experienced any influence from Islam.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople, however, there was written in 1252 a treatise on the use of Indian numerals entitled *The So-called Great Computation according to the Indians* (A. Allard, *RHT* 7 [1977] 57–107). It is not clear whether this is based directly on an Arabic source (it transliterates some Arabic technical terms and uses the epoch of the Hijra in an example) or on some Latin version of one, such as the *Book of the Abacus* of Leonardo of Pisa (who is known to have visited Constantinople). In any case, this anonymous text was the main source of *The So-called Great Computation according to the Indians* of Maximos PLANODES, to which supplements were added by Nicholas RHABDAS and Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS (ed. A. Allard, *Le grand calcul selon les Indiens* [Louvain-la-Neuve 1981]).

The last arithmetical tradition in Byz. was that of the *Arithmetic* of Diophantos of Alexandria, which deals with problems we now classify as algebraic. The commentary of HYPATIA on the *Arithmetic* is now lost but may be the source of Psellos's letter concerning Diophantos. There now survive only six of the original 13 books in Greek; four others have recently been discovered in an Arabic translation by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (see J. Sesiano, *Books IV to VII of Diophantus' Arithmetica* [New York 1982]), which shows that a more complete MS survived until at least the late 9th C. Nikephoros BLEMMEYDES had read Nikomachos and as much of Diophantos as his teacher understood; Pachymeres paraphrased the beginning of the *Arithmetic* in his *Quadrivium*; Planoudes commented on the first two books, and in the 14th C. both Rhabdas and Demetrios KYDONES refer to Diophantos. (For further scholia, see A. Allard, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 664–760). One should also note the treatise on magic squares, *Exposition for Finding Square Numbers*, addressed by Manuel Moschopoulos to Rhabdas, and the treatise of Isaac ARGYROS on finding square roots.

**Geometry.** The tradition of Byz. studies of geometry was, of course, based on EUCLID. The *Elements* were commented on by Pappos (bk.10), Proklos (bk.1), Simplicios (bk.1), and Isaac Argyros (bks. 1–6), while BARLAAM OF CALABRIA wrote an arithmetical explanation of book 2. The *Data* was commented on by Marinos. Both of these

works of Euclid were revised by THEON. The *Elements* was the basis for the geometrical sections of the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8 and for that by Pachymeres.

From the corpus of ARCHIMEDES, the *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*, *On the Measurement of a Circle*, and *On Plane Equilibria* were commented on by EUTOKIOS, who also explained books 1–4 of Apollonios's *Conics*. Also largely in the form of explications of the theories of earlier mathematicians is the *Collection* of Pappos. A younger contemporary of Pappos, Serenos of Antinoeia, also wrote a commentary on Apollonios's *Conics*, but it is unfortunately lost. There do survive from his hand two related treatises, *On the Section of a Cylinder* and *On the Section of a Cone*. Also in the tradition of conic sections is Anthemios of Tralles' *On Burning Mirrors* of which we possess only a fragment.

Aside from the numerous scholia, esp. on the *Elements*, virtually the only other known Byz. treatise on geometry is a work on triangles, based on Heron, that Isaac Argyros composed in 1367/8. It is remarkable that none of the brilliant advances in geometry made by the Arabs ever reached Byz.

**Optics and Catoptrics.** The principal Byz. texts on these subjects are Theon's recension of Ptolemy's *Optics* and the pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics*, which Heiberg (*infra*) conjectured to be the work of Theon. The *Quadrivium* of Pachymeres (3, 59–76) used the original Euclidean form of the *Optics*. An older contemporary of Theon was Damianos, the son (or pupil) of Heliodoros of Larissa, who composed the *Chapters of Optical Hypotheses*.

**Metrology.** The mathematical aspects of METROLOGY derive from the traditions of Heron's *Geometry*, *Stereometry*, and *On Measures*. These include the pseudo-Heronian *Geodesy*, the *Synopsis of Measurement and Division of the Earth* of John PEDIASIMOS, Isaac Argyros's *Method of Geodesy*, and George the Geometer's *On Geodesy* as well as several anonymous texts (see J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, 5 [Leipzig 1914] lxxi–cxi). A large number of other metrological texts exist, including a poem attributed to Psellos (ed. Schilbach, *Quellen Met.* 116–25).

LIT. Heath, *Mathematics* 2:355–555. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:221–60. —D.P.

**MATINS.** See ORTHROS.

**MATRIMONIAL LEGISLATION.** From the 4th C. onward MARRIAGE, more than any other institution, was the subject of both secular and ecclesiastical regulations. The two generally complemented one another and conflicted only in exceptional cases. Most of the norms of matrimonial legislation originate in Roman law and are widely expounded in all parts of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and in the *Basilika* (books 28–30) as well as in minor compendia. Collections of relevant canons were assembled, esp. in the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES (9.28–30, 13.2–4), the commentaries on which also include other relevant material. The principal concerns of matrimonial legislation were the age of the betrothed couple (see BETROTHAL), MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS (title 2 of the *Ecloga*), DIVORCE, REMARRIAGE, and new MARRIAGE RITES (title 16 of the *Epanagoge*). Even if the main principles of matrimonial legislation were apparently widely known and respected, the legal rules were presumably often and easily disregarded through OIKONOMIA.

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Vienna 1864). P. Gorla, *Tradizione romana e innovazioni bizantine nel diritto privato dell'Ecloga privata aucta. Diritto matrimoniale* (Frankfurt 1980). —A.K.

**MATTER** (ὕλη). The problem of the relationship between God and matter was important for both philosophers and theologians—heretical and orthodox—during the entire period of the late Roman Empire. While PLOTINOS rejected Aristotle's concept of neutral matter and considered lower matter as the end product of the emanative process and the principle of EVIL, PROKLOS emphasized the origin of matter from the supreme principle; matter was not evil but only deprived of good (R. Beutler, *RE* 23 [1957] 242). Christian writers insisted that matter was created: Origen criticizes those who impiously assume “matter to be uncreated (*ingenitam*) and coeternal with uncreated God” (*De principiis* 2.4.1, ed. P. Koetschau [Leipzig 1913] 110.16–17). The concept of preexisting matter from which God created all sensible objects was refuted by Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:100A) and other fathers; John PHILOPONOS lent a scientific foundation to this idea by demonstrating that celestial matter is as corruptible as solar-lunar matter and is not a link in the Prokleian divine emanation. The idea of two equal and warring principles, the divine and material,

present already in GnosticisM, became the core of various DUALIST heresies: Orthodox polemics (e.g., John of Damascus in his tract *Against Manichaeans*, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:351–98) stressed the incongruity of two principles (*archai*)—*arche*, affirms John of Damascus, can only be the monad not dyad; blind matter, which lacks *taxis*, cannot launch a successful war against the realm of light; the cosmos reveals the divine order and cannot be evil, etc. —A.K.

**MATTHEW** (Ματθαῖος), named Levi before his conversion; evangelist and saint; feastday 16 Nov. Author of the first GOSPEL, he was one of the APOSTLES and preached to the Jews in their native tongue, according to Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 3.24.5–6); Eusebios (*HE* 6.25.4) quotes Origen to the effect that Matthew had written his gospel “in the Hebrew language.” Matthew's Gospel was the object of lengthy exegesis, esp. by Origen and John Chrysostom; *catenae* also include fragments of Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Photios, and several other theologians. Later, Euthymios Zigabenos and Theophylaktos of Ohrid compiled commentaries on Matthew. Matthew's biography was developed in APOCRYPHAL acts of apostles and in homilies (among the authors are Niketas Paphlagon and Symeon Metaphrastes); hagiographers paid special attention to Matthew's transformation from a tax collector (an abominable profession) into a disciple of Christ. They describe his widely ranging travels, which included Persia and Ethiopia. More modestly, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 227–30) limits Matthew to a journey to Hierapolis in Syria; he is said to have died there peacefully. Matthew's cult in Byz. did not flourish: he had no shrine of his own in Constantinople, and his memory was celebrated in the Church of St. Peter, near Hagia Sophia.

**Representation in Art.** In EVANGELIST PORTRAITS Matthew is depicted as a vigorous gray-beard. Usually he is shown writing before a desk (see WRITING DESK), but sometimes he stands (Nelson, *infra*, figs. 62–63), a posture used in some MS illuminations to distinguish Matthew and JOHN, who were disciples of Christ, from MARK and LUKE, who were not. Matthew may be accompanied by an angel or image of Christ—the latter *en buste* or as the MAJESTAS DOMINI (Nelson,



*infra*, fig. 40)—to indicate that Christ inspired the Gospel, or by a youth, perhaps JAMES the brother of Christ, who supposedly translated Matthew's Gospel into Greek. In 17 MSS, a miniature of the NATIVITY accompanies the portrait of Matthew. The scene of his conversion (Mt 9:9, Lk 5:27–31) is illustrated in several densely illuminated MSS and occasionally in wall painting. His ministry and martyrdom appear in cycles of the lives and deaths of the apostles.

ED. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1957).

LIT. BHG 1224–1228d. F. Spadafora, *Bibl. sanct.* 9:110–25. Friend, "Portraits." Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–90. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

**MATTHEW I**, patriarch of Constantinople (Oct. 1397–1402; 14 June 1403–10 Aug. 1410); born ca. 1360 or earlier, died Constantinople. At age 15 Matthew entered the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY in Constantinople under the spiritual guidance of the *hegoumenos* Markos (PLP, no. 17017) and of his successor NEILOS KERAMEUS, the future patriarch. After Neilos's death (1388), Matthew succeeded him as superior of the monastery. In 1387 Matthew was made *proedros* of Chalcedon but not consecrated; he was then appointed metropolitan of Kyzikos (MM 2:108–11). Thus, when he became patriarch, he was attacked by his enemies, Matthew of Medeia and Makarios of Ankyra, for unlawfully holding the position of bishop three times. He was also accused of negotiating with the Turks during their siege of Constantinople in order to secure his own position, a charge that Matthew rejected as slander (MM 2:463–67). He was briefly deposed (summer 1402–June 1403) by a synod composed of four metropolitans but reinstated by MANUEL II upon his return from Italy (G.T. Dennis, *ByzF* 2 [1967] 100–06). Matthew remained *hegoumenos* of the Charsianeites monastery throughout his patriarchate and in 1407 wrote a *typikon* for the monastery as part of his last will and testament (H. Hunger, *BZ* 51 [1958] 294–303).

ED. MM 2:296–570. I.M. Konidares, K.A. Manaphes, "Epiteleutios boulesis kai didaskalia tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Matthaiou A' (1397–1410)," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 472–510.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 3059–3285. PLP, no. 17387. V. Laurent, "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I<sup>er</sup>," *REB* 30 (1972) 5–166. —A.M.T.

**MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS**, co-emperor (1353–57); born ca. 1325, died Mistra 1383 or 1391. Eldest son of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Matthew in 1341 married Irene Palaiologina, granddaughter of Andronikos II. He followed a military career and supported his father during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Angered when John VI failed to recognize him as heir after his own coronations in 1346 and 1347, Matthew declared his independent rule over eastern Thrace. John then granted him this territory as an appanage. John finally agreed to grant Matthew the title of co-emperor in April 1353. Patr. KALLISTOS I resigned in protest. The coronation was performed in Feb. 1354 by a newly elected patriarch, PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. Tensions between Matthew and his brother-in-law JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS increased after John VI's abdication in Dec. 1354. The rivals for the throne were at war in 1355–56. In 1356 Matthew was captured by Serbs and handed over to John V, who held Matthew until he renounced his title of emperor at Epibatai in 1357. In 1361 Matthew moved to the Morea, where he spent his remaining years (A.C. Hero in *Okeanos* 280–87). He assisted his brother, the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (1349–80), in the administration of the province and briefly succeeded him as *despotes* in 1380–81. He wrote some insignificant commentaries and addressed two treatises on religion and philosophy to his daughter.

ED. "Matthaiou basileos tou Kantakouzenou Logoi anekdotoi dyo," ed. I. Sakkelion, *DIEE* 2 (1887) 425–39. For further list, see Beck, *Kirche* 791.

LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 108–22. Zakythinis, *Despotat* 1:114–17, 337–40. PLP, no. 10983. —A.M.T.

**MATTHEW OF EDESSA** (Matt'eos Urhayec'i), Armenian historian, priest in the large Armenian population of EDESSA. Of his life nothing is known, save that he was an eyewitness of events in the Crusader principality of Edessa in the early 12th C. His detailed *Chronicle* begins in 952 and reaches 1136. It is of prime importance for Byz.-Crusader-Turkish history in Cilicia and northern Syria. Gregory the Priest (otherwise unknown) continued the narrative to 1162.

Matthew says that he took eight years to compile his work from written and oral sources, which he does not identify. The narrative proceeds strictly chronologically, events being grouped together

year by year according to the Armenian calendar. Like many Armenians, Matthew was ambivalent toward Byz. He praises individual emperors (notably Basil II) for their policies or characters but blames the Greeks for destroying the unity of Armenia and thus causing Turkish success in Anatolia. The attempts of the Byz. to impose Chalcedonian orthodoxy he denounces, yet he calls Constantinople a city under divine protection.

ED. *Patmuliwn* (Jerusalem 1869; Vataršapat [Ejmiacin] 1898). *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse*, tr. E. Dulaurier (Paris 1858).

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 141–47. A. Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen* (Berlin 1964) 17–21. —R.T.

**MATTHEW OF EPHESUS**. See GABALAS, MANUEL.

**MATTHEW OF KHAZARIA**, late 14th-C. poet. A hieromonk from the monastery of Kyrizou (in Constantinople or Bithynia), Matthew was sent to CRIMEA in Aug. 1395 by Patr. ANTONY IV as exarch of KHAZARIA (MM 2:492.26–29). He wrote a poem of 15-syllable verses on the "city of Theodore," most probably DORY. It takes the form of a dialogue between a visitor to Crimea (the poet) and the "city of Theodore." The stranger praises the city's site and splendid buildings, but asks why the place seems deserted. The city replies that she has suffered for years from enemy attack and siege (probably the campaigns of TIMUR). The poet concludes with edifying reflections on the transience of material things; therefore man should concentrate on his spiritual salvation. The poem is couched in literary language, but frequently lapses into vernacular syntax, morphology, and vocabulary, esp. when necessary to conform to the meter.

ED. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:385–98. Partial Eng. tr. A. Vasiliu, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) 189f.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:148. PLP, no. 17309. —A.M.T.

**MATZOUKA** (Ματζούκα), BANDON of the empire of TREBIZOND, consisting of the valleys immediately south of the coast that control routes to the interior. The region was dominated by the landholdings of the monasteries of Peristera, SouMELA, and VAZELON and inhabited by Greek-

speaking peasants. These tough mountaineers saved Trebizond from Turkish attack in 1283 and 1361 and retained considerable independence after its fall. Besides the great monasteries and numerous castles, remains consist of modest village churches in a vernacular late Byz. style, many of them decorated with paintings of conventional types. The region is important for providing a great range of unpretentious buildings that illustrate rural conditions.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 251–98. A. Bryer, "Rural Society in Matzouka," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 53–95. —C.F.

**MAUREX** (Μαύρηξ), also Maurix, Maurikas, a Byz. family that flourished in the 11th and 12th C. Its founder, whose first name is unknown, was a common sailor from Herakleia Pontike. According to Italian chroniclers, in 1066 and 1067 a certain Ma(m)brica commanded a fleet attacking Robert Guiscard; WILLIAM OF APULIA (p. 240.99) calls him *dux* of Alexios I's fleet. Bryennios (Bryen. 197.19–24) says that his naval experience made Maurex indispensable and the emperors conferred upon him enormous wealth; he controlled a local militia consisting of his slaves and servants. In 1082 he was in charge of the navy dispatched to intercept Norman communications between southern Italy and the Balkans (An. Komn. 1:148.30–31). He is usually identified as the Michael Maurex who was titled *strategos* of Chios, *magistros*, *katepano* of Dyrrachion, etc., on several seals of the 11th C. (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 168–71), but narrative sources do not confirm that the naval commander Maurex held these ranks.

In the 12th C. Constantine Maurikas was *paitor* of the Peloponnesos and Hellas (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no. 305); John Maurikas, in the mid-12th C., was a *kouropalates* (Guilland, "Curopalate" 209). More complicated is the case of a certain Mauresius, a servant (*familiaris*) of Manuel I who was granted special powers during the expedition of Andronikos Kontostephanos to Egypt in 1169; William of Tyre (PL 201:791A) states that at the end of his life Manuel I entrusted him with the administration of the empire. No Greek source confirms this, nor is it known whether Mauresius belonged to the Maurex family. The traces of later family members are scanty: in 1280/1 a cer-

tain Demetrios Maurikas founded a monastery on Naxos (*PLP*, no. 17421).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 162f. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 204. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 196. —A.K.

**MAURI** (*Μαυροῦσιοι*), Moors. From the 3rd C. onward this term was used primarily to designate the semiromanized peoples in North Africa who inhabited the area extending from the Syrtic Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean (Austuriani, Baquates, Leuthai, Mazikes, Musones, Quinquegentanei, Tynsenses, etc.). Mauri was also used in late Roman military jargon as a synonym for rebels. Both senses of the term are employed by PROKOPIOS and CORIPPUS in their accounts of the 6th-C. wars between the Byz. army and Mauri tribes in the North African provinces of TRIPOLITANIA, BYZACENA, and NUMIDIA.

The conflicts were precipitated by Byz. efforts to wrest control over the southern parts of these provinces from various Mauri tribal coalitions that, in some instances, had formed a series of loosely defined Mauri-Roman "kingdoms" during the 5th and early 6th C. Although generally successful militarily, the Byz. were unable to establish full control over the Mauri, and in 547 the Mauri crushed the army of John TROGLITA. To offset this, treaties of alliance and friendship, grants of administrative autonomy, and other diplomatic measures were employed to ensure the loyalty of the tribes. To protect against razzias the Byz. also constructed numerous fortifications in towns on the edge of Mauri-controlled areas and along seasonal north-south migration routes used by the pastoral tribes (e.g., LIMISA). Finally, efforts were made to convert those tribes that were still pagan.

The relative success of Byz. efforts to assimilate the Mauri was demonstrated during the Arab invasions of Africa in the 7th and 8th C. when, according to the Arab sources, the Barbar (the Arabic term for the Mauri, from which the word Berber is derived) were frequently found in alliance with the RŪM (i.e., Romans). Indeed, there is a growing body of epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic evidence that points to a substantial Romano-Christian element among the Mauri in the 6th and 7th C.

LIT. G. Camps, *Rex Gentium Maurorum et Romanorum*, *Recherches sur les royaumes de Maurétanie des VIe et VIIe siècles*, *AntAfr* 26 (1984) 183–218. Pringle, *Defence* 13–16, 22–43. —R.B.H.

**MAURICE** (*Μαυρίκιος*), emperor (13/14 Aug. 582–23 Nov. 602); born Arabissos ca. 539, died Chalcedon 27 Nov. 602. A legend makes him Armenian (P. Charanis, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 412–17), but the question of his ethnic origin remains unresolved. Maurice came to Constantinople as a notary and made a career as military commander; TIBERIOS I appointed him caesar (in summer 582) and heir to the throne. After his predecessor's death Maurice married Tiberios's daughter Constantina. Evagrius describes Maurice as simple in private life and undemanding in his diet; however, yielding to the taste of the Constantinopolitan population, Maurice arranged splendid festivities at his wedding and upon entering the consulate. In the Karianos portico that he had built in 571 (Theoph. 261.13–15) at the BLACHERNAI, Maurice had painters depict his life story up to the time of his accession. In 596 he set up his statue in a courtyard at the MAGNAURA.

Maurice tried to diminish Justinianic centralization: he introduced the EXARCHATES and in 597 wrote a will, planning to divide the empire among his three sons. The circus factions revived after long inactivity (Y. Janssens, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 499–515). Maurice used able generals (PHILIPPIKOS, PRISKOS, KOMENTIOLOS) and diplomats (DOMITIANOS) and was so successful in the war against Persia that CHOSROES II acknowledged dependence on Constantinople. In the West the situation was worse: the Lombards continued to encroach upon Italy, and under GREGORY I the papacy grew more independent; attempts to ally with the Franks against the Lombards failed. The situation on the Danube border became dangerous because of Avar pressure and rebellious armies that felt themselves underpaid and overburdened. The revolt of PHOKAS led to the overthrow of Maurice, his execution, and that of his male relatives.

LIT. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam*, vols. 1–3. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian*. Kaegi, *Unrest* 101–19. V. Grumel, "La mémoire de Tibère II et de Maurice dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople," *AB* 84 (1966) 249–53. —W.E.K., A.C.

**MAURITANIA** (*Μαυριτανία*). From the 1st C. A.D., Mauritania designated that part of North Africa extending from the border of Numidia (the Ampsaga River) to the Atlantic. Originally, Mauritania was divided into two provinces: Caesariensis to the east and Tingitana to the west, the

border between the two formed by the Mulucha (mod. Moulouya) River. Diocletian detached the eastern part of Caesariensis to form the new province of Sitifensis. Following the Byz. reconquest of Africa (533), Justinian I called for the reestablishment of the "two Mauritanias." The fact that Mauritania Sitifensis was not recovered militarily until 539 led Pringle (*infra*) to argue that the second Mauritania was Gaditana, the northern coastal strip of Tingitana around SEPTEM, which was held by the Byz. after 533. This hypothesis, however, overlooks the fact that Justinian's rescript was intended to serve primarily as a blueprint for the future, not as a reflection of the existing extent of Byz. control in Africa in 534. Moreover, since the prefecture of AFRICA was modeled on the Diocletianic diocese of the same name, which included Sitifensis but not Tingitana (the latter attached to the Spanish dioceses), it is arguable that Sitifensis was the second Mauritania.

A further problem in the case of Sitifensis arises from Prokopios's inclusion of Sitifis in NUMIDIA (*Buildings* 6.7.9), thereby leading Y. Duval (*Latomus* 29 [1970] 157–61) to conjecture that by 554 Sitifensis had been absorbed into Numidia. There is no evidence, however, that Sitifensis was ever more than a civil province (see Prokopios, *Wars* 2.20.30). As with parts of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, it is more likely to have formed part of the large military province under the *dux Numidiae*. Byz. control of Caesarea and Rusguniae in Caesariensis is attested in the late 6th C., but beyond that time nothing is known; Septem in Gaditana remained in imperial hands until seized by the Arabs in 711.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 23, 64f. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955) 170, 174f. Lepelley, *Cités* 1:49–57. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 107–11, 254–66. —R.B.H.

**MAUROKATAKALON**. See KATAKALON.

**MAUROPOUS, JOHN**, writer; born Paphlagonia ca. 1000, died Constantinople after ca. 1075–81, according to Ja. Ljubarskij (*BBulg* 4 [1973] 50f). Mauropous (*Μαυρόπουλος*) was a teacher in Constantinople, a court rhetorician under Constantine IX, metropolitan of Euchaita (ca. 1050–75), then a monk in the monastery of Prodromos in PETRA in Constantinople. He claimed the leader-

ship of young intellectuals (such as his pupil PSELLOS), who tried to direct the policy of Constantine IX; in 1047 Mauropous courageously petitioned the emperor to acquit the participants in the rebellion of Leo TORNIKIOS. The chronography Mauropous wrote was destroyed because of its political heterodoxy (Lagarde, no. 96). Socially, Mauropous was antimilitaristic: he contrasted imperial justice and omnipotence with the frenetic activity of barbarians and rebellious generals doomed to lose in the end. Mauropous paved the way for the use of rhetoric as a means of political influence. His speeches dealt with the most important events of political life. After being forced to leave Constantinople ca. 1050, Mauropous concentrated on religious topics, producing *kanones* and saints' lives; his antiaristocratic tendencies are revealed in his praise of the foot soldier St. THEODORE TERON whose festival was celebrated in Euchaita. A forerunner of Psellos, Mauropous sought to introduce vivid images into his speeches, letters, and epigrams and eagerly defended ancient writers, such as Plato and Plutarch, against charges of atheism (Lagarde, no. 43). His speeches are also a valuable source for the history of Byz. relations with their northern neighbors, even though their vague imagery makes some of their data disputable (e.g., J. Shepard, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 61–89; A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 65–77). Psellos's very conventional *enkomiion* of Mauropous (*Encomio per Giovanni piissimo metropolita di Euchaita*, ed. R. Anastasi [Padua 1968]) is lacking in concrete information.

ED. "Quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt," ed. P. de Lagarde, *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 28 (1881) 1–228. *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita*, ed. A. Karpozilos (Thessalonike 1990).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, *Symbole ste melete tou biou kai tou ergou tou Ioanne Mauropodos* (Ioannina 1982). J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303. R. Anastasi, "Su Giovanni d'Euchaita," *SicGymn* 29 (1976) 19–49. —A.K.

**MAUROZOMES** (*Μαυροζώμης*), a noble family of the 12th C. The etymology of the name is "black broth" (Koukoules, *Bios* 6 [1957] 494); the name is preserved in the toponymy of the Peloponnesos, and it is possible that the family originated from this area. Theodore Maurozomes was one of the favorite generals of Manuel I and was briefly chief of the imperial secretaries under Andronikos I; John Maurozomes led an army from



the Peloponnesos to the relief of Thessalonike in 1185 (Brand, *Byzantium* 59, 61, 165).

Circa 1200 Manuel Maurozomes was, according to IBN BĪBĪ (tr. Duda 30), one of the great "caesars" of Byz. When the Seljuk sultan KAY-KHUSRAW I went into exile in Constantinople, he married the daughter of "a great *patrikios*" (according to Rashīd ad-Dīn and GREGORY ABŪL-FARAJ); the name of the sultan's father-in-law, Manuel Maurozomes, is provided by Niketas Choniates and ibn Bībī. Probably before the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the sultan fled to the "island" or "fortress" of Manuel and from there went to Ikonion; both Kay-Khusraw and Manuel were stopped in Nicaea, since the "basileus" (Constantine Laskaris or Theodore I Laskaris?) had already signed a treaty with the Seljuk ruler. They managed to escape, and eventually Kay-Khusraw resumed power and appointed Manuel to a high position. Manuel fought unsuccessfully against Theodore I, but under Seljuk pressure the emperor acknowledged the jurisdiction of Maurozomes (as a Turkish vassal) in the basin of the Meander, including Chonai and Laodikeia. The family, although Christian, retained influence in Ikonion at least until 1297, when the funerary inscription of a certain John Komnenos Maurozomes was erected there (P. Wittek, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 505–15).

LIT. P. Wittek, "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 24–30. C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuqides d'Asie Mineure," in *Polychronion* 146. P. Žavoronkov, "U istokov obrazovanija Nikejskoj imperii," *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 32–36. —A.K.

**MAUSOLEUM** (μήσολον), a monumental tomb. Late Antique mausoleums, like those of Diocletian at Split and Helena at Rome, were domed structures with centralized plans, providing space for visitors and for memorial services. Mausoleums of pagan rulers were freestanding while those of Christian rulers were generally attached to a church. Three centrally planned 5th-C. mausoleums survive in Constantinople (Eyice, *infra* 117–30). The tradition of building such structures continued at least into the early 7th C., when four small, polygonal mausoleums were attached to the newly completed Church of St. EUPHEMIA (R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrome zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* [Berlin 1966] 49–53). The most important mausoleums in the Byz. world were those of the emperors attached to the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople. Four

imperial mausoleums adjoined the church: the Mausoleum, or "Herōon," of Constantine I, a domed rotunda; the "North Stoa" and "South Stoa," two small mausoleums of uncertain form completed by ca. 405; and the cruciform Mausoleum of Justinian I. With the change in custom to burials within narthexes and PAREKKLESIA sometime after the 6th C., the practice of erecting separate buildings as mausoleums was abandoned. The function of the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna is debated.

LIT. M. Johnson, "Late Antique Imperial Mausolea," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1986). P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," *DOP* 16 (1962) 1–63. S. Eyice, "Les églises byzantines à plan central d'Istanbul," *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 115–49. —M.J., W.L.

**MAVIA** (Μαρία), queen of the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. and wife of an anonymous federate king; he was probably a TANŪKHID. After her husband died (ca. 375), the treaty or *foedus* with Byz. automatically lapsed and Mavia revolted. She was an Orthodox Christian and her revolt against the Arian emperor Valens assumed religious aspects. She took the offensive, attacking Phoenicia and Palestine. In pitched battles she twice defeated Byz. generals, and Valens sued for peace, agreeing to the consecration of an Arab, St. MOSES, as the bishop of Mavia's *foederati*. Her daughter married Victor, the *magister equitum* for Oriens; subsequently Mavia sent troops that participated in the Gothic war in Thrace and successfully defended Constantinople against the Goths after the battle of Adrianople (378). Difficulties arose with Theodosios I and, after a second revolt, RICIMER crushed the Arabs in 383, when Mavia's rule probably ended. Two Christian inscriptions, found outside Anasarthra in Syria, may refer to Mavia and her daughter. Arabic odes composed on the occasion of Mavia's victories are the first recorded Arabic poetry in Oriens.

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs* (4th C.) 138–202. G.W. Bowersock, "Mavia, Queen of the Saracens," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 477–95. P. Mayerson, "Mauia, Queen of the Saracens—A Cautionary Note," *IEJ* 30 (1980) 123–31. —I.A.Sh.

**MAXENTIUS** (Μαξέντιος), more fully Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of MAXIMIAN and emperor (306–12); born ca. 286, died Rome 28 Oct. 312. Although ignored by the arrange-

ments of DIOCLETIAN for the succession in 305, he married Maximilla, daughter of GALERIUS. After Constantine I's assumption of the imperial title in 306 Maxentius was proclaimed by the praetorian guard and the people of Rome. At first he avoided the title augustus, but assumed it by early 307. Maxentius called on the assistance of his father, who returned from retirement and aided in the defeat of Severus, after which Maxentius controlled Italy and Africa. He initially allied with Constantine, who was married to his sister Fausta. The alliance was broken, however, when Maximian denounced his son and fled to Constantine's court. Left out of the reconstituted TETRARCHY at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, Maxentius faced revolt from DOMITIUS ALEXANDER and the threat of LICINIUS, who had been appointed to accomplish his suppression. Maxentius attempted to win popular support through religious toleration and an active building program, but military needs forced heavy financial burdens on inhabitants of territories he controlled. Although he was certainly not the tyrant pictured in later Constantinian propaganda, his rule became more arbitrary and unpopular. In 312 Constantine anticipated Licinius and invaded Italy; Maxentius was defeated at the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, during which he perished. The villa at PIAZZA ARMERINA in Sicily was probably built by Maxentius.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 29–43. D. de Decker, "La politique religieuse de Maxence," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 472–562. —T.E.G.

**MAXIMIAN**, full name Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Diocletian's co-ruler and caesar (285), augustus (286–305); born Sirmium (?) between 240 and 250, died Massilia 310 (before 21 July). Born to a peasant family, Maximian (Μαξιμιανός) was fellow-soldier with Diocletian and made a military career under Aurelian and Probus. His wife was Eutropia, a Syrian. Diocletian elevated him to the dignity of emperor, and Maximian ruled in the West, his residence being Milan. He was faced with barbarian incursions across the Rhine, a revolt of Bagaudae in Gallia, and the revolt of his subordinate Carausius, who occupied Britain and northern Gallia but was defeated in 293.

In May 305 Maximian was persuaded by Diocletian to abdicate; he was succeeded by CONSTAN-

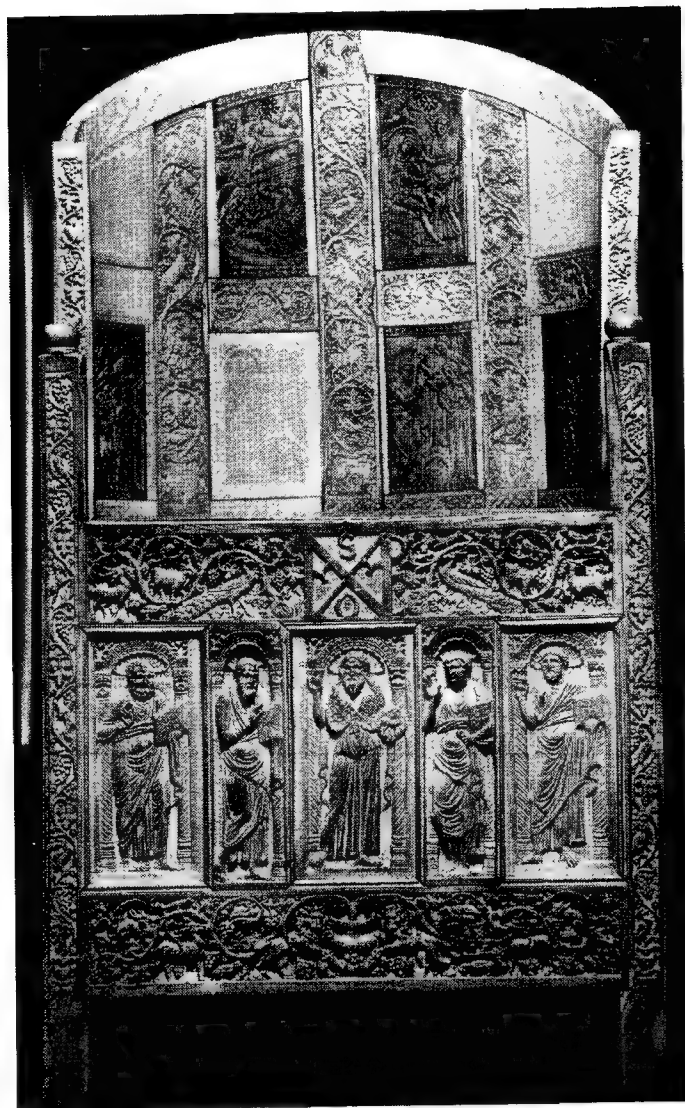
TIUS CHLORUS. The death of the latter in July 306 created a shaky situation in the West and allowed Maximian's interference in the political situation. First he assisted his son MAXENTIUS (proclaimed emperor in Rome) against the Augustus Severus, who fled to Ravenna but soon surrendered (before 1 Jan. 307?); then he sought an alliance with Constantine I the Great (married to Maximian's daughter Fausta) against Maxentius. Constantine, however, did not recognize Maximian's claims to the title of augustus, so Maximian took advantage of Constantine's preoccupation with a war against the Franks and revolted in 310. His rebellion was unsuccessful, however. He was forced to retreat to Massilia, where he surrendered; soon thereafter he was found hanged.

Later tradition was hostile to Maximian. He suffered *damnatio memoriae* and his statues were destroyed. Christian legends present him as persecutor of the faithful, even though the persecutions in the West were not as severe as those in the East under Diocletian.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2486–2516. A. Pasqualini, *Massimiano Herculeus* (Rome 1979). C.E.V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70–76. E.A. Sydenham, "The Vicissitudes of Maximian after his Abdication," *NChron*<sup>5</sup> 14 (1934) 141–65. —T.E.G.

**MAXIMIAN**, archbishop of RAVENNA (546–553); born Pola 498, died Ravenna 22 Feb. 553. From his native city, where he was a deacon, Maximian went to Constantinople. Shortly after his consecration on 14 Oct. 546 by Pope Vigilius at the orders of Justinian I and Theodora (Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 1:14), Maximian dedicated the Church of S. Vitale in RAVENNA, where he is portrayed in mosaic. He had built a church at Pola and, during his tenure of the see of Ravenna, built a Basilica of St. Stephen near S. Vitale and another of St. John outside Ravenna; he dedicated the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe on 9 May 549. The *Liber pontificalis* of AGNELUS records Maximian's donation of vessels for chrism, an ENDYTE, and other gifts to the see of Ravenna.

**Cathedra of Maximian.** The CATHEDRA is a thronelike object preserved in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna, and the only nearly complete piece of ivory furniture to survive from the Byz. era. It is now generally accepted as having been made for Maximian because of a monogram on the front that resolves as MAXIMIANUS EPIS-



MAXIMIAN. Cathedra of Maximian; ivory. Archepiscopal Museum, Ravenna. Beneath the monogram of Maximian are figures of the four evangelists and John the Baptist.

COPUS. The cathedra originally contained 39 panels, some double-sided, others framed by inhabited RINCEAUX. Twelve are lost and the arrangement of the others disturbed by frequent restoration, esp. the panels with the infancy and miracles of Christ on the dorsal and back. Below the monogram and between the Evangelists is John the Baptist, a prominence that may indicate that the cathedra was intended for the baptistery. Ten scenes from the life of Joseph on the sides could allude to the archbishop's role as "overseer" before the establishment of the EXARCHATE of Ravenna. Alexandria, Constantinople, and Ravenna have each been suggested as the cathedra's place of manufacture. The depth of relief and

other aspects of style vary greatly from one group of panels to another. Its size (124 cm high) and manner of construction—the ivory panels were attached to one another without the often postulated wooden core—imply that the object could scarcely have functioned as an episcopal THRONE. It has also been suggested that it served as a display stand for a Gospel book. Nothing is known of the cathedra's presence in Ravenna before the 17th C.

LIT. C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avori romano-orientali*, 5 vols. (Rome 1936–44). F. Jurgensen, "Die 'Stile' und der Umkreis der Maximians-kathedra in Ravenna" (Ph.D. diss., Hamburg, 1972). —A.C.

**MAXIMINUS DAIA**, or Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus (Daia was part of his original name and was not used in his official title), augustus (from 310); born Illyricum ca. 20 Nov. 270, died Tarsos summer 313. The nephew of GALERIUS, Maximinus (Μαξιμίνος) was named by DIOCLETIAN as caesar on 1 May 305. He ruled the prefecture of Oriens. At the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, despite the protests of Galerius, Maximinus was not elevated in rank, but was proclaimed augustus by his troops in 310 (on 1 May according to C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage* 6 [London 1967] 15f). His proclamation, along with that of Constantine I, meant the effective end of the TETRARCHY. Upon the death of Galerius he seized Asia Minor, gaining popularity there through tax relief. Despite Galerius's edict of toleration, Maximinus continued to persecute the Christians. He formed an alliance with MAXENTIUS, and, after the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, Constantine ordered him to cease the persecution. In 313 Maximinus attacked LICINIUS. He was defeated in Thrace. He fled eastward and then committed suicide.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 39. H. Castritius, *Studien zu Maximinus Daia* (Kallmünz 1969). R. Grant, "The Religion of Maximin Daia," in *Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* 4 (Leiden 1975) 143–66. S. Filosi, "L'ispirazione neoplatonica della persecuzione di Massimino Daia," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 41 (1987) 79–91. —T.E.G.

**MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES** (Κανσοκάλυβιτης), saint; born Lampsakos 1270 or 1285, died Mt. Athos, 13 Jan. 1365 or 1380. Maximos was an Athonite hermit who carried to an extreme the monastic ideal of poverty. He was reputed to

own only the clothes on his back and to have foraged for his food. His epithet, the "hut-burner," derives from his practice of periodically burning down his thatch hut and moving to another site.

Maximos first took monastic vows on Mt. GANOS at age 17. There followed years of restless wandering and pilgrimages to the shrines of Constantinople and Thessalonike. In Constantinople he refused to enter a monastery and became a holy FOOL living in the streets. He finally settled on Mt. Athos; after a few years of submission to the cenobitic discipline of LAVRA, he lived as a solitary until his death at 95. Maximos's astonishing prophecies and feats of asceticism attracted to Athos disciples and famous visitors, including the emperors John V and John VI, Patr. KALLISTOS I, and GREGORY SINAITES. He was a staunch hesychast and opponent of Gregory AKINDYNOS. Four different vitae of Maximos were composed during the century after his death (BHG 1236z–1237f); the most detailed is that of Theophanes, *prohegoumenos* of Vatopedi; another was written by the monk NIPHON. The Athonite skete of Kapsokalyvia, founded in the 18th C., is named after him.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 54 (1936) 38–112.

LIT. K. Ware, "St. Maximos of Kapsokalyvia and Fourteenth-Century Athonite Hesychasm," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Cambridge 1988) 409–30. —A.M.T.

**MAXIMOS OF EPHESUS**, Neoplatonist philosopher; born Smyrna? ca. 300, died Antioch 371/2. He was confused in the *Souda* with an almost unknown Maximos of Epiros or Byzantion. Maximos, who belonged to the school of IAMBlichos, contributed much to the introduction of elements of divination and wonder-working into philosophy. His colleagues called him a "theatrical miracle-monger" and related how he made a statue of Hekate laugh and caused the torches she held in her hands to burst into flame (*Eunapius*, ed. Wright, *infra* 434.4–19). His works have not survived; from incidental references we know that he commented on Aristotle. Maximos's attempt to deliver public declamations proved a failure. He did not adhere to the ideal of the philosopher-hermit, but preferred interaction with people and making money.

The young JULIAN chose Maximos as his teacher and developed his belief in Platonism under the influence of Maximos. After Julian's accession to the throne, Maximos joined the emperor in Constantinople, became his favorite, acquired enormous wealth, and accompanied him on the Persian expedition. Julian's death curtailed the career of Maximos: he was brought before a court and sentenced to an exorbitant fine; he considered suicide, but was frightened after his wife poisoned herself. Partially rehabilitated, he began lecturing on philosophy and thus recovered much of his wealth and his reputation as fortune-teller. His interpretation of an oracle as predicting for Emp. Valens a strange death without burial resulted in Maximos's arrest and execution.

SOURCE. *Philostratus and Eunapius, The Lives of the Sophists*, ed. W.C. Wright, with Eng. tr. (London–New York 1922) 426–59.

LIT. K. Praechter, *RE* 14 (1930) 2563–70. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 55–58, 213. E.R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 59. —A.K.

**MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR**, theologian and saint; baptismal name Moschion; born 580. According to the 10th-C. *enkomion* by a Stoudite monk, Michael Exaboulites (W. Lackner, *AB* 85 [1967] 312), Maximos was born in Constantinople, whereas his Syriac biography by Maximos's contemporary George of Reš'aina, a hostile document but concrete in detail, places his birth in the village of Hefsin east of Lake Tiberias. Maximos died on 13 Aug. 662 in the *kastron* Schiomaris, near the frontier with Alania (R. Devreesse, *AB* 46 [1928] 42). Michael calls him the son of noble and pious parents (PG 90:69A), but George describes his father as a Samaritan merchant and his mother as a Persian slave girl. After his stay in the monastery of "Palaia Lavra," Maximos was part of the entourage of SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem and eventually became *asekretis* at the court of Herakleios (W. Lackner, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 64). Condemned for his religious views, Maximos fled to Africa ca. 630 and energetically fought against MONOTHELETISM. He supported Pope MARTIN I in 649 and was accused by Constans II of treason. He was exiled in 655 to Bizye in Thrace and in 662 to Lazica, where he died. His feastday was celebrated on 21 Jan., the translation of his relics to Constantinople on 13 Aug.



Maximos was a prolific author. His major works are *Mystagogy*, *The Book of Asceticism*, *Questions to Thalassios*, and *The Chapters on Love*. He was influenced first by ORIGEN (whom he later refuted), then by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. The idea of the perfect human nature in Christ forms the core of the theology of Maximos; it allows the deification of man—the ultimate goal of man's creation. Man as microcosm has a middle position between the extremes of creation; his task, interrupted by the Fall, is to overcome the trichotomy of mind, soul, and body, to ascend via the image of God to likeness with God. The human will plays a decisive role in man's ascent to God by suppressing the vices of self-love, gluttony, fornication, etc. (Maximos developed the hierarchy of vices of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS), and by achieving the state of virtuousness and reintegration with Christ.

The anthropocentric theology of Maximos is reflected in his concept of the Church: it is not only the "type" and icon of God, but also of "the spiritual man," man in his turn being "the mystical church" (PG 91:684A). Unlike pseudo-Dionysios, Maximos did not emphasize the hierarchical structure of the church, but its hypostatic unity: the church is a single house, "not divided into its constituent parts" (PG 91:668D). These concepts of the atomization of the human will and the unity of the cosmos made Maximos one of the most "Byzantine" philosophers; his works, nevertheless, were translated in the West (I. Boronkai, *ActaAntHung* 24 [1976] 307–33).

ED. PG 90–91. *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, ed. C. Laga and C. Steel (Louvain 1980). *Quaestiones et dubia*, ed. J.H. Declerck (Louvain 1982). Eng. tr. *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man*, tr. Dom J. Stead (Still River, Mass., 1982). *The Ascetic Life: The Four Centuries on Charity*, tr. P. Sherwood (Westminster, Md., 1955). *Selected Writings*, tr. G. Berthold (Mahwah, N.J., 1985).

LIT. BHG 1231–36d. S. Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *AB* 91 (1973) 299–346. Beck, *Kirche* 436–42. *Maximus Confessor: Actes du Symposium*, ed. F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn (Freiburg 1982). L. Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St. Maximos the Confessor* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1985). F. Heinzer, *Gottes Sohn als Mensch* (Freiburg 1980). A. Riou, *Le monde et l'Eglise selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Paris 1973). —A.K.

**MAXIMUS** (Μάξιμος), more fully Magnus Maximus, usurper (383–88); died Aquileia 28 Aug. 388. Of Spanish origin, he was perhaps related to Theodosios I. He rose in the army and com-

manded troops in Britain under Gratian. He was proclaimed augustus by his troops probably in the spring of 383 (V. Grumel, *REB* 12 [1954] 18f). The assassination of Gratian followed soon after; as a result all of Gaul came under the control of Maximus. Theodosios I and the court of the young emperor Valentinian II at first acceded to the rule of Maximus. The new augustus posed as a champion of Orthodoxy and had his praetorian prefect conduct a hearing that led to the condemnation of the heretic PRISCILLIAN and his followers, a process that was attacked by AMBROSE of Milan and Martin of Tours as inappropriate for the state. Tempted by the weakness of Valentinian II, he invaded Italy in 387, forcing the court to flee to Thessalonike. Theodosios I finally marched westward and defeated Maximus in two battles. The rebel was apprehended and killed at Aquileia.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:194–207. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2546–55. H.R. Baldus, "Theodosius der Grosse und die Revolte des Magnus Maximus—das Zeugnis der Münzen," *Chiron* 14 (1984) 175–92. —T.E.G.

**MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN**. See MARTYROPOLES.

**MAZARIS** (Μάζαρις), author of a satirical dialogue entitled *Journey to Hades*, addressed probably to THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS; fl. ca. 1414/15. Mazaris was associated with the court of MANUEL II before 1399 but then fell into disgrace. In imitation of LUCIAN, the satire describes conversations in Hades with recently deceased imperial courtiers. The first part of the work, composed between Jan. and July 1414, is primarily a dialogue between Mazaris and Manuel Holobolos, a former imperial secretary who had been dismissed. Mazaris heaps abuse not only on garrulous, adulterous bureaucrats and corrupt judges, but also on incompetent doctors and immoral monks and nuns. Part II of the satire, written in 1415 after Mazaris moved to the Peloponnesos, attacks the various nationalities that comprised the Moreote population, including "greedy" Italians, "bloodthirsty" Slavs, "contentious" Jews, and "deceitful" Albanians. He also satirizes the rebellious local toparchs. Besides providing valuable prosopographical data, the satire contains information on Manuel's reconstruction of the HEXAMILION in 1415. S. Lampros (*BZ* 5 [1896] 63–73)

suggested that Mazaris might be identified with the monk Maximos Mazaris, who wrote grammatical canons, and/or with Manuel Mazaris, who composed a legend of St. Irene (*PLP*, nos. 16121–22).

ED. *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, with Eng. tr. (Buffalo, N.Y., 1975).

LIT. *PLP*, no. 16117. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:155–58. R. Walther, "Zur Hadesfahrt des Mazaris," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 195–206. —A.M.T.

**MAZDAK**, Persian heresiarch; born Madariya? or Nisa ca. 450, died 528/9 or, according to O. Klíma (*Charisteria orientalia* [Prague 1956] 135–41), in 524. The movement that took his name originated in the preaching of Zarādusht, whom Christensen (*infra*) identified as a certain Bundos who lived in late 3rd-C. Rome and then returned to Iran; Klíma, however, placed Zarādusht in the 5th C. Mazdakism attained its greatest political success through its influence on the Sasanian ruler KAVĀD and on some of his social legislation. Mazdak evidently became the head of a Mazdakite "church," and took an active part in the dynastic politics between Kavād's sons, Kāvūs and Chosroes. Simultaneously the radical social doctrines of the sect, which attacked the strict caste system and the established power of the ZOROASTRIAN clergy, brought about violent social uprisings in which the peasantry violated the purity of the social classes and the property of the wealthy nobility. This led to brutal retribution; Mazdak and the Mazdakite leaders were slaughtered and the movement was dispersed. It went underground, however, and survived the destruction of the Sasanian Empire. Many Greek historians (Prokopios of Caesarea, Agathias, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Theophanes) wrote about this movement, which they described as MANICHAEANISM without mentioning the name of Mazdak.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 316–62. Idem, *Le règne du roi Kawadh I et le communisme mazdakite* (Copenhagen 1925). *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater 3.2 (Cambridge 1983) 991–1022. O. Klíma, *Mazdak* (Prague 1957). N. Pigulevskaja, "Mazdakitskoe dvizhenie," *Izv AN SSSR, seriya istorii i filosofii*, no. 4 (1944) 171–81. —S.V.

**MC'XET'A**, capital of GEORGIA (4th C. B.C.—A.D. 5th C.), and an important Georgian religious center. Many of its churches commemorate St. Nino's trials and miracles and her role in the conversion of King Mirian (265–342) to Christianity. A 4th-

C. (?) chapel commemorates Nino's refuge in the governor's garden. The Samt'avro (lit. "governor's residence") monastery, with an impressive 11th-C. domed cruciform *katholikon*, was built around this chapel. The Church of Džvari ("cross") replaced the large cross Nino had erected on a mountain overlooking Mc'xet'a. It is a tetraconch like St. Hrip'simē at VAZARŠAPAT and dates sometime between 586 (or 587) and the late 7th C., depending on the identity of the donor, Stephen, lord of K'art'li (W. Djbadze, *OrChr* 44 [1960] 114–27).

The church of Sveti C'xoveli (lit. "light-giving pillar") is a domed basilica (begun in 1010) that replaced at least three earlier churches; its name refers to a cedar pillar that miraculously glowed and floated into place in the first church at Mc'xet'a after originally proving impossible to move. Reliefs of bulls' heads (5th-C.?) are incorporated in its 18th-C. gateway.

LIT. R. Gverdciteli, *Mecheta* (Tbilisi 1962).

—A.T.

**MEASURES**. Byz. units of length, surface, volume, weight, and time originated in late antiquity. Although through the 6th C. some measures were in widespread use (e.g., the LITRA, MODIOS, and *sextarius*), there was no coherent system throughout the whole empire. Rather the systems that had existed historically in the various regions were employed. A coherent system of specifically Byz. measures developed gradually in the period after Justinian I, owing to the requirements of the central fiscal system. The authorities constantly emphasized that official measures be used properly, and standard measures were frequently set up in towns and villages for public observation. From the 12th C. Italian merchants were allowed to use their own measures in the Latin quarters of cities.

Three measures were of central importance. The basic measure of weight was the *logarike litra* of approximately 320 g, the primary unit of length was the *POUS* of 31.23 cm, and the main measure of volume was the MEGARIKON of 102.5 liters. For measuring the surface of fields, the Byz. used measures such as ZEUGARION (yoke) and *modios* (a unit of grain capacity), along with linear measures such as SCHOINION or ORGYIA. In theory, measures formed a strict system, but in practice their interrelations varied within a wide range.

Parallel to the official measures were units of only local validity whose origin often cannot be determined. In part, these were special measures, developed by the necessities of trade or craft, for example, special measures for the salt trade, different yards for the woolen, cotton, or silk industries. Often these local measures were introduced through contacts with foreign peoples, esp. Muslims and Italians. With the advance of the Ottomans, some Turkish measures were introduced, just as Byz. measures were adopted in the Ottoman Empire. (See also METROLOGY.)

LIT. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970). Idem, "Das byzantinische Masssystem in seinen Grundzügen und seine Herkunft," *Travaux du Ier Congrès International de la métrologie historique*, vol. 1 (Zagreb 1975) 34–49. —E. Sch.

**MEAT** (κρέας) constituted a substantial part of the Byz. DIET; from the 7th C. onward it is probable that the proportion of BREAD decreased, whereas meat and dairy products acquired greater importance (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 117–20). The most popular kind of meat was lamb (see SHEEP); Symeon SETH recommended particularly the meat of year-old animals. GOAT meat is mentioned, among others, by Liutprand of Cremona (J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* [Vienna 1980] 90f), who did not enjoy the "fat goat" served at the imperial court in Constantinople. Pork was considered a coarse food, whereas the chine of beef appears in Niketas Choniates as a staple of imperial banquets and of the Crusaders. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, with its special chapters on BUTCHERS and vendors of SWINE, shows the extent of the meat trade in Constantinople. The meat of domestic animals (see LIVESTOCK) and domestic FOWL was supplemented by fish from FISHING and meat obtained through the HUNTING of wild animals—esp. venison (although it was not recommended during summertime) and the flesh of hare and wild boar.

Meat was roasted (sometimes over an open fire) or boiled. It might be served with various sauces, usually vinegar and honey or wine and honey. Lamb or mutton was sometimes cooked in a casserole with garlic, onion, and leeks. Pseudo-KAISARIOS describes a special cooking method allegedly used by herdsmen who would put meat into a glass vessel enclosed in dried dung and leave it in the sun (PG 38:928.39–45). To pre-

serve meat for storage or transportation, it was dried, smoked, salted, or pickled. The Byz. also made lard and prepared sausages (*neura*) that were sold in the shops of GROCERS.

Ascetics avoided eating meat at any time; it was never consumed in monasteries by monks. Abstinence from meat was enjoined for laymen on days of FASTING. Canon law forbade the consumption of BLOOD and of animals killed by strangling.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:46–66. —A.K., Ap.K., J.W.N.

**MEDALLIONS**, a term customarily applied to coins of the Roman Empire through the 6th C. that are exceptional either in their types, or in being of unusually fine workmanship, or in lacking some feature of normal coins (e.g., the S C for *Senatus Consultu* on bronze coins of the early empire), or through being multiples of more frequently used denominations. Those of the early empire are for the most part of bronze, but from the late 3rd C. onward medallions are normally of gold or silver. Either they are high denominations of current coins, so that some scholars prefer to term them multiples, or they perpetuate some obsolete denomination, such as the aureus struck 60 to the pound in contrast to the SOLIDUS struck 72 to the pound, presumably because the entitlement of some official to receive such a coin had been established when it was in normal use. Money medallions reached their heyday in the 4th C., with great variety in thematic content; in the 5th and 6th C. they became rarer and none later than the reign of Phokas is known. The field of the obverse was reserved for a depiction of the emperor, customarily a head or half-bust in profile. A range of reverse types is found: the emperor standing alone, between captives, on horseback, or in a quadriga; the seated figures of Roma and Constantinopolis; or a seated figure of either of these alone.

It was formerly believed that all medallions were made specifically for presentation to individuals or for distribution on such occasions as accession, anniversaries, and victory or consular celebrations. Some were certainly made for such purposes and have often survived elaborately mounted in pectorals or other pieces of jewelry. Others, however, are found mixed in hoards with ordinary coins and clearly were part of the regular currency.

LIT. F. Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani*, 3 vols. (Milan 1912). J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York 1944; rp. 1986). P. Bastien, C. Metzger, *Le trésor de Beaurains* (Wetteren 1977). A. Jeločnik, "Les multiples d'or de Magnence découverts à Emona," *RN* 9 (1967) 209–35.

—Ph.G., J.W.N.

**MEDALLION STYLE.** See ORNAMENT.

**MEDICAL SERVICES, MILITARY.** Soldiers wounded in battle were rescued by men specially appointed for this task. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* 2.9, pp. 126–28) instructs that eight to ten unarmed men be reserved to follow each unit to help unhorsed or wounded soldiers. Called *depotatoi*, these men attached an extra stirrup to their saddles to enable both rider and injured man to mount the horse and ride to safety. They also carried flasks of water to relieve the thirst of the wounded men. The *depotatoi* received one nomisma for each man saved. The 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI assigns the task of transporting wounded men back to Byz. territory to one of the army's service units (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 324.20–21), but exactly where the wounded were taken and what care they received is not recorded.

PHYSICIANS (*therapeutai* or *iatroi*) are listed among the nonmilitary personnel accompanying the army in 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA. Sections of the medical treatises of ORIBASIOS and PAUL OF AEGINA cover military medicine, esp. fractures and extractions; Prokopios (*Wars* 6.2.25–32) describes the skillful extraction of an arrowhead from a wounded man by military surgeons.

LIT. *Histoire de la médecine aux armées*. 1: *De l'Antiquité à la Révolution* (Paris 1982) 177–90. —E.M.

**MEDICINE.** Byz. PHYSICIANS inherited the tradition of Greco-Roman medicine; Hippocrates and GALEN were always considered basic sources of medical knowledge in Byz. Scholars such as ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA created medical encyclopedias that both demonstrated their knowledge of classics and prepared for an anthological approach to the tradition. When in the 9th C. a new interest in ancient science became evident (Wilson, *Scholars* 85–88), medical MSS were not among the most popular; Lemerle (*Humanism* 341) places the revival of the genre of medical treatises in the

10th C. Even though post-7th-C. medical authors—MELETIOS THE MONK, LEO THE PHYSICIAN, Symeon SETH, Theophanes CHRYSOBALANTES, Nicholas MYREPSOS, and JOHN AKTOUARIOS, to name only a few—are unavailable in reliably edited texts, and thus it is premature to pronounce final judgment, clearly Byz. doctors did not simply parrot and transmit their written sources verbatim, but used them carefully, rearranging, truncating, and supplementing them with contemporary experience. Close examination of Aetios of Amida's use of Galen's notions of drug theory, for example, shows how Aetios chose precisely those passages that would explicate the Galenic idea of "drugs by degrees," a classification system of pharmaceuticals that would be standard in medicine until the 18th C. Greco-Roman was a predominant, albeit not the only, tradition of Byz. medicine; among others, Seth shows traces of Arabic experience, and Myrepsos's treatise contains some recipes from Salerno and others of Eastern origin.

Practical medicine was on a high level according to medieval standards: HOSPITALS existed not only in Constantinople, but also in the provinces. Thanks to Byz. PHARMACOLOGY, many diseases received sophisticated treatments, and the medical tracts of Alexander of Tralles and Paul of Aegina show the variety of drugs prescribed for ailments of the chest, heart, digestive system, and other organs. Byz. SURGERY also existed on a high plane; listings of SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS suggest specialized expertise, perhaps derived from the known instances of dissections and autopsies performed by Byz. physicians and surgeons (L.J. Bliquez, A. Kazhdan, *BHM* 58 [1984] 554–57; R. Browning, *BHM* 59 [1985] 518–20). Byz. medicine knew professional specialization, including as separate branches obstetrics and gynecology, ophthalmology, dermatology, and dentistry. Practicing physicians worked sometimes in the mold of ancient traditions, sometimes in adaptations of those traditions to newer theories, esp. in innovative aspects of medical diagnosis such as uroscopy (John Aktouarios) and pulse lore.

Nonprofessional medicine existed alongside medical theory and practicing professionals. Orbasios was not the first to prepare a simplified summary of medicine for a friend, but his *Synopsis for Eunapios* suggests the range of drugs and elementary remedies available to the nonphysician in the 4th C. Various nonmedical authors



throughout the long history of Byz. also show comprehension and an interest in the best medicine of their day: for example, PROKOPIOS describes the PLAGUE in the reign of Justinian I (542); PHOTIOS summarizes several medical authors, including DIOSKORIDES, certain works of Galen, Aetios of Amida, and Ctesias; PSELLOS in his *Chronography* recounts the illness and death of ROMANOS III, with details based on personal knowledge of technical medical theory as well as a close acquaintance with the approaches of practicing physicians in the 11th C. Similarly the account by Anna KOMNENE of the death of Alexios I shows a long-standing awareness of therapeutics and medical theory; the writings of John TZETZES contain much classical medicine and medical theory embedded as analogy, allegory, and allusion; many of the jokes in the collection called the PHILOGELOS are medically informed; and many ecclesiastical writers could be added to this list of secular authors who indicate that interest in medicine permeated all levels of Byz. society.

Magical means were also valued, not only at the quasi-Christian HEALING shrines, but also in the writings of the finest physicians, exemplified by the occasional prescriptions of AMULETS by Alexander of Tralles (6th C.) for certain illnesses. Astrological medicine enjoyed many centuries of respect, as documented in the texts collected as the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*. Many of these works are paralleled by those of pure medical MAGIC in the *Papyri graecae magicae*, generally in Greek, Coptic, and demotic from late Roman and Byz. Egypt.

The rich panoply of Byz. medicine has its counterpart, very poorly known, among the Sasanians before their collapse in the Arab conquest of Mesopotamia in the 7th C.; although classical Arabic medicine derived many of its precepts from the Byz., the links through Syriac remain only murkily understood, much as the later borrowings in medieval Armenian medicine from Byz. practice and sources reside in partially edited Armenian MSS. In western European medieval medicine, Byz. influence came in the form of redactions and truncated translations of specific topics, esp. uroscopy, the theory of pulses, and distilled Greco-Roman medical concepts ultimately derived from the Hippocratics and Galen.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:287-320. J. Scarborough, ed., *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine* [= DOP 38] (Washington, D.C.,

1984). O. Temkin, "Byzantine Medicine, Tradition and Empiricism," *DOP* 16 (1962) 95-115. L.G. Westerink, "Philosophy and Medicine in Late Antiquity," *Janus* 51 (1964) 168-77. *CMH* 4.2:288-92. -J.S.

**MEDIKION MONASTERY**, a center of resistance to ICONOCLASM in Asia Minor. Medikion (Μηδίκιον) was founded in the 780s by the monk Nikephoros, .5 km south of the Bithynian village of Trigleia (Turk. Tirilye) and 2 km from the Sea of Marmara. Nikephoros restored a ruined Church of St. Michael at the site; when he signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, however, he referred to the monastery as "St. Sergios of Medikion." The monastery reached its peak under the saintly Nikephoros (died 813) and his successor, St. Niketas (died 824), an iconodule confessor. Both *hegoumenoi* were buried in the narthex of the Church of St. Michael. In the 11th C. when Medikion was granted to Michael PSELLOS as a *charistikion*, it was also called the monastery of the Holy Fathers (Hagion Pateron).

Although Medikion disappears from literary sources after the 11th C., it continued to function as a monastery until the modern period. The basilican church, the north aisle of which was separated from the nave by square piers, was razed in the mid-20th C.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vie de Saint Nicéphore," *AB* 78 (1960) 396-430.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 240-42, 274-76. Janin, *Églises centres* 165-68. -A.M.T.

**MEDIMNOS**. See MODIOS.

**MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS** (Μελέτη περὶ ψιλῶν συμφώνων, lit. "Essay on Bare Contracts," i.e., on informal agreements), a legal treatise composed in the mid-11th C. Its anonymous author, probably the *Basilika* scholiast Nikaeus (H.J. Scheltema in *Études offertes à Jean Macqueron* [Aix-en-Provence 1970] 595-97), argues against an adversary, probably JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, for the higher merit of the writings from Justinianic times (esp. the *Digest* and the scholia of the jurist STEPHEN that elucidate it), over the *Basilika*. The treatise, which was presumably occasioned by a real lawsuit between a monastery and a *protospatharios* over the binding force of an informal

agreement (*nudum pactum*, see PACTA), is of great importance for the question of the exclusive validity of the *Basilika* in the 11th C.

ED. H. Monnier, G. Platon, in *Études de droit byzantin*, ed. H. Monnier (London 1974), pt.III (1913-14), 5-246, with commentary.

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *TM* 7 (1979) 37-53. Troianos, *Peges* 131f. -A.S.

**MEDITERRANEAN SEA**. As late as the 4th C. the Mediterranean continued to be an "inner sea," totally surrounded by the territory of the Roman Empire. It was the only sea for Greeks, the *eso thalassa* (Aristotle) as opposed to the *exo thalassa* or ocean; for the Latins the *mare internum*, *intestinum*, or *nostrum*. The term *mare mediterraneum* did not appear until the 3rd C.; Isidore of Seville used it in the early 7th C. (O. Maull, *RE* 15 [1932] 2222). The Byz. did not have a general term for the Mediterranean, although they used special names for its parts—the Aegean, Ionian, Tyrsenikon (or Tyrrhenian), Sikelikon, Kretikon *pelagos*.

Roman control of the region of the Mediterranean began to disintegrate in the 5th C. when the Germanic tribes—VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, and OSTROGOTHS—occupied the western parts of the OIKOUMENE. Politically independent, the Germanic kingdoms retained, to a certain extent, the feeling of belonging to a cultural entity through Latin language, court ceremonial, some features of municipal organization, visual art, and coinage. The *renovatio imperii Romani* by JUSTINIAN I was based on the continuing perception of Mediterranean unity. As late as 663 Constans II attempted to transfer his capital from Constantinople to Syracuse, in the middle of the Mediterranean. His murder, accompanied by the mutiny of MEZIZIOS, manifested the end of Byz. sovereignty over the Mediterranean. Two factors enforced the disruption of the former unity: the ARAB conquests and increasing Arab domination of the sea, and the proclamation of a second—Frankish—empire in the West (see FRANKS). Until the end of the Byz. Empire the Mediterranean was an area of rivalry between various political forces, including the Normans, Italian republics, the papacy, Spain, and even distant England.

LIT. F.G. Maier, *Die Verwandlung der Mittelmeerwelt* (Frankfurt a.M. 1968). H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*<sup>3</sup> (Paris 1970). R. Hodges, D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Char-*

*lemagne & the Origins of Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983). *L'homme méditerranéen et la mer*, ed. M. Galley, L.L. Sebai (Tunis 1985). -A.K.

**MEGALOSHEMA**. See SCHEMA.

**MEGARIKON** (μεγαρικόν), also *magarikon* (MM 6:244.1) and *madarikon* (*Xerop.* no.9A.16), the name of a large clay vessel, originally probably made in Megara, in charters usually juxtaposed with *pithoi*. *Megarika* of honey (*Lavra* 1, no.54.14) and of wine (*Lavra* 1, no.34.34) were used as fiscal units; in an act of 1196 (*Lavra* 1, no.67.81-82) the customs toll for the transportation of wine (given in *megarika*, *pithoi*, or barrels) to Constantinople is established as every tenth vessel. Metrological treatises define a *megarikon* as 6 *thalassioi* MODIOI (= 102.503 liters), but emphasize that in trade *megarika* of different volumes were used as well. A *megarikon* may be either a liquid measure or a dry measure of grain. The imperial *kalathion*, mentioned in a charter of 1339, may perhaps be identified with a *megarikon* of grain.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 100-02, 113. N. Bees, "Megara-Magara," *BNJbb* 15 (1939) 203. Idem, "Näheres zu Megara-Magara und verwandten Wörtern," *BNJbb* 17 (1944) 50. -E. Sch.

**MEGAS DOMESTIKOS** (μέγας δομέστικός), supreme military commander (after the emperor). The origin of the office is not clear; apparently the *megas domestikos* replaced the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, but both offices existed side by side for a time. The date of this replacement is also unclear. The title of a certain Galenos, *primikerios* of the *megas domestikos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.945), on a seal of the 9th-10th C. is suspicious. Guiland doubts that *domestikos major* (the term applied by Liutprand of Cremona to Nikephoros [II] Phokas) was an official title, but in the *SCRIPTOR INCERTUS* (339.20-21) the *magistros*, *megas domestikos*, "and other *patrikioi*" form the closest entourage of the emperor. By the mid-11th C. the titlature was well established, and John, the brother of Isaac I Komnenos, bore this title.

Henceforth the office of *megas domestikos*, *megas domestikos* of the *scholai*, and *megas domestikos* of the army are regularly mentioned; Laurent (*Corpus* 2:499f), however, denies that it was a permanent rank before 1204. In the 11th-12th C. the *megas*

*domestikos* could command the separate armies of West or East, but it seems that in the 13th C. this distinction was abolished. The place of the *megas domestikos* in the hierarchy is also unclear: in the 13th C. it seems to have been below the *protovestiarios* and *megas strategos*, but in the 14th-C. pseudo-Kodinos it is one of the highest ranks, following directly after CAESAR. The *megas domestikos* also had an aulic function, waiting on the emperor at banquets. The office-title existed until the end of the empire.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:405–25. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 50–52. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 57, n.7. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 142f. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 93–111. —A.K.

**MEGAS DOUX** (μέγας δούξ), or *megadoux*, commander of the fleet. The office of DOUX of the fleet (*stolos*) was probably created by Alexios I Komnenos after 1085 and replaced by that of *megas doux* ca. 1092. The innovation was connected with the abolition of thematic naval forces and concentration of the whole NAVY under the command of a single admiral; the (*megas*) DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU became the deputy of the *megas doux*. The first *megas doux* was probably John Doukas, Alexios I's brother-in-law, who led large-scale operations on sea and land. Until 1453 the post remained one of the highest in the hierarchy; in the 14th C. pseudo-KODINOS placed him between the PROTOVESTIARIOS and PROTOSTRATOR. Many important personages held the post: in the 12th C. the family of KONTOSTEPHANOI dominated the office. From the 13th C. onward, the difference between *megas doux* and *protostrator* became unclear, since either general could command on sea or land. The office (or title?) of *megas doux* was sometimes conferred on foreigners: in 1207 the Genoese Filocalo Navigajoso received from the Latin emperor of Constantinople the island of Lemnos and the hereditary title of *megas doux*, and in the early 14th C. the title was conferred on ROGER DE FLOR.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:542–51. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 209–11. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 56–58. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:527–31. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 147. —A.K.

**MEGAS** \_\_\_\_\_. See also under latter part of term.

**MEHMED I** (Μαχουμέτ; Μεχεμέτ in Doukas), Ottoman sultan (from 1413); born 1389?, died Edirne 21 May 1421. A younger son of BAYEZID I, he was sultan of Ottoman Rumeli and Anatolia (1413–21). After the battle of ANKARA on 28 July 1402, Mehmed established himself at Amaseia. He officially attained his father's throne only in 1413, after a series of struggles with his brothers Isa (died 1403), SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI (died 1411), and MUSA (died July 1413). His sovereignty was again challenged in 1416, when Mustafa (allegedly his brother) and Cüneyd (*beylerbeyi* of Rumeli) led an abortive rising in Rumeli.

Mehmed's relations with Constantinople from early 1411 to his death were usually peaceful. MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS aided him in his war against Musa, and in 1413 a pact was concluded in which Mehmed evidently reaffirmed the terms of the 1403 treaty. Thereafter serious tensions arose only in 1415, when Manuel rebuilt the HEXAMILION Wall in the Morea, and again in 1416, when Manuel gave asylum to the refugees Mustafa and Cüneyd.

Mehmed's image in contemporary Byz. sources is far from negative. The historian Doukas, for example, lauds his friendship with the Palaiologoi as genuine and states that he was sympathetic to Christians.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 247–50, 281–89, 318–20, 340–54. I. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije* (Belgrade 1984) 195–233. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 286–309. —S.W.R.

**MEHMED II** (Μουχαμέτ and similar forms), seventh Ottoman ruler (1451–81) and conqueror of Constantinople, whence his epithet Fatih (conquerer); born Edirne 30 Mar. 1432, died near Gebze 3 May 1481. He was the third son of MURAD II and his slave Hatun bint Abdullah. Mehmed doubtless ascended the throne with dreams of taking Constantinople, something his kinsmen BAYEZID I, MUSA, and Murad II had attempted but failed. Still, he preserved amicable relations with CONSTANTINE XI into autumn 1451. Then, however, Constantine hardened Mehmed's resolve by threatening to support the claims of Orhan, a grandson of SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI, and the emperor's ward in Constantinople. Soon thereafter Mehmed systematically prepared for his assault on Constantinople, beginning with the construction of Rumeli Hisar (Apr.–Aug. 1452).

Mehmed began the siege on 6 Apr. 1453 and directed it with energy and tactical ingenuity (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF). After Constantinople fell to the besiegers on 29 May 1453, Mehmed allowed his troops a day of plundering and then assumed full control. He immediately began "the greater war"—transforming the ravaged city into a vital new capital, a project that engaged him the rest of his life.

As sultan in Istanbul, Mehmed established there a court and pattern of society fully consonant with developed Turco-Islamic tradition. The conquered were fitted into that framework. Greeks remained prominent in Mehmed's Istanbul; indeed, many of the communities he forcibly transferred to Istanbul throughout the period 1453–79 were Greek. Largely to assure their stability and to cultivate their loyalty, he secured the election of the staunchly anti-Unionist GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS as patriarch (Jan. 1454). Mehmed evidently had an eclectic curiosity about the culture of the Greeks. He discussed Christian precepts with Gennadios and was interested in the history and monuments of Constantinople. Greek MSS, including Homer's *Iliad*, were copied in his scriptorium (J. Raby, *DOP* 37 [1983] 15–34).

Precisely how Mehmed's installation in Istanbul changed his self-perception as a ruler is speculative. The conquest certainly heightened his sense of himself as a great military hero, akin to Achilles and Alexander the Great, whom he admired. It is implausible, though, that he regarded himself as heir or successor to the Christian Roman emperors. More likely he viewed his victory in terms of the prophesied triumph of Muslims over Christians in Kostantiniye (Ar. name of Constantinople)—his rule therefore supplanting rather than continuing the previous tradition. Few conquered Greeks, reciprocally, conceived of Mehmed as a new "emperor of the Romans" in the spirit of AMIROUTZES, who lauded the sultan as such in his 1466 letter. Contemporary Greeks, whether pro- or anti-Unionist, typically regarded Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople as a catastrophe and like DOUKAS viewed the sultan as a consummate *tyrannos* at best, and Antichrist at worst. His conquest of the despotate of MISTRA in 1460 and of TREBIZOND in 1461 sealed that perception. On the contrary, KRITOBoulos highly praised Mehmed for his personal qualities (justice, generosity,

courage) as well as for his patronage of trade, craftsmanship, and building activity (Z. Udal'cova, *VizVrem* 12 [1957] 172–83).

LIT. F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, tr. R. Manheim (Princeton 1978). E. Werner, *Sultan Mehmed der Eroberer und die Epochenwende im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1982). H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara 1954) 69–136. Idem, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 231–49. —S.W.R.

**MELANIA THE YOUNGER**, saint; born Rome 383, died Jerusalem 31 Dec. 439; feastday 31 Dec. Born to a rich and noble family, Melania (Μελάνη) was married at age 13 or 14 to Valerius Pinianus, son of a former Roman prefect. Perhaps influenced by her grandmother, Melania the Elder (see F.X. Murphy, *Traditio* 5 [1947] 59–77), Melania pursued ascetic ideals, and, after the early death of two children, the couple decided to live in chastity. The decision of Melania and Pinianus in 404 to sell their enormous properties (located in Italy, Spain, Sicily, Africa, etc.) met resistance from both the senate and the slaves of their Roman *proasteia* (*Vie*, pars. 10–11), but Melania finally received permission to liquidate her estates, with the help of Serena, wife of Emp. Honorius. After 406 Melania and Pinianus left for Sicily, Africa, and then Jerusalem, where Melania built a cell for herself on the Mount of Olives as well as a nunnery and monastery. Melania had personal contacts with Egyptian monks and with great ecclesiastical leaders such as AUGUSTINE, PALLADIOS of Helenopolis, CYRIL of Alexandria, and PAULINUS of Nola. In 436 she visited Constantinople and urged her uncle Volusianus to convert to Christianity.

Her Life was probably written by an ardent Monophysite, Gerontios (died 485), who supervised Melania's monasteries in Jerusalem after her death. It survives in Greek and Latin versions, which probably derived from a common Greek prototype (A. d'Alès, *AB* 25 [1906] 448–50). It was reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. The activity of Melania and her family is attested by many contemporary observers, primarily by Palladios of Helenopolis. John Rufus also mentions her in his Syriac Life of PETER THE IBERIAN. Melania is usually portrayed in art as a nun.



SOURCES. *Vie de sainte Mélanie*, ed. D. Gorce (Paris 1962)—Lat. version in *AB* 8 (1889) 19–63, Germ. tr. S. Krottehtaler in *Griechische Liturgien*, ed. R. Storf (Kempten-Münich 1912) 1–54. Eng. tr. E.A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (New York 1984).  
LIT. *BHG* 12402–1242. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MELANOUDION.** See MYLASA AND MELANOUDION.

**MELBOURNE GOSPELS.** See THEOPHANES.

**MELCHITES** (Μελκίται, from Syriac *mālkāyā*, “imperial”), or Melkites, members of the Chalcedonian church in Syria and Egypt, areas generally dominated by MONOPHYSTES. Between the murder of Proterios, the first Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria, in 457 and ca. 537/8 there was only an irregular Chalcedonian presence in the Syrian and Egyptian ecclesiastical hierarchy, but from the time of Justinian I until the Arab conquest Chalcedonian patriarchs were normally resident in Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Usually supported by imperial troops, the Melchite clergy ministered to a largely urban and Greek-speaking populace, while the countryside was mostly Monophysite. After the Arab conquests of the 7th C. the Melchites lost most of their official support; frequent vacancies in the hierarchy occurred and bishops often lived in Constantinople. The Melchite communities were, however, given a special position under Islam and were regarded as Byz. enclaves within the caliphate. During the Crusades and the subsequent Latin domination of Syria and Palestine many bishops fled their sees. Among Melchite authors were George of Martyropolis and Constantine and Leo of Harran; on the whole, however, Melchites contributed little to SYRIAC LITERATURE, which was dominated by Monophysites (A. van Roey, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3 [1972] 125–53).

LIT. R. Janin, *Les Églises orientales et les rites orientaux* (Paris 1955) 146–71. C. Charon, *Histoire des patriarchats melchites*, 2 vols. (Rome 1910–14). S. Runciman, “The Byzantine ‘Protectorate’ in the Holy Land,” *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 207–15. H. Husmann, “Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iāonaie, Melitene und Edessa,” *OrChrP* 41 (1975) 5–56. H. Kennedy, “The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy,” 17 *CEB* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 325–43. —T.E.G.

**MELCHIZEDEK** (Μελχισέδεκ), priest-king of Salem who welcomed ABRAHAM with bread and wine (Gen 14:18–20). Church fathers interpreted Melchizedek as the prefiguration (*typos*) of Christ and used this image in their polemics with Jews in order to show the superiority of the priesthood of Jesus over the Hebrew priesthood. His offer of bread and wine to Abraham received a eucharistic explanation. On the other hand, Melchizedek became a central figure in the mythology of the heretical Melchisedekianoi, who considered him a celestial power superior to Christ or identified him with the Holy Spirit. The dogma of the Melchisedekianoi was refuted by Epiphanius of Salamis and by Theodoret of Cyrillus.

**Representation in Art.** Images are found already at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40) and at S. Vitale in Ravenna (ca. 540). The former is literal: Melchizedek advances with a basket of loaves of bread toward Abraham and his army. The latter is allegorical: Melchizedek offers the bread at an altar on which is the chalice of wine. Cycles of GENESIS illustration placed the scene in a narrative context.

LIT. G. Bardy, “Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique,” *Revue Biblique* 35 (1926) 496–509; 36 (1927) 25–45. F.L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition* (Cambridge 1976). G. Seib, *LCI* 3:241f. S.R. Robinson, “The Apocryphal Story of Melchisedech,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18 (1987) 26–39. —A.K., J.H.L.

**MELEAGER**, in Greek mythology a mighty hero. Malalas (Malal. 165f), referring to a play of “the wise Euripides,” relates that Meleager killed a terrifying boar that ravaged the land of Calydon and gave its skin to Atalanta, whom he loved. Meleager’s father Oeneus became enraged and threw into the fire a twig of olive upon which—magically—Meleager’s life depended. TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:61–70), who quotes Homer and a certain Soterichos, evidently knew only the first part of the myth—the killing of the Calydonian boar.

An image of Meleager and Atalanta at rest after a hunt on a silver plate of Herakleian date in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no. 136) lacks any reference to the boar. Atalanta is shown hunting boars with Orion in a miniature in Venice, Marc. gr. 479 (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 115f, fig. 131). —A.K., A.C.

**MELENIKOS.** See MELNIK.

**MELETIAN SCHISM.** There were two Meletian schisms in the 4th C., one in Egypt, the other in Syria.

**MELETIAN SCHISM IN EGYPT.** This schism, sometimes called the First Meletian Schism, was incited by Meletios of Lykopolis in Upper Egypt (died after 325). During the persecution of 306 he condemned Christians who hid from the authorities; in defiance of the state, he demanded the resumption of the liturgy. He founded a “church of martyrs” that excluded the *lapsi* (the “fallen,” i.e., those who yielded in the face of persecution), was thrown into jail, and released only after the toleration edict of 311. His moral authority enabled Meletios to attract many partisans—by 325, 28 bishops supported him and he was able to challenge the position of the patriarch of Alexandria. The struggle against Arianism prompted ALEXANDER of Alexandria to a policy of reconciliation with the Meletians, but ATHANASIOS of Alexandria took a strong stand against the dissidents. The argument was political rather than ideological, and soon the Arians began to side with the Meletians; thus Pistos, a friend of Arius, was consecrated a Meletian bishop; the new allies accused Athanasios of beating Meletian bishops, murdering one of them, and using a Meletian liturgical vessel for secular purposes. The significance of the Meletians decreased in the 5th C., but some trace of them is still distinguishable in the 8th C.

LIT. L.W. Barnard, “Athanasius and the Meletian Schism in Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973) 281–89. Idem, “Some Notes on the Meletian Schism in Egypt,” *StP* 12.1 (1975) 399–405. W. Telfer, “Meletius of Lycopolis and Episcopal Succession in Egypt,” *HThR* 48 (1955) 227–37. —T.E.G.

**MELETIAN SCHISM IN SYRIA.** The second Meletian Schism originated in Antioch, where in the mid-4th C. the community was split between the Arians and the supporters of the Council of Nicaea; the latter were, in turn, divided into two parties. Both orthodox groups united around Meletios, who was elected bishop of Antioch in 360, but was soon deposed and exiled by Constantius II. In his absence the Nicaeans (called “Eustathians” after EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH), with the strong support of Athanasios of Alexandria, elected in his stead the priest Paulinos; when Julian allowed Meletios to return to Antioch, three bishops claimed the see.

A theological difference emerged between the Meletians and Eustathians: according to the Eustathians *ousia* and hypostasis were identical and God possessed one *ousia*/hypostasis and three *prosopa*, which the Meletians regarded as Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM); in their view God was one *ousia* in three hypostases, a position that the Eustathians equated with Arianism. The CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS sided with Meletios, and his two banishments by Valens only contributed to his authority. Rome and Alexandria supported Paulinos and his successor Evagrius. Meletios presided over the First Council of Constantinople in 381, which approved his formula. Reconciliation with the Eustathians took place in 413.

LIT. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche* (Paris 1905). W.A. Jurgens, “A Letter of Meletios of Antioch,” *HThR* 53 (1960) 251–60. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:2205f. —T.E.G., A.K.

**MELETIOS THE MONK**, physician and medical writer; his dates are unknown, but he is usually dated to the 9th C. He lived no earlier than the 7th C., and perhaps as late as the early 13th C. (M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta del De natura hominis di Nemesio* [Milan 1981] 147–55). He was a monk at the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Tiberiopolis (in the Opsikian theme). *On the Constitution of Man* (*Peri tes tou anthropou kataskheues*) is his treatise on human anatomy and physiology, composed almost entirely of excerpts from earlier authors such as GALEN, GREGORY OF NYSSA, and NEMESIOS; his latest source is MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Much of his importance lies in his preservation of passages from the lost works of ancient medical writers such as the 2nd-C. Soranus of Ephesus (R. Renehan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 159–68). The treatise survives in a number of MSS and was highly regarded in the late Byz. period.

ED. *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, ed. J.A. Cramer, vol. 3 (Oxford 1836, 1p. Amsterdam 1963) 1–157. PG 64:1069–1310.

LIT. G. Helmreich, *Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius* (Berlin 1918). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:304f. —A.M.T.

**MELETIOS THE YOUNGER**, also called Meletios of Myoupolis, saint; born in village of Moutalaske, Cappadocia, ca. 1035, died in monastery of Myoupolis, Boeotia, ca. 1105; feastday 1 Sept. At age 15 he left his village for Constantinople, where he took the monastic habit; he then moved

to Boeotia to live in the *eukterion* of St. George near Thebes. After long pilgrimages to Palestine, Rome, and perhaps Spain, he moved to Mt. Myoupolis, on the border between Boeotia and Attica, and Patr. NICHOLAS III consecrated him priest. By ca. 1081 Meletios acquired the Symboulon monastery (HOSIOS MELETIOS) nearby and received from Alexios I an annual donation of 422 gold coins.

Meletios's biography was recorded by NICHOLAS OF METHONE and Theodore PRODROMOS; both Lives are rich in political events and emphasize Meletios's connections with members of the elite. The two authors do not always agree in their facts and chronology, and their approaches differ. Thus Nicholas stresses Meletios's concern for his community: he protects the monastery from fire and drives rabbits from the monastery garden. Prodromos introduces more entertaining elements, for example, a more elaborate description of Meletios's travels; he alone tells of a noble Theban lady who attempted to seduce Meletios; only Prodromos describes (and criticizes) the extreme mortification of the flesh by a certain Noah, son of a Constantinopolitan noble.

SOURCE. V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Nikolaja episkopa Mefonskogo i Feodora Prodroma pisatelej XII stoletija žitija Meletija Novogo," *PPSb* 6.2 [17] (1886) 1-69.

LIT. BHG 1247-48. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho Hosios Meletios ho Neos (1035-1105)," *Theologia* 13 (1935) 97-125. -A.K.

**MELIAS** (Μελίας; Ar. Malih al-Armani, Arm. Mleh-mec [Mleh the Great]), general; died 934. Melias was an Armenian prince who moved to Byz. during the reign of LEO VI, participated in the battle at BOULGAROPHYGON, and served thereafter in Asia Minor. He probably supported Andronikos DOUKAS in his rebellion, and after the failure of the insurrection sought refuge with the emir of Melitene. Circa 908, when Leo pardoned the participants in the aristocratic conspiracy, Eustathios Argyros was appointed *strategos* of Charsianon, and Constantine DOUKAS came back from the caliphate. Melias returned, too, with a group of Armenian chieftains, became *tourmarches* of "Euphratia," and eventually founded the *kleisoura* of LYKANDOS, which served as a base for operations against the Arabs. In 912 he successfully repelled an Arab attack on the "fortress of Malih al-Armani," in 915 invaded Arab territory as far as Maraş, and ca. 930 temporarily occupied Meli-

tene. The descendants of Melias wielded power in the same area until the late 10th C.; the *domestikos ton scholon* Melias participated in the campaigns of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES and was killed at the walls of Amida in 973.

In the Cappadocian church known as the Pigeon House at ÇAVUŞIN, an inscription mentions the *magistros* Melias (a contemporary of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS), apparently the same person. He is shown as a nimbed, equestrian figure with a long spear. It is uncertain whether Melias here is to be understood as a patron of the church or merely as an aide to Nikephoros Phokas and his family, who are depicted in the north apse. It has been suggested that the figure of Melias "the Great" was reflected in the personage of the *apelates* Melementzes mentioned in the epic of DIOGENES AKRITAS.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques, VII," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 79-88. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:216-17, 231, 258 n.2, 267-68. H. Bartikian, "La conquête de l'Arménie par l'empire byzantin," *REArm* 8 (1971) 328-30. L. Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 301-39, fig.6. -A.K., A.C.

**MELINGOI** (Μηλιγγοί), also Milingoi, one of two groups of SKLAVENOI in the Peloponnesos. Both their origin and the etymology of their name are obscure (D. Georgakas, *BZ* 43 [1950] 301-27). The Melingoi lived on the western slope of Mt. Taygetos, near the EZERITAI. They are first mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 50) as paying 60 nomismata in tribute; after they rebelled, in the reign of Romanos I, their payment was increased to 600. The author of the vita of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch.62.4-5) identifies them as the ancient Myrmidones (whom the Byz. often connected with the Scythians). The CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA relates that William II Villehardouin bestowed on the "great *droungos* of the Melingoi," as a proud mountain people, the right to EXKOUSSEIA from any service except military assistance (A. Vasiliev, *VizVrem* 5 [1898] 434f). Inscriptions of the 14th C. in this area mention the Melingoi: an inscription of 1331/2 from Oitylon (Vitylo) in Lakonia speaks of the founding of the Church of St. George by Constantine Spani and Larinkas Slabouri who were Melingoi; Constantine Spanes (evidently the same person) founded another church in 1337/8 according to an inscription at Kampinari located nearby—he was the *tzaousios* of the *droungos* of the

Melingoi. Thus the Melingoi preserved an independent enclave although they adopted the Greek language, espoused Christianity, and fulfilled some services to the emperor as well as, from the 13th C. onward, to Frankish lords.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.XV (1962), 1-10. S. Kougeas, "Peri ton Melinkon tou Taÿgetou," *Pragmateiai Akademias Athenon* 15.3 (1950) 1-34. D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens 1975) 14-18. -O.P.

**MELISENDE, PSALTER OF.** See CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**MELISMOS.** See FRACTION.

**MELISSA** (Μέλισσα, lit. "Bee"), a ghost title of a sacro-profane FLORILEGIUM compiled probably in the 10th or 11th C. in two books and 176 *logoi* (chapters). The author drew upon an interpolated copy of the 10th-C. *florilegium* of pseudo-Maximos the Confessor and a version of the SACRA PARALLELA. For secular *sententiae* he used a *gnomologium* of Democritus-Isocrates-Epictetus and GNO-MAI of Theognis; the source of the last five chapters is unknown. In each chapter the quotations are presented in hierarchical order: Old Testament, New Testament, church fathers, secular authors. The first book focuses on the themes of virtue and vice and of pious behavior (attitudes toward ALMSGIVING, HUMOR, etc.); the second deals with political roles (emperors, bishops, judges) and social structures (lords and slaves, family, etc.). Traditionally, *Melissa* is considered to be the work of a certain ascetic, Antony, allegedly called Melissa (Beck, *Kirche* 643); Richard (*infra*) demonstrated that the first editor (C. Gesner in 1546) invented both the name and title, the *Bee* being a common designation of anonymous *florilegia* of proverbial sayings. In the surviving MSS, all incomplete, the work is anonymous or attributed to JOHN OF DAMASCUS. The *Melissa* was translated into Slavonic with the title of PČELA.

ED. PG 136:765-1244.

LIT. M. Richard, "Florilèges spirituels grecs," *DictSpir* 5 (1962) 492-94. -E.M.J., A.K.

**MELISSENOS** (Μελισσηνός, fem. Μελισσηνή), a noble family for which two questionable genealogies were produced in the 16th and 17th C.

Makarios Melissenos in his chronicle traced the family from Michael Melissenos, *patrikios* and relative of Emp. MICHAEL I RANGABE (Sphr. 270.12-20); a treatise probably written by the metropolitan Nikephoros Melissenos describes in detail all the descendants of Michael's son, the *magistros* Leo (S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 191-202). According to more dependable sources, the first known Melissenos was the *patrikios* Michael, governor of Anatolikon under Constantine V. His son, Theodore Kassiteras Melissenos, became patriarch of Constantinople as THEODOTOS I. From the 9th through 11th C. the Melissenoi were primarily military commanders and governors of themes (Koloneia, Anatolikon, Philippopolis, Antioch); Leo (I. Jordanov, *BBulg* 8 [1986] 183-87) and Theognostos participated in the rebellion of Bardas PHOKAS. The family remained in power in the mid-11th C.: Theognostos Melisinos [*sic*] served as *katepano* of Mesopotamia (D. Theodoridis, *BZ* 78 [1985] 363f), and Maria Melissene held the title of *zoste patrikia* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 260-62). Nikephoros Melissenos, who married Eudokia Komnene, belonged to the family through the maternal line. In 1080 he rebelled against Nikephoros III but submitted to Alexios I Komnenos, who gave him the title of caesar; he had possessed estates around Dorylaion, but later Alexios allowed him to settle in Thessalonike; he was called DESPOTES both by THEOPHYLAKTOS, the archbishop of Ohrid, and on a seal. The 12th-C. Melissenoi served in the civil administration. According to later sources, Andrew Melissenos moved during Alexios I's reign to Crete, where he founded a local branch of the family. The 13th-C. Melissenoi were known as landowners in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 172). Nothing is said of their role in cultural life. (See also MELISSENOS, MAKARIOS.)

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 152f, 182. *PLP*, nos. 17795-825. N.A. Bees, "Der Berliner Traktat über die Melissinoi ist keine Fälschung von Konstantin Simonidis," *BNJbb* 14 (1937-38) 131-37. -A.K.

**MELISSENOS, MAKARIOS**, metropolitan of Monemvasia; died Naples 1585. A rich landowner in the Morea, Makarios Melissourgos was involved in an anti-Ottoman plot after the battle of Lepanto (1571) and was forced to flee to Naples to the Spanish court of Philip II. There Makarios changed his name to Melissenos and produced a series of forged documents, such as a chrysobull



of Andronikos II listing the privileges of MONEMVASIA and a list of bishops of Monemvasia. In collaboration with Andrew Darmarios, he also revised the *Chronicon Minus* of George SPHRANTZES, compiling between 1573 and 1575 what is now known as the *Chronicon Majus*, which encompasses the period 1258-1477. For his revision Melissenos used George AKROPOLITES (for the preface), GREGORAS, pseudo-DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA, and other sources. He also incorporated a list of the members of the MELISSENOS family and a lengthy excursus on Monemvasia. Book 3 of the *Majus* is an important account, purportedly by an eyewitness, of the last days of Constantinople; whether it is based on an expanded (but now lost) version of Sphrantzes' *Minus*, on another eyewitness account (e.g., that of LEONARD OF CHIOS), or is a product of Melissenos's ingenuity is still debatable. Although Melissenos is frequently dismissed as a scurrilous forger, his literary creation, written with considerable verve, attracted a wide and continuing readership.

ED. Pseudo-Phrantzes: *Macarie Melissenos, Cronica 1258-1481 in Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966) 149-591, with Rumanian tr. Book 3 only—*A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople 1453; The Sphrantzes Chronicle*, tr. M. Carroll (Amsterdam 1985).

LIT. I.K. Chasiotis, *Makarios, Theodoros kai Nikephoros, hoi Melissenoi (Melissourgoi)* (Thessalonike 1966). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:496-98. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 371-83. E. Džagacpanjan, "Bol'saja chronika psevdosfrandzi v istoriografii," *Vestnik Erevanskogo universiteta, Obščestvennye nauki* (1979) no. 2:153-62. —E.M.J., A.K.

**MELITENE** (Μελιτηνή, mod. Malatya), city of eastern CAPPADOCIA at the head of routes leading from Asia Minor to Mesopotamia. The Roman legionary base was the core of an extensive city, which ca.400 became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Armenia II. Anastasios I began construction of a wall around the civil settlement; Justinian I completed it. In 575, Melitene was captured and burnt by Chosroes I. The Arabs first attacked Melitene in 635 and took it in 656. It changed hands for a century, then remained under Arab control from 757 to 934. It was one of the main fortresses of the Arab frontier and the base for attacks against Asia Minor. Melitene saw significant ethnic changes: Armenians were settled in the area, perhaps by Emp. Philippikos; and Constantine V, who temporarily recaptured

Melitene, transferred Syrians and Armenians from the area to Thrace. After its recapture and destruction by John KOURKOUAS in 934, Melitene became a KOURATOREIA under the *doux* of Mesopotamia; by 971, a *strategos* (later *katepano*) of Melitene appears. Nikephoros II Phokas repopulated the devastated region with Syrians. Thereafter, Melitene had both Orthodox and Jacobite archbishops. Bardas Skleros was proclaimed emperor here in 976 and 987. After the Turks plundered and burned Melitene in 1058, its walls were rebuilt in 1063, but it was lost to the empire after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site preserves remains of the wall of Justinian.

LIT. *TIB* 2:233-37. E. Honigmann, *EI*<sup>2</sup> 6:230f. A. Palmer, "Charting Undercurrents in the History of the West-Syrian People: The Resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934," *OrChr* 70 (1986) 37-68. —C.F.

**MELITENIOTES, THEODORE**, patriarchal official and writer; died 8 Mar. 1393. By 1360 Meliteniotes (Μελιτηνιώτης) had held the positions of deacon, *didaskalos ton didaskalon*, and *megas sakellarios*; from 1368 to 1393 he was also archdeacon of the palatine clergy. Meliteniotes was Palamite and anti-Latin; in 1368 he signed the *Tomos* condemning Prochoros KYDONES. He corresponded with Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS (R. Walther, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 223-27), Joseph BRYENNIS, and Demetrios KYDONES.

Meliteniotes was a prolific writer with wide interests. He compiled a manual of astronomy based on PTOLEMY, THEON, and Persian sources, titled the *Three Books on Astronomy* or *Tribiblos*, of which only the preface has been published (PG 149:987-1001). He also wrote a gargantuan and derivative commentary on the harmony of the Gospels (*Diatessaron*) in nine volumes, of which three are preserved (C. Astruc, *TM* 4 [1970] 411-29). It has been calculated that the entire work would have run to 2,500 folios. F. Dölger hypothesized (*AI-PHOS* 2 [1933-34] 315-30) that Theodore Meliteniotes was also the author of a lengthy allegorical poem, *On Temperance*, by a certain Meliteniotes. The poem, in 3,062 15-syllable verses, contains echoes of Byz. romances such as DIGENES AKRITAS (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 67 [1974] 1-63) and LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE.

ED. *Diatessaron*, Book 4—PG 149:883-988. *On Temperance*—ed. E. Miller, "Poème allégorique de Meliténote," *Notices et extraits* 19.2 (1858) 1-138, corr. by S. Lampros,

*NE* 12 (1915) 7-24, and A. Kambylis in *Philtra. Timetikhos Tomos S.G. Kapsomenos* (Thessalonike 1975) 227-42.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 792. Idem, *Volksliteratur* 125, 147. *PLP*, nos. 17848, 17851. N. Polites, "He kata Theodoron Melitenioten agoge," *EEBS* 45 (1981-82) 365-78. C. Cupane, "Note di iconografia tardo-bizantina: Tyche, Bios e Thanatos in Teodoro Meliteniotes," in *Mel.Dujčev* 109-19. R. Leurquin, "La Tribiblos astronomique de Théodore Meliténote (*Val.gr.* 792)," *Janus* 72 (1985) 257-82. —A.M.T.

**MELKITES.** See MELCHITES.

**MELNIK** (Μελνίκος, Μελένικος, mod. village of Melnik in southwestern Bulgaria), a fortress in the eastern valley of the Strymon River in Macedonia. The name is of Slavic derivation, although S. Kyriakides (*Makedonika* 3 [1953-55] 404-7) has attempted to connect it with an (unknown) eponym, Melenikos. Melnik is first mentioned by an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 351.83-87), who states that in 1014 it was a Bulgarian *phourion* in Zagoria, built upon a rock and well fortified.

Melnik acquired particular significance after the Crusade of 1204. Kalojan captured it and resettled Greek inhabitants of Philippopolis in Melnik; soon afterward, probably in 1207, Alexios SLAVOS, governor of Melnik, proclaimed the town independent of Bulgarian rule; Henry of Hainault conferred upon him the title of *despotes*. Alexios supported first the Latins in their war against Bulgaria; later he switched his allegiance to THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Thessalonike. In the second quarter of the 13th C. Melnik's position became difficult because of conflicts between Bulgaria, Epiros, and the Latin Empire. Alexios disappears from the sources after 1229, and the town was evidently recovered by the Bulgarians.

In 1246 John III Vatatzes took the fortress and appointed the future emperor Michael (VIII) Palaiologos as its governor. A revolt in Melnik, led by a Bulgarian named Dragota, was quelled by Theodore II Laskaris in 1255—with the supernatural help of the two Sts. Theodore, according to a legend preserved by Theodore PEDIASIMOS (F. Dölger, *IzvBulgArchInst* 16 [1950] 275-79). Little is known of the later history of Melnik. In the mid-14th C. it belonged to the Serbs and was a metropolis.

Some medieval buildings survive in Melnik, including a private aristocratic house (S. Georgieva, D. Serafimova, *Palaeobulgarica* 3.2 [1979] 37-54) and the Church of St. Nicholas (L. Mavrodinova,

*Cърkvata sveti Nikola pri Melnik* [Sofia 1975]) in which a wall painting of the 13th C. and a Greek inscription of the *sebastos* Vladimir, brother of the *sebastos* Frankos, were preserved. These frescoes are now in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. Two coins found in the church have been attributed to Manuel I. Two other churches in Melnik have dated fresco programs of the late 13th C.

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:651-64. Th. Vlachos, *Die Geschichte der byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon* (Thessalonike 1969), rev. by G. Prinzing, *BZ* 64 (1971) 119-23 and F. Hild, *JÖB* 20 (1971) 347-50. B. Cvetkov, "Vodosnabdjavane na Melničkata krepost," *Archeologija* 22.2 (1980) 39-46. Z. Pljakov, "Die Stadt Sandanski und das Gebiet von Melnik und Sandanski im Mittelalter," *BBulg* 4 (1973) 189-98. S. Gergov, *Melnik* (Sofia 1976). —A.K.

**MELODIA** (Μελωδία), PERSONIFICATION of Melody, usually shown as a companion of DAVID the musician. In aristocratic Psalter illustration she appears in the guise of a Muse seated on a rock beside the Psalmist and appearing to inspire him. The same figure in the 11th-C. Psalter, Venice, gr. 565, is inscribed *he synesis* ("intelligence").

LIT. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, nos. 9, 27, 32, 37, 39, 44, 45. —A.C.

**MELOTE.** See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

**MEMNON** (Μέμνων), bishop of Ephesus (ca.428-40), dominant figure at the Council of EPHEBUS in 431 as ally of CYRIL of Alexandria and opponent of NESTORIOS. He closed the churches of Ephesus to the supporters of Nestorios and helped to organize massive demonstrations in favor of Alexandrian theology. Although temporarily deposed and arrested by imperial troops, Memnon retained his see after the reconciliation between Cyril and John of Antioch in Apr. 433 (see NESTORIANISM). A determined supporter of the rights of his church against the encroachments of Constantinople, he maintained his own position against potential rivals partly through terror.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 19 (1931) 654. L. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (Milan 1974) 206-43. —T.E.G.

**MEMORY** as an ability to enrich one's knowledge was underpinned by an educational system oriented toward memorizing the Psalms and other biblical texts; the learning of liturgical responses

and prayers also trained the memory. Antiquity highly valued memory, and accordingly Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. 16.5.8) praised Julian for his enormous "jar of memory." The Byz. tendency toward IMITATION (*mimesis*) and topos favored the use of memory, and literati often boasted of their incredible powers of recall: Psellos bragged that he had memorized the whole of Homer, and Tzetzes stated that after having sold his library he was still able to quote its books from memory. Even the works of contemporary writers were memorized: Michael Italikos informed Prodromos that he had met a priest who knew by heart all the prose writings and iambics of Prodromos (R. Browning, *BBulg* 1 [1962] 282). Inexact quotations of the Bible and classics probably can be explained by the fact that they were cited from memory. —A.K.

**MENAION** (*μηναιον*, from *μήν*, "month"), a set of 12 liturgical books, one for each month, containing the variable hymns and other texts (LECTIONS, SYNAXARION notices, KANONES) proper to VESPERS and ORTHROS of each feast of the fixed cycle, that is, those feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church CALENDAR. Although the cycle of feasts itself had been established since the 10th C., and earlier rudimentary "propers" had been contained in the *tropologion*—of which several 11th-C. MSS are extant (A. Wade, *OrChrP* 50 [1984] 451–56)—and in collections of *stichera* and *kanones*, the first systematic *menaia* with hymnography for each day of the year appear only in MSS of the 11th–12th C.

When a movable feast lands on a day with a fixed feast, the *menaion* "propers" have to compete with those of the TRIODION, the PENTEKOSTARION, and the OKTOECHOS (comparable hymn books for the mobile cycle). Their relative precedence in such cases is regulated by the liturgical TYPIKON.

ED. *Menaia*, 6 vols. (Rome 1888–1901); 12 vols. (Venice 1895). *Ménée de décembre*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1980); *janvier, août* (1981); *septembre* (1982); *novembre, mars* (1983); *octobre* (1985).

LIT. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Festal Menaion*<sup>2</sup> (London 1977). M.F. Mur'janov, "Mineja kak tip sredne-vekovoj knigi," *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie* (1985) no. 5, 64–78. —R.F.T.

**MENANDER OF LAODIKEIA.** See MENANDER RHETOR.

**MENANDER PROTECTOR** historian; born Constantinople?, fl. late 6th C. Described by the sources as PROTIKTOR, he was probably a *protector domesticus* or palace guardsman. Menander (*Μένανδρος*) himself says (fr. 1) that he preferred the pleasures of Constantinople to the legal career planned and financed for him by his father but was rescued for historiography from involvement in the circus FACTIONS by the accession of MAURICE and the rewards open to men of letters. He produced a *History* for the period 558–82, in formal continuation of AGATHIAS. More than 70 fragments are preserved in the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine VII (see EXCERPTA) and the SOUDA; several unattributed notices in the latter may also belong to him. Though exhibiting some of the vices of the age and the genre, and perhaps unduly concerned with Eastern events at Western expense, his work has considerable virtue, esp. a willingness to research documentary sources and reproduce them without excessive Atticism: fragment 6.1 provides a detailed account of the negotiations for the peace treaty of 561 between Justinian I and Chosroes I. As a scholiast on Strabo noted (Paris, B.N. gr. 1393), Menander is good on Persian ethnography. Closer to home, he is balanced on Justin II, informatively favorable to Tiberios I, an encomiast of Maurice. His aggressive Christianity is manifest in an epigram on the Persian martyr Isbozetes (fr. 13.3, also *Greek Anth.* 1.101); a possible new fragment describes importing relics of the True Cross to Constantinople.

ED. *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, ed. R.C. Blockley (Liverpool 1985), with Eng. tr. F. Halkin, "Un nouvel extrait de l'historien byzantin Menandre?" in *Zetesis: Album amicorum E. de Strycker* (Antwerp-Utrecht 1973) 664–67.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Menander Protector," *DOP* 32 (1978) 99–125. O. Veh, *Beiträge zu Menander Protektor* (Fürth 1955). V. Valdemberg, "Le idee politiche di Procopio di Gaza e di Menandro Protettore," *SBN* 4 (1935) 65–85. —B.B.

**MENANDER RHETOR**, or Menandros of Laodikeia (on the Lykos River), fl. late 3rd C. According to the SOUDA, Menander's works included commentaries on HERMOGENES and Minucianus. Two treatises on EPIDEICTIC oratory survive in incomplete form under his name, though they were probably written by different authors. These give rules for speeches on formal occasions, dealing with topics not included in Hermogenes' text-

books but nevertheless very important in the schools of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and later. The first treatise, *Division of Epideictic Speeches*, discusses hymns to the gods and heroes, and ENKOMIA of cities and states. The second and more influential, *On Epideictic Speeches*, contains the rules for the BASILIKOS LOGOS, EPITHALAMION, PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS, MONODY, etc. Speeches of this sort were central to Byz. ceremonial RHETORIC.

Despite a relatively limited MS tradition, Menander's treatises, with their slightly cynical sense of what was appropriate, remained a fundamental rulebook and influenced Byz. authors of all periods. A private letter of the 5th/6th C. (P. Berol. 21849) lists Menander's *technē* among some books required (H. Maehler, *GRBS* 15 [1974] 305–11). Both CHORIKIOS and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA were indebted to Menander, and later rhetoricians, such as JOHN OF SARDIS, JOHN DOXOPATRES, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES (in the *Synopsis of Rhetoric*) all draw on Menander's treatises. Further evidence of Byz. attitudes toward Menander comes from the MSS: in the second treatise they present the chapters in varying sequences, suggesting divergent practice in different Byz. schools. Substantial textual variants in some MSS are best taken as proof that later teachers of rhetoric thought it worthwhile to try to improve Menander's text.

ED. D.A. Russell, N.G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), with Eng. tr. —E.M.J., N.G.W.

**MENAS** (*Μηνᾶς*), legendary saint; feastday 11 Nov. According to ROMANOS THE MELODE, Menas was an Egyptian who served in the army in Phrygia under Diocletian, proclaimed himself Christian in a theater, and was executed. Both Krumbacher and Delehaye (*infra*) assume that Romanos used an earlier, now lost *passio*. Several versions of Menas's martyrdom survive, one ascribed to ATHANASIOS OF ALEXANDRIA; to embellish the story, one hagiographer used the homily of BASIL THE GREAT on Gordios. In these panegyrics Menas is variously said to have been martyred in Kotyaion, Phrygia, in the second year of Diocletian (295) or in Alexandria under Maximinus. In a later legend the idea of Menas's noble origin was introduced (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 667–71). The cult of Menas originated in Egypt, but spread beyond its boundaries. A collection of tales, some of which are ascribed to Timothy, patriarch of

Alexandria, relates Menas's posthumous miracles, including the story of a virtuous Jew (P. Devos, *AB* 78 [1960] 275–308). Another legend reports that Menas's coffin swiftly floated to Constantinople; the relics were allegedly rediscovered at the time of Basil I. Menas was venerated particularly as a protector of pilgrims and merchants. Another Menas is celebrated on 10 Dec. along with Hermogenes and Eugraphos.

**Representation in Art.** Images of Menas have been preserved in stone and ivory as well as on the MENAS FLASKS; probably all reflect originals in his shrine at ABŪ MĪNA. Menas is portrayed as a young ORANS in a short tunic, flanked by two camels. His martyrdom by the sword and his effigy standing within his shrine receiving pilgrims are carved on a 6th-C. ivory pyxis in the British Museum (*Age of Spirit.*, no. 514). In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p. 174), he is celebrated along with three other martyrs—Viktor, Vikentios, and Stephanis—and beheaded; in illustrations to the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, all the men are shown wearing court costume, while Stephanis is omitted.

SOURCES. K. Krumbacher, *Miszellen zu Romanos* (Munich 1907) 44–77. I.V. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie prep. Paisija Velikogo i Timofeja, patriarcha aleksandrijskogo, povestvovanie o čudesach sv. velikomučenika Miny* (St. Petersburg 1900) 62–89, and rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 7 (1900) 736f. H. Delehaye, "L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople," *AB* 29 (1910) 117–50. *Apa Mena*, ed. J. Drescher (Cairo 1946).

LIT. BHG 1250–1271d. R. Miedema, *De heilige Menas* (Rotterdam 1913). G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:3–7. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MENAS**, patriarch of Constantinople (13 Mar. 536–24 Aug. 552) and saint; born Alexandria, died Constantinople; feastdays 25 and 27 Aug. Menas began his career as a priest and *xenodochos* of the hospice of SAMPSON in Constantinople. A legend ascribes to him the healing of Justinian I from a dangerous disease. He was ordained by Pope AGAPETUS I and tried to preserve good relations with Rome, fighting against the Monophysites and the Origenists. In 544 Menas supported Justinian's edict against the THREE CHAPTERS and was temporarily excommunicated by Pope VIGILIUS's legate in Constantinople. By 547–48 the pope agreed to condemn the Three Chapters and the pope's name was restored to the diptychs of Constantinople ahead of the name of Menas (Malal. 484.11–13). In 550, however, Vigilius again excommunicated Menas. Menas was



titled ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (S. Vailhé, *EO* 11 [1908] 66f) and archbishop of "Constantinopolitan Rome" (Dölger, *Byzanz* 94, n.37). Menas supported Justinian in his building activity: he came in an imperial carriage to dedicate both Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles and dedicated the Church of St. Irene in Sykai together with Apollinarios, patriarch of Alexandria.

To Menas was ascribed a speech addressed to Vigilius concerning the one will of Christ that was used by adherents of MONOTHELETISM; at the Council of 680 the codex was investigated and proclaimed a forgery (F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* [Münster in Westfalen 1899] 69). The short vita of Menas (*BHG* 1272) is anonymous and lacking in information. Beck (*Kirche* 408) hypothesizes that it was written by a contemporary.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 232–43. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 9:318f. —A.K.

**MENAS FLASKS**, the largest subcategory of pilgrims' AMPULLAE, issued from the 5th to the 7th C. at the famous complex of St. MENAS at ABŪ MĪNĀ. Made of clay, with a round, flat body, a projecting neck, and a pair of large handles, these crude, mass-produced vessels were used by pilgrims to carry home miracle-working EULOGIA waters, which were dispensed from cisterns at the shrine. Examples have been discovered throughout the Byz. Empire and beyond its frontiers. Most are between 6 and 15 cm in height and bear figural compositions impressed on the front and back. Menas is usually shown in the ORANS attitude, flanked by a pair of kneeling camels. A workshop for the production and storage of such flasks was discovered at the site.

LIT. C. Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1981). C.M. Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen* (Cairo 1910). —G.V.

**MENOIKEION, MOUNT**, located east of SERRES. Menoikeion (τοῦ Μενουικέως) was the site of a monastery of the Prodromos, founded ca. 1275 by the monk Ioannikios (died ca. 1300), future bishop of Ezivai (Ezeva). He was succeeded as superior by his nephew, the hieromonachos Ioakeim (died 1333), who eventually became bishop of Zichnai. Ioakeim enlarged the complex, adding the church and refectory, obtained patriarchal status for the

monastery (1321), and greatly increased its properties so that it became one of the wealthiest in Macedonia. In 1304 he enlisted the patronage of SIMONIS, wife of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN of Serbia; in 1332 *megas domestikos* JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS succeeded her as patron. STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN was also a benefactor of the monastery after his conquest of Serres in 1345. Though in debt and disrepair under Ottoman domination, the monastery survives to this day.

The *typikon* of Ioakeim, revised in 1332, stressed the cenobitic life and denied anchorites entrance to the monastery. Under its unusual collegial system of administration, the *hegoumenos* acted in concert with a council of monks. The early archives of the monastery are preserved in 19th-C. copies of two 14th-C. cartularies (I. Dujčev, *REB* 16 [1958] 169–71). About 50 charters (primarily privileges conferred by Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and Dušan) as well as Greek translations of Turkish documents survive: they give lists of the monastery's properties and reveal the history of its acquisitions. Of special interest are data concerning OIKONOMIAI in the region and the prosopography of local landowners. Numerous MSS produced in the monastery's scriptorium also survive (L. Politis in *Wandlungen, Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst* [Waldsassen 1975] 278–95).

The *katholikon*, a domed basilica, was built in the early 14th C. The frescoes in the naos date from the period of Dušan and his successors, particularly JOHN UGLJEŠA, *despotes* of Serres (1365–71). A portrait of Dušan and his family together with the *ktetor* Ioakeim, who was shown offering a model of his church to a winged John the Baptist, survived in the exonarthex until at least 1761. The chapel of St. Nicholas that contains the grave of Uglješa's sister, Helen, was decorated with frescoes commissioned by her husband Nicholas Radonja between 1358 and 1364. I. Djordjević and E. Kyriakoudis (*Cyrrillomethodianum* 7 [1983] 167–234) proposed that these paintings, as well as others in the outer narthex and some frescoes in the chapel (behind the apse of the *katholikon*) representing the Prodromos and his father, Zacharias, were executed by artists from Thessalonike who went on to work at Hilandar and Vatopedi on Mt. Athos.

SOURCES. M. Jugie, "Le Typicon du monastère du Prodrome au mont Ménécée, près de Serrès," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 25–69. A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*

*sur le Mont Ménécée* (Paris 1955). Facs. ed. I. Dujčev, *Cartulary A of the St. John Prodromos Monastery* (London 1972).

LIT. A. Xyngopoulos, *Hai toichographiai tou katholikou tes Mones Prodromou para tas Serras* (Thessalonike 1973).

—A.M.T., A.C.

**MENOLOGEM** (μηνολόγημα, μηνολόγιον), a formula for dating certain types of ACTS. It consists of a date (month and INDICTION) that serves also as signature, all in the hand of the signatory. The red *menologem* was reserved to the emperor (until the end of the 13th C., to the main emperor only); the black *menologem* was used by the patriarch and by some high prelates, such as the metropolitans of Thessalonike (14th C. onward). According to Dölger-Karayannopulos (*infra*), the *menologem* was used from the 7th C. (the first example in a letter of Constantine IV) to 1394, when the custom was abolished by Manuel II (*Reg* 5, no.3246).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 53, 110f. —N.O.

**MENOLOGION** (μηνολόγιον, from μήν, "month," and λόγος, "catalog"), a collection of VITAE arranged according to the date of each saint's celebration in the church CALENDAR. Although the terminology is by no means consistent in the sources (J. Noret, *AB* 86 [1968] 21–23), a *menologion* should be distinguished both from a SYNAXARION, a collection of simple notices or very short biographies of the saints, and a MENAION, which contains liturgical poems and prayers for the saint's annual celebration. In addition to the vitae, many of considerable length, the *menologion* often contains a few homilies as well, to be read at the same commemorative service. A. Ehrhard (*infra*, 1:21) claims that the mention by THEODORE OF STODIOS of a collection of MARTYRIA in 12 deltoi (PG 99:912B) is the first real evidence for a *menologion*, though it is unclear whether the texts were arranged in any chronological sequence. The earliest surviving *menologia* MSS date from the 9th C. Though various equivalent projects may have been afoot in both the 10th and 11th C. (N.P. Ševčenko, *infra* 3, 216, n.16), the late 10th-C. collection of nearly 150 texts in ten volumes compiled by SYMEON METAPHRASTES was to become the standard edition of the *menologion*; its regular use in monasteries (the texts were read aloud at ORTHROS) is attested by the 12th C.

Symeon's texts, many reworked or abridged, were reassembled once more in the 11th C., to form the so-called "imperial" *menologion*. In this version, each vita is followed by a set of verses acclaiming the emperor; the acrostic of these verses in each case spells "Michael P," thought to be the emperor Michael IV Paphlagon. Some MSS of the "imperial" *menologia* were illustrated in the 11th C.; the illustrations are careful copies not of the miniatures found in MSS of Metaphrastes' *menologion*—the source for the texts—but of those in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (S. Der Nersessian in *Sbornik* . . . V.N. Lazareva 94–111).

ED. "Imperial" *menologion*—B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini* (St. Petersburg 1912; rp. Leipzig 1970). F. Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* (Brussels 1985). F. Halkin, A.-J. Festugière, *Dix textes inédits tirés du ménologe impérial de Kouloumou* (Geneva 1984). F. Halkin, "Les moines martyrs de Sinai dans le ménologe impérial," in *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey (Geneva 1984) 267–73. Idem, *Hagiologie byzantin* (Brussels 1986) 31–46. N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago 1990).

LIT. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1937–52). —N.P.Š.

**MENOLOGION OF BASIL II** (Vat. gr. 1613). This MS, the most lavishly illustrated of all Byz. liturgical MSS, was made sometime after 979 (S. Der Nersessian, *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 104–25) for the emperor Basil II, whose name appears in a dedicatory poem on p.XIII. Its text is not in fact a MENOLOGION at all, but a version of the SYNAXARION of Constantinople for the months of September through February. It has 430 miniatures, one on nearly every page, all with gold background; 15 miniatures lack textual notices and two both their text and title. The absolute balance here between text and image is unparalleled in any other CALENDAR CYCLE: each occupies half a page, and just as each miniature, regardless of content, has been composed to fit a prescribed space, so each Synaxarion text has been modified so as to take up exactly 16 lines on the page. The miniatures include several illustrations of the GREAT FEASTS, the translation of relics, and figures of prophets and saints standing before elaborate architectural settings or in exquisite landscapes. But the vast majority are scenes of martyrdom and torture, astonishing as much for their level of violence as for their extreme refinement of execution and the absence of caricature.



MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. Miniature from the *Menologion of Basil II* (p.324). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The veneration of the chains of St. Peter; miniature by the artist George.

Each miniature is accompanied in the margin by a name in the genitive case; these names, eight in all, are often preceded by the words *tou zographou* ("by the painter") and are presumed to be names of the artists (PANTOLEON, George, Menas, Symeon, Michael the Younger, Nestor, Michael of Blachernai, and Symeon of Blachernai). If this Pantoleon is identical to the painter Pantoleon attested elsewhere, then the *Menologion* would date to the early 11th C. and be contemporary with the Psalter of Basil II (Venice, Marc. gr. 17, now dated to ca.1005 by A. Cutler, *Arte Veneta* 31 [1977] 9–15).

The illustrated "imperial" *menologia* of the 11th C. were clearly meant to imitate the *Menologion of Basil II*. Their miniatures are exact copies of those in the Basil MS, attached to a different set of texts.

ED. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, 2 vols. (Turin 1907).

LIT. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XI (1962), 244–76, and objections A. Frolov, *BS* 26 (1965) 404–08. C. Barsanti, "Le architetture 'ad limitem' del Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. Greco 1613) e la miniatura con la commemorazione del Patriarca Ignazio," *Commentari* 28 (1977) 3–25. P. Angiolini Martinelli, "La mano di Simeone nel Menologio di Basilio II," *Corsi Rav* (1977) 21–42.

—N.P.Š.

**MENOUTHIS.** See KYROS AND JOHN.

**MENTESHE** (Μανταχίας, Μενδεσίας), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It occupied the fertile plain of the river Meander and extended up to the cape of Makre (Fethiye); its main cities were Miletos, Mylassa, and Mugla. The emirate was probably founded by a certain Sal(am)pakis, who fought successfully against the Byz. and ca.1280 conquered Tralles. His successor was probably Mas'ūd, who allied with the Genoese and attacked the Hospitallers on Rhodes and the surrounding islands in 1311. In the 1330s Menteshe, after repeated naval raids, reduced the lords of many Aegean islands and territories to the status of tribute-paying vassals. The emirate established commercial relations with Venetian Crete ca.1300 and concluded with it at least seven treaties, which mention several exported staple goods: agricultural products (mainly cereals), livestock and related products connected with the nomads (cattle, horses, hides), and slaves. During the Crusades against the Aegean emirates (in 1333/4 and in

1343/4), Menteshe appeared more willing to side with the Christians than with its Turkish neighbors. The emirate was temporarily annexed by the OTTOMANS from 1390 to 1402 and permanently in 1421.

LIT. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul 1934). Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*.

—E.A.Z.

**MERARCHES** (μεράρχης), military officer, mentioned in military treatises of the 6th C. He commanded a cavalry division (*meros*) in the assault line. In the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (86.12), the *merarches* is ranked between the STRATEGOS and DOUX. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 109.9) equates *merarches* with TOURMARCHES, as does the *Taktika* of Leo VI (ch.4.8; PG 107:701C). In effect the two offices were merged. Bury (*Adm. System* 42) suggests that in a theme, in addition to two *tourmarchai*, there was a *merarches* who commanded the third brigade but had no geographical district under his administration. The seal of a *merarches* of Knossos (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 201) contradicts this hypothesis.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 109, n.65.

—A.K., E.M.

**MERCENARIES** (μισθοφόροι) were hired by the Byz. throughout their history to secure needed manpower or skills. Germanic mercenaries, attracted by wages and the prospect of advancement, had played an influential role in the late Roman army, and cash taxes obtained from the population in lieu of military service were used to pay for them (Jones, *LRE* 619–23). The expense, coupled with the RECRUITMENT of the provincial armies (*themata*) from local and transplanted populations, reduced the demand for mercenaries between the late 7th and 9th C. The 10th and 11th C., however, witnessed the partial transformation of the Byz. army from an indigenous to a mercenary force. This change in manpower is attributed to the commutation of personal military service (STRATEIA) into cash taxes used to hire mercenaries and the loss of Anatolia in the 11th C., depriving Byz. of its prime source of soldiers.

The multinational armies of the 10th C. amazed the Arabs (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:333, 339); 11th-C. chrysobulls list a wide range of peoples, now including Western soldiers (J. Shepard, *Traditio* 29 [1973] 53–92), in Byz. service, while Turkish mercenaries became prominent in Komnenian and

Nicaean armies. Food and other necessities (perhaps also lodging) were obtained for them from the empire's population through the MITATON. So widespread was the use of mercenaries that in the 12th C. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA declared that the Greeks no longer participated in warfare. In the 14th C. Byz. hired companies of soldiers (such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY) and attempted to retain their services by bestowing rights of PRONOIA (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 8 [1981] 353–71).

Mercenaries served in separate corps and used their own weaponry and methods of warfare, although the Byz. sought to keep these troops under their overall command. The most famous corps was composed of the VARANGIANS who served Basil II as an expert fighting force; foreign corps also served as BODYGUARDS for emperors who could not trust their own soldiers.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 126–40.

—E.M.

**MERCHANT** (ἔμπορος), also *pragmateutes*, denoting a middleman, that is, one who made his living primarily through buying and selling merchandise (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 1.13). In the period through the 6th C., the sources show the existence of a considerable number of merchants engaged in both wholesale and retail trade; recent scholarship has stressed the importance of differentiating between independent middlemen and traders who acted as agents of the state or of the large landowners who disposed of their surplus directly to the consumer. In this period, some rich merchants are attested, both in Alexandria (where one of them is said to have had a fortune of 275 pounds of gold) and in other parts of the empire, as, for example, the merchant from Askalon mentioned in John Moschos (PG 87:3068AB). Merchants, however, occupied a relatively low social position; they were not allowed to hold important offices. The size of their enterprises and their capital was also small relative to that of great landlords. Patristic sources are suspicious of the profession of the merchant, since they consider trade an occasion for sin (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 64:436C).

In the 7th–10th C. the tendency toward self-sufficiency reduced the role of the merchant, although there is no doubt of the continued existence of middlemen, such as the rich merchant



from Chios mentioned in the Miracles of St. Artemios. The RHODIAN SEA LAW (ch.11.11) shows merchants sailing with their wares and even gives evidence of large and precious cargoes being sent by ship. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (ch.11.1) reveals the close connection between trade and manufacturing; CANDLEMAKERS, for example, sold their wares in their own shops. The state controlled some prices and legislated against "unreasonable profit" (ibid., ch.10.2). By the time of Basil II, merchants in regional and local markets appear significant enough to give rise to legislation concerning their participation in FAIRS (Reg 1, no.783). Their formal social status remains low, the *Basilika* (6:1.23) forbidding them access to the senate.

In the 11th C. the merchants of Constantinople acquired both wealth and, for a while, important social status. They were clearly a powerful group, courted by emperors such as Constantine IX, Constantine X, and Nikephoros III Botaneiates; they gained access to the senate, a privilege soon rescinded by Alexios I Komnenos. In the 12th C. merchants had no share in political power; nevertheless, some continued to prosper, as, for example, the money-changer KALOMODIOS. According to Benjamin of Tudela, Byz. merchants in this period sailed as far as Barcelona and Montpellier; they were in search of profit, as noted by Constantine MANASSES (ed. Mazal, bk.9, fr.178). The competition of Italian merchants and the changes brought about by the Fourth Crusade also modified the position and the role of the Byz. merchant.

In the Palaiologan period Byz. merchants engaged primarily in local and medium-distance trade, sometimes independently and in competition with the Italians, sometimes in cooperation with them. Unlike earlier periods, the aristocracy participated heavily in trade, both as investors and as merchants. Women were important as retail traders (A. Laiou, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 233-60), esp. in cloth, but also in alimentary products. They are attested in that role almost continuously, from the time of John Chrysostom until that of IBN BATTUTA (p.160) who wrote that in the "bazaars" of Constantinople "the majority of artisans and sellers . . . are women." In the Palaiologan period, we also find women investing in shops and in relatively long-distance trade.

LIT. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait," *AkadAthPr*

57 (1982) 96-132. W. Ceram, " 'Emporoi' we wczesnobizantyńskie Antiochii," *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis, Folia historica* 23 (1986) 17-28. C.R. Whittaker, "Late Roman Trade and Traders," in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, C.R. Whittaker, *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London 1983) 163-80. N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 63-67. N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal 1979). K.-P. Matschke, "Byzantinische Politiker und byzantinische Kaufleute im Ringen um die Beteiligung am Schwarzmeerhandel in der Mitte des 14. Jh.," *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 2.4 (1984) 75-96. Koukoules, *Bios* 2:204f. —A.L.

**MERIAMLIK** (now Ayatekla), site of the shrine of St. THEKLA outside SELEUKEIA in Isauria. EGERIA, on her pilgrimage in 384, noted several monasteries and the church of the saint, all surrounded with walls for protection against the Isaurians, whose attacks in the early 5th C. caused the church treasure to be removed to Seleukeia for safekeeping. The site contains two major churches: a richly decorated basilica built over the cave where St. Thekla allegedly descended into the earth, dated to ca.375 with redecoration in the 6th C., and a rectangular church with a central tower and an atrium with a large exedra. This latter church, similar in plan to ALAHAN MANASTIRI and others of the region, was apparently dedicated by Emp. ZENO. Meriamlik also contains a necropolis basilica, a bath, and remains of fortifications. Its history after the 6th C. is unknown.

LIT. E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (Manchester 1930). H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:228-41. —C.F.

**MERISMOS** (μερισμός, lit. "division, apportionment"), term used in the Farmer's Law, par.8, in which the review was permitted of a *merismos* that had turned out to "wrong certain people in their lots (*skarphia*) or lands." The text has been interpreted (among others by Lipšic, *infra*) as evidence of the periodic redistribution of land in village communities of the 7th and 8th C. KOSMAS MAGISTROS, however, in the 10th C. applied the term to the division of lands that had been previously used by villagers in common (e.g., as pastures); this interpretation is supported by a charter of 943 referring to the judgment of Kosmas Magistros (*Prot.*, no.6.7-8) and regulating the border between Mt. Athos and Hierissos. E. Lipšic (in

*Zemledel'českij zakon*, ed. I. Medvedev [Leningrad 1984] 148) suggests that the changes made between the 8th and 10th C. were so significant that it is impossible to apply Kosmas's judgment to the interpretation of the Farmer's Law. Even from the Farmer's Law, however, one cannot conclude that there was periodic redivision of the land: on the contrary, par.32 of this document speaks of the *merismos* of "an undivided place."

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 41-46, 178f. E. Lipšic, "Vizantijskoe krest'janstvo i slavjanskaja kolonizacija," in *VizSb* 119f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 80-83. —A.K.

**MERKOURION**, mountainous area in northern Calabria. Merkourion comprised the valley of the Lao, one of whose confluent is still called Mércure. The *kastron* of Merkourion, which no longer exists, gave the name to the homonymous *eparchia*, which might have been a *tourma* of LUCANIA. In the 10th C. the area was famous for its monastic settlements—"a new Thebaid"—which are mentioned in several Calabrian saints' Lives.

LIT. S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples 1963) 47-58, 69f. A. Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1031-1060/1061)* (Vatican 1967) 7-9, 37, n.2. —V.v.F.

**MERKOURIOS** (Μερκούριος, Mercurius, Mar Qurius), saint; feastdays 25 and 26 Nov. His cult is attested by Theodosios Archidiaconos (6th C.) in Caesarea, Cappadocia (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer [Leipzig 1898] 144). By that time a legend had spread (narrated in Malalas, John of Damascus, and Eastern sources) that ascribed to Merkourios the posthumous exploit of killing Emp. JULIAN. The Greek *passiones* preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS present Merkourios as a courageous warrior whom the emperor Decius appointed *stratopedarches* for his heroic deeds against the barbarians (SYMEON METAPHRASTES calls them Scythians); later Decius executed Merkourios for his Christian beliefs. The legends about Merkourios's martyrdom and his assassination of Julian were united only by Nikephoros GREGORAS. Some Syriac texts regard Merkourios as one of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA. In the West the cult of the Cappadocian Merkourios seems to have been conflated with that of Mercurius of Aeclanum, Apulia (feastday 26 Aug.), whose relics were transferred to Beneventum in 768 (H. Delehaye

in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, vol. 1 [Liège 1908] 17-24).

**Representation in Art.** Merkourios was one of the most popular MILITARY SAINTS; his portraits in full armor abound in wall paintings and appear on 10th-C. ivories. In MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, he is more commonly dressed in court costume. He is young, with short brown curly hair and an incipient beard. His martyrdom by beheading is occasionally depicted in *menologia*, and his assassination of Julian (who has fallen from his horse and is speared by the mounted Merkourios) appears in the 9th C., in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.409v).

SOURCES. S. Binon, *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à s. Mercure de Césarée* (Louvain 1937). Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 234-48. *Passione e miracoli di S. Mercurio*, ed. T. Orlandi. Ital. tr. S. Di Giuseppe Camaioni (Milan 1976).

LIT. BHG 1274-1277a. S. Binon, *Essai sur le cycle de saint Mercure* (Paris 1937). W.H.C. Frend, "Fragments of an Acta Martyrum from Q'asr Ibrim," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 66-70. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:10-13. —A.K., N.P.Š.

**MEROBAUDES, FLAVIUS**, 5th-C. general, senator, and Latin orator. Of Frankish origin, Mero-baudes evidently moved to Spain, near the Baetis River. By 435 he was in Ravenna, where he achieved literary and military distinction at the court of Valentinian III. The inscription on an honorific statue at Rome (435) records his titles (*vir spectabilis, comes sacri consistorii*), honoring also his eloquence and military achievements. Mero-baudes himself speaks of attaining the *maximus honor*, either the patriciate (which would have involved a trip to Constantinople) or an honorary consulate. In 443 he began successful campaigns against rebels in Spain but was recalled because of hostile court intrigues. Apart from the *De Christo* (*Anthologia latina*, ed. F. Buecheler, A. Riese, vol. 1.2 [Leipzig 1906] no.878), probably though not certainly his, his occasional pieces in prose and verse honor mainly his patron AETIUS and Valentinian, the imperial family being celebrated in *ekphraseis* of mosaics that depicted them. These *ekphraseis* survive primarily in a damaged palimpsest MS of the 5th/6th C. Now his work is valued more for its historical information about Aetius and Ravennate art than for its literary quality.

ED. F. Vollmer in *MGH AuctAnt* 14:3-20. *Mero-baudes et Corippus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836) 3-18.

LIT. F.M. Clover, *Flavius Mero-baudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary* (Philadelphia 1971). S. Monti, "Per

l'esegesi dei carmi 1 e 2 di Merobaude," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 41 (1966) 3–21. —B.B.

**MESARITES, NICHOLAS**, writer; born ca. 1163/4, died after 1214. By 1200 Mesarites (Μεσαρίτης) held high ecclesiastical office—*skeuophylax* at the Pharos church in Constantinople. He left the capital for Nicaea after his brother John died (5 Feb. 1207) and became metropolitan of Ephesus and exarch of Asia. In 1214 he headed an embassy to Constantinople for talks with Cardinal PELAGIUS; the dialogues with the Latins ascribed to him in this connection appear to be forgeries (G. Spiteris, *OrChrAn* 204 [1977] 181–86). Mesarites belonged to the “school” that questioned the traditional values of Byz. rhetoric and tried to create new aesthetic principles. His speech on the revolt of John KOMNENOS the Fat differed drastically from those of other contemporary orators (Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES, Euthymios TORNIKIOS, and Niketas CHONIATES) as a result of his interest in vivid details and in his own role in the events. In the preamble he parodied the conventions of Byz. writing, including the traditional theme of working under pressure from a friend: according to Mesarites, he wrote his work because people in the street wearied him with their incessant inquiries. In the same way Mesarites described his journey from Pylae to Nicaea, or the fine food with which he was regaled in Constantinople. In his picture of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES he depicted Christ and his disciples in motion and asserted that he even sensed the smell of the sea—in sharp contrast with the conventional, rigid, and motionless presentation by his predecessor CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. Mesarites respected education deeply and described the school at the Holy Apostles in detail, but he disliked pedantry, abhorred the brutality of teachers, and derided the “quotational” method of argument.

ED. *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Würzburg 1907). “Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” ed. and tr. G. Downey, *TAPhS* n.s. 47 (1957) 855–924. A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (rp. London 1973), pt.II.1 (1922), 16–75; pt.II.2 (1923), 15–56; pt.II.3 (1923), 6–54.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 236–55. A. Epstein, “The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: A Reconsideration,” *GRBS* 23 (1982) 79–92. G.J.M. Bartelink, “Homerismen in Nikolaos Mesarites’ Beschreibung der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel,” *BZ* 70 (1977) 306–09. —A.K.

**MESAZON** (μεσάζων), the emperor’s confidant entrusted with the administration of the empire. The word in the plural form *mesiteuontes* and with a nontechnical sense of “principal administrators” is used first by a 10th-C. historian (Genes. 61.90–91). In the 11th–12th C. the term *mesazon* became a semiofficial designation, CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDS being the first to hold the rank. The title could be bestowed on any high official, such as the *logothetes ton sekreton* or *kanikleios*. Under the Palaiologoi the office of *mesazon* was institutionalized, even though pseudo-KODINOS does not assign it a specific rank on the hierarchical ladder; he knows, however, that the *megas logothetes* was supposed to fulfill the *mesastikion*, the duty of *mesazon*. A 15th-C. historian identified the *mesazon* with the Turkish *vezir* (Douk. 141.26). Describing the appointment of Demetrios KYDONES in 1354, Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:285.5–9) emphasized that he lived within the palace not only because of imperial favor but also because, as *mesazon*, he was needed by the emperor “day and night.” Among the *mesazontes* of the 13th–14th C. were Theodore MOUZALON, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Theodore METOCHITES, and John APOKAUKOS. The last known *mesazontes* in Constantinople were Loukas NOTARAS and Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 193) in the 15th C. The office existed also at the courts of Morea, Epiros, and Trebizond; the *mesazon* of Trebizond acquired the epithet *megas*.

LIT. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr* I 441–65. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII (1955), 309–38. J. Verpeaux, “Contribution à l’étude de l’administration byzantine: le *mesazon*,” *BS* 16 (1955) 270–96. Oikonomides, “Chancellerie” 169f. —A.K.

**MESE** (Μέση, lit. “middle [road]”), the central avenue of CONSTANTINOPLE. It started from the Milion, the initial MILESTONE of the empire. The Milion was located on the AUGUSTAION square, in front of HAGIA SOPHIA (its precise location has not yet been determined). A grandiose structure with a dome supported by four arches, it was adorned with imperial statues, including Constantine I and Helena holding a cross and guarded by the Tyche of the city; nearby were the equestrian statues of Trajan and Theodosios II (Janin, *CP byz.* 103f). In the part of the Mese called Philadelphion (according to tradition in honor of Constans I and Constantius II, whose statues were erected there), the street forked: one branch continued northwest, parallel to the GOLDEN HORN,

toward the Gate of Adrianople; another angled southwest, ending at the GOLDEN GATE; one section of this avenue branched off (after the walls of Constantine) and led to the Gate of the Source (PEGE).

The Mese connected the major public squares (forums or AGORAI) of the city: after the Augustaeion came the Forum of Constantine (sometimes simply called the Phoros), which was not rectangular like Roman forums but, according to the *Patria*, imitated the shape of the Ocean or of Constantine’s tent, that is, it was circular in shape. The Phoros was adorned with a marble arch, porphyry columns, and statues, including Constantine and Helena holding a cross, and the Tyche of the city holding the MODIOS as a symbol of correct weight (or perhaps the MODIOLOS crown as conjectured by Dagron, *CP Imaginaire* 185, n.115). Michael I Rangabe ordered the hands of the Tyche to be cut off as a deterrent to popular revolts. Next came the Forum Tauri or the square of Theodosios [I] with the emperor’s statue atop a column and various other monuments; the remains of a marble structure (probably the triumphal arch of Theodosios) were found during the excavations of the square. The location of the Forum Amastrianum has not yet been identified. The texts place it between Philadelphion and the next square, the Forum Bovis (of the Bull), that is, at the beginning of the southwestern branch of the Mese. It contained many pagan statues, among others Zeus-Helios on a chariot of marble, and a pyramid with two bronze hands holding the *modios*. The Forum Bovis (on the southwestern branch of the Mese) took its name from an enormous bronze head of a bull brought from Pergamon and placed there; the square was adorned with porticoes and statues, among which were again Constantine and Helena with a cross. The last forum, the square of Arkadios, was located on the Xerolophos hill and adorned with a column, surmounted by a statue of Arkadios, and surrounded by the statues of other rulers (Theodosios II, Marcian, etc.).

Along the entire Mese were numerous churches and monasteries, of which the best known were the HOLY APOSTLES, St. John Prodromos of PETERA, CHORA, KECHARITOMENE, and Christ Philanthropenos (on the northwest branch), and St. MOKIOS, STODIOS, and DALMATOU (in the area of the southwest branch). Various public buildings (e.g., BASILIKE), baths (of ZEUXIPPOS), palaces, and mansions were constructed along the Mese. Foun-

ains, cisterns, porticoes, statues, and other monuments (e.g., the ANEMODOULION) also lined the course of the Mese. At the same time, the Mese was the main commercial center of the city, with depictions of the *modios* indicating the state control over merchants: workshops of jewelers, candlemakers, fur-merchants, and bakers (Artopoleia), and so forth were located in its vicinity, while the Makros Embolos connected the Artopoleia (between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri) with the harbors of the Golden Horn. Some squares (Amastrianos, Forum Bovis) functioned as marketplaces and also as places of execution.

The avenue (esp. its southwest branch) served as the major artery for imperial processions and triumphs. The emperor usually entered the city through the Golden Gate and then paraded toward Hagia Sophia, being acclaimed at several “stations,” mainly the forums. For these processions the GUILDS were obliged to decorate the Mese and clean the streets and strew them with flowers.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 36–40, 62–72. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 207–17. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 269f. —A.K.

**MESEMBRIA** (Μεσημβρία; Bulgarian Nesebŭr), city on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, 35 km northeast of Burgas, on a small rocky peninsula linked to the mainland by a narrow causeway. Prosperous in Hellenistic times but declining under Roman rule, in the 7th–8th C. Mesembria became an important Byz. naval and military base, a place of exile, and the seat of a bishop. From this period or earlier can be dated two basilicas, including the three-aisled Old Metropolis built of coursed rubble with brick arcades. Captured by KRUM in 812, Mesembria had returned to Byz. allegiance by 860 and continued to play a significant role as a Byz. base. In 1078 a revolt broke out in the city, led by one Dobromir, presumably a Bulgarian. At the end of the 12th C. Mesembria was incorporated in the Second Bulgarian Empire but frequently changed hands in the following two centuries. Despite political instability, the city developed economically; the many late Byz. churches—some built under Byz. patronage, some under Bulgarian—bear witness to its prosperity. Mesembria remained in Bulgarian hands until in 1367 it was captured, sacked, and returned to Byz. control by AMADEO VI of SAVOY. Thereafter it remained a Byz. city until 1452, when Constan-



tine XI ceded it to Janos HUNYADI. In Feb. 1453 Mesembria surrendered to the Ottoman Turks, only three months before the capture of Constantinople.

Many medieval buildings survive, including the two basilicas and seven churches dating from the 11th to 14th C. Especially notable is St. John Aleitourgetos, which, like other churches at Mesembria, is elaborately decorated on the exterior with ceramic ornament in the manner of Apokaukos's church at SELYMBRIA. A cross-in-square building, its ruined BEMA and prothesis chamber retain fragmentary frescoes depicting liturgical scenes. Many of the late Byz. defense works are still visible.

LIT. I. Gülübov, *Nesebūr i negovite pametnici* (Sofia 1961). *Nessebre*, eds. T. Ivanov, V. Velkov, 2 vols. (Sofia 1969–80). A. Rašenov, *Mesemvrijski cirkvi* (Sofia 1932). V. Gjuzelev, "Die mittelalterliche Stadt Mesembria (Nesebār) im 6.-15. Jh.," *BHR* 6.1 (1978) 50–59. N. Oikonomides, "Mesembria in the Ninth Century: Epigraphical Evidence," *BS/EB* 8–12 (1981–86) 269–73. —R.B., A.C.

**MESOPOTAMIA** (Μεσποταμία, "land between the rivers"), geographical name of all the territory between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The name was also used to refer to both a province and a theme in the Byz. Empire.

**PROVINCE OF MESOPOTAMIA.** From the 4th to 7th C., Mesopotamia was a civil and ecclesiastical province of the diocese of ORIENS. It extended from the province of OSRHOENE north and east toward the Tigris and Chaboras rivers. The capital of the province and seat of the *doux* of Mesopotamia with authority over the local *limitanei* was NISIBIS until the mid-4th C. Following Julian's defeat, Jovian ceded to Persia by the treaty of 363 Nisibis, Singara, and lands beyond the Tigris that had been gained by Diocletian in 296–97. Thenceforth the provincial capital was AMIDA and the *doux* of Mesopotamia was stationed at either CONSTANTINA or, later, DARA; other cities included MARTYROPOLIS and Kephas.

War with Persia resumed under KAVĀD, thus compelling Anastasios I to found DARA and fortify other cities; the work continued under Justinian I. In the early 6th C. Mesopotamia was subdivided into three civil and/or ecclesiastical provinces: to the north was Armenia IV, with its capital at MARTYROPOLIS; south of the Tigris was Mesopotamia, with its capital at Amida; and below that

was southern Mesopotamia, whose capital was at DARA and which had jurisdiction over the TUR 'ABDIN. Maurice's alliance with Chosroes II in 591 allowed Byz. to recover certain territories (including DARA) lost to Persia in 573, but the new war (from 605 on) led to further territorial losses until Herakleios destroyed the power of Persia between 623 and 628. Between 633 and 640 the region fell to the Arabs.

LIT. L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris 1962). J.B. Segal, "Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 109–39. —M.M.M.

**THEME OF MESOPOTAMIA.** The Byz. THEME of Mesopotamia was organized to the northwest of the province of Mesopotamia. The date of its formation is unclear: it is usually accepted that Mesopotamia was created between 899 and 911 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349). There is, however, a seal of the *strategos* of Mesopotamia probably dating from 825/6 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.284). Still called a *strategos* in the 10th-C. *Taktikon* of Benešević, the commander of the theme became *DOUX* before 971 or 975. In the 11th C. the theme was commanded by Armenians (GREGORY MAGISTROS and his son Vahram); Michael VII tried to reestablish Greek administration in Mesopotamia (Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 198). By the end of the 11th C. the Seljuks had conquered the region.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 69f. W. Brandes, "Überlegungen zur Vorgeschichte des Thema Mesopotamien," *BS* 44 (1983) 171–77. —A.K.

**MESOPOTAMIA TES DYSEOS** (Mesopotamia "of the West"), Byz. military district mentioned in the Escorial TAKTIKON (Oikonomides, *Listes*, p.269.16). It was probably situated in the Danube delta and/or between the lower Danube and the Dniester, comprising territory conquered from Svjatoslav by John I Tzimiskes in 971. Partly reconquered by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, the territory was later incorporated in the new Byz. theme of PARISTRION. The name may be a translation of "Atelkouzou" (*De. adm. imp.* 38.30, 40.24; i.e., Old Hungarian *Etelküzü*, "between the rivers"). The Byz. fortresses of CAPIDAVA and PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE probably formed part of its defenses. Its capital may have been Little PRESLAV.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Recherches sur l'histoire du Bas-Danube aux X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles: La Mésopotamie de l'Occident,"

*RESEE* 3 (1965) 57–79. I.A. Božilov, "Kŭm vŭprosa za vizantijskoto gospodstvo na dolnija Dunav v kraja na X vek," *Proučvanija po slučaj II Kongres po balkanistika* (Sofia 1970) 75–96. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturica* 2:77. —R.B.

**MESOPOTAMITES** (Μεσποταμίτης, fem. Μεσποταμίτισσα), a family probably originating from Mesopotamos in Epiros (Moritz, *Zunamen* 2:34, n.1) or a place called Mesopotamia. The family became prominent in the late 11th C. as military commanders: Basil, Alexios I's general, was praised by WILLIAM OF APULIA as an experienced warrior; George was *doux* of Philippopolis. Manuel I's contemporary, Nicholas Mesopotamites, was extolled by an anonymous poet for adorning the Virgin's icon (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 185, no.366.16). In the late 12th C. the Mesopotamitai occupied important posts in the civil administration: Constantine the *kanikleios*, Isaac II's favorite, was eulogized by Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES in an unpublished speech (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 226f). As a result of the protection of Empress EUPHROSYNÉ DOUKAINA KAMATERA, Constantine acquired the highest place in the administration of Alexios III, along with his two (unnamed) brothers; Constantine had an ecclesiastical career as well, and Patr. George II XIPHILINOS granted him special permission to serve both state and church. Later he fell from imperial favor and ca.1196–98 was appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike to remove him from the court; he remained metropolitan until sometime between 1222 and 1228. Several Mesopotamitai were civil officials at the end of the 12th C., including Michael, *protonobelissimohypertatos* in 1195. Joseph Mesopotamites was imperial secretary, close to the circle of the Crown Prince Theodore Laskaris, but in 1253 he fell into disgrace and came under investigation (Angold, *Byz. Government* 163). The Mesopotamitai played a substantial role in church administration: Mesopotamites Konstomerēs was metropolitan of Neopatras in the early 13th C.

Some Mesopotamitai bore the name not because they belonged to this family, but because they were monks of the Mesopotamon monastery in Epiros, which is attested in the 11th C. G. Astruc-Morize (*Scriptorium* 37 [1983] 105–59) suggested that Isaac Mesopotamites, the owner of several MSS produced in the mid-13th C. and metropolitan of Smyrna ca.1261, was a monk at Mesopotamon.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *BZ* 56 (1963) 284–96 (and his *Corpus* 5.1, no.464), with corr. V. Grumel, *BZ* 59 (1966) 395. P. Lamma, "Un prostagma inedito attribuito a Isacco II<sup>o</sup> l'Angelo," *Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Modena. Atti e memorie* 5 10 (1952) 248. Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 173–75. *PLP*, nos. 17954–58. —A.K.

**MESOTHYNIA.** See BITHYNIA.

**MESROP MAŠTOC'**, inventor of the Armenian script; born Tarōn mid-4th C., died Vałaršapat 17 Feb. 439 or 440. He is known as Maštoc' in the earliest sources and as Mesrop in the 8th C. and later. Modern writers often combine the names.

After an early career at the Armenian court Mesrop Maštoc' became a hermit. By the end of the century he was engaged in missionary activity in outlying areas, accompanied by a group of disciples. Encouraged by King Vram-Shapuh and Patr. Sahak, he sought help in northern Syria to compose a script. Circa 400, with the help of a Greek calligrapher, Rufinus, he created the Armenian alphabet at Samosata. This was based on the Greek alphabet with extra letters intercalated. The first book translated was the *Proverbs of Solomon*. (See ARMENIAN LITERATURE.)

According to his pupil and biographer Koriun, Mesrop Maštoc' also invented scripts for Georgian and Caucasian Albanian; this is not confirmed by non-Armenian sources. Mesrop Maštoc' spent the rest of his life in missionary activity and in organizing with Sahak the first groups of translators.

SOURCE. Vita by Koriun—*Vark' Maštoc'i*, ed. M. Abelean (Erevan 1941). Eng. tr. by B. Norehad (Delmar, N.Y., 1985).

LIT. P. Peeters, "Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet arménien," *REArm* 9 (1929) 203–37. *Banber Matenadaran* (Erevan) 7 (1964). P.N. Akinian, *Der heilige Mashtotz War-dapet, sein Leben und sein Wirken* (Vienna 1949). —R.T.

**MESSALIANISM**, the ascetic and pietistic movement of the Messalians (Μεσσαλιανοί, from Syriac *mšlān*, "praying people"), also termed Euchitai; it probably originated in Mesopotamia in the 4th C. and spread to Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The Messalians never formed an institutionalized sect, nor did they develop any doctrine or create a hierarchy (J. Gribomont in *Epektasis* [Beauchesne 1972] 611). They expressed the feelings

of radical groups within Christianity: they believed that a demon is encamped in man's soul and that neither baptism nor other sacraments suffice to expel him; only the "baptism of fire" or spiritual purification can liberate men from the power of evil (A. Guillaumont in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* [Paris 1974] 517–23); the instrument of purification is first and foremost PRAYER, through which man attains freedom from passions and the Holy Spirit descends upon him. The leading exponent of Messalianism was MAKARIOS/SYMEON.

Attitudes toward Messalians were ambivalent: on the one hand they were criticized by Ephrem the Syrian, Epiphanius, and later theologians such as John of Damascus and Euthymios Zigabenos; they were condemned by local councils in Side and Antioch in 390 and at the Council of Ephesus in 431. On the other hand, some church fathers such as Eustathios of Sebasteia and Gregory of Nyssa described them with sympathy; extreme monastic asceticism in Syria and Mesopotamia had much in common with Messalian practice.

Both names, Messalians and Euchtai, appear in later antiheretical polemics: Psellos composed a dialogue against Euchtai in Thrace who worshiped Satan (M. Wellenhofer, *BZ* 30 [1929–30] 477–84), and Patr. John XIV Kalekas attacked the "modern Messalians" (Beck, *Kirche* 712). Evidently, these Messalians had no direct connections with the extremist movement of the 4th–7th C.

LIT. I. Hausherr, *Etudes de spiritualité orientale* (Rome 1969) 64–96. A. Louth, "Messalianism and Pelagianism," *StP* 17.1 (1982) 127–35. H. Dörries, "Die Messalianer im Zeugnis ihrer Bestreiter," *Saeculum* 21 (1970) 213–27. R. Staats, *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer* (Berlin 1968). —T.E.G.

**MESSENIA** (Μεσσηνία), a region in the southwestern Peloponnesos bordering on Elis, Arkadia, and the Taygetos mountain chain. The data from the period of the Roman Empire are scarce; among a few inscriptions with names of emperors, the latest is what may be a milestone from Haliartos mentioning Constantine I and his sons (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 5.1 [Berlin 1913] no. 1420); some large estates existed in the western valley (U. Kahrstedt, *Die wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* [Bern 1954] 220–34). The name of the city of Messene is still to be found in HIEROKLES, and the Peloponnesian bishopric of

"Mossina" appears in a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 3:766). In the 7th–8th C. the territory was invaded by the Slavs, who left some traces of their language in local toponymy. Thereafter the name *Messenia* disappears from the sources, with the exception of certain archaizing writers such as pseudo-Sphrantzes, who speaks of the Messeniatic Bay (Sphr. 278.23, 280.4–5). KORONE, METHONE, and, to a lesser extent, KALAMATA were the most important cities; remains of several Byz. and Frankish monuments survive there and elsewhere in Messenia. The most significant fresco program is that at the Church of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege at Samarina, painted ca. 1200 in a style that is already emerging from late Komnenian formulas (C. Scheven-Christians, *Die Kirche der Zoodochos Pege bei Samari in Messenien* [Bonn 1980]).

LIT. A. Orlandos, "Ek tes Christianikes Messenes," *ABME* 11 (1969) 87–114. D. Georgakas, W. McDonald, *Placenames of Southwest Peloponnesus* (Minneapolis 1967). —A.K., N.P.S.

**MESSINA** (Μεσσηνή), from antiquity a port city at the northeastern tip of Sicily controlling the Straits of Messina, the principal crossing from the island to southern Italy. During the Gothic war of Justinian I, Totila occupied Messina briefly in 550, but it remained in Byz. hands through the mid-9th C. Messina acknowledged the ecclesiastical authority of the popes until the 730s; accordingly, the 7th-C. seal of its bishop Theodore bears a Latin legend, while the seal of the 8th-C. bishop Paul is in Greek (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 899–900). The Arabs, acting in alliance with Naples, conquered Messina in 842/3. In 901 a Greek fleet, trying to cut off Arab forces in Calabria from their Sicilian bases, reached Messina, but the Byz. were defeated and lost 30 ships. The Byz. managed to capture the city ca. 976 but were unable to hold it. In 1025, Basil Boioannes led an expedition to Messina but was recalled before he achieved his goal. In 1038 George MANIAKES took Messina, routed the Arabs at nearby Rametta, and occupied several cities including SYRACUSE; he was also recalled, however, and all his acquisitions save Messina were lost. In 1061 the Norman adventurer ROGER (I), brother of Robert Guiscard, seized the city. According to a later account, the Normans were summoned by the Christians in Messina, but, in reality, the garrison of Messina sought

Muslim support against Roger (Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:192–96).

Greeks continued to play a role in Messina after the Norman occupation: the archives of the monastery of S. Maria di Messina contain Greek documents beginning with a deed of purchase dated 1076/7 as well as Latin acts, the earliest of which is the grant of bishop Robert of Troina and Messina of 1103. The *typikon* of the monastery of the Savior (S. Salvatore) in Messina was compiled in Greek by the archimandrite Loukas in 1131. In the 13th and 14th C. merchants from Messina were active traders in the East.

**Monuments of Messina.** Destroyed by an earthquake in 1908 and by bombardment in World War II, Messina has only a few extant medieval monuments. The earliest survivors are S. Annunziata dei Catalani (12th C.?) and, outside the city, S. Maria near Mili San Pietro, founded by Count Roger I around 1092. On the site of the destroyed Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore is the Museo Regionale, displaying objects from the buildings ruined in 1908, including byzantinizing mosaics from S. Gregorio (13th C.); the sarcophagus of Loukas, archimandrite of the PATIR monastery (died 1175); and a marble icon of the Hodegetria copied from an 11th-C. exemplar in Istanbul.

SOURCES. A. Guillou, *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina* (Palermo 1963). M. Arranz, *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* (Rome 1969).

LIT. M. Alibrandi, "Messinesi in Levante nel Medioevo," *ASISic* 21.2 (1971–72) 97–110. S. Prestifilippo and T. Saitta, *Messina artistica e monumentale* (Messina 1974). G. Consoli, *Messina, Museo Regionale* (Bologna 1980). V. Lasareff, "Early Italo-Byzantine Painting in Sicily," *Burlington Magazine* 63 (1933) 279–87. —A.K., D.K.

**METALLURGY**, the extraction of metals from their ores, normally at sites near MINES. The metal was then formed into INGOTS (*mazia*) which were sold to SMITHS for fabrication into metal objects.

**Iron.** Ironmaking in the Roman period was often divided into two states, roasting and smelting. Crushed iron ore was roasted in open furnaces, with wood as fuel, to remove excess water or carbon dioxide. The roasted ore was then smelted, at a higher heat, in small furnaces, using charcoal as fuel. The resulting spongy mass of IRON was then alternately hammered and heated to produce ingots. Remains of furnaces and slag heaps have been found at numerous archaeological sites, for example, in the Crimea (A. Jakobson,

*Srednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1979] 164–68), and in Capidava, Păcuil lui Soare, and Dinogetia (E. Zah, *Pontica* 4 [1971] 191–207). It is sometimes said that before the 14th C. only wrought iron was made, and that the temperatures in the furnaces could not be raised sufficiently high to produce molten cast steel. In the 5th or 6th C. the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria explained the word *kalathos* as a vessel in which iron was melted (R. Halleux, *Le problème des métaux dans la science antique* [Paris 1974] 197).

**Copper.** After being smelted from its ore, it was alloyed with tin to form BRONZE or with zinc to form brass.

**Silver and Gold.** SILVER and GOLD were extracted from lead and other base metal ores by a process called cupellation. They were heated in a furnace to a temperature of about 1,000 degrees centigrade and oxidized with air from a bellows. The extracted metal was very soft and hence was usually alloyed with copper. Sometimes gold nuggets could be panned from streams and needed no further refinement.

LIT. J. Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique des anciens* (Brussels 1977). D. Strong, D. Brown, *Roman Crafts* (London 1976) 12, 127–40. —A.M.T., A.K.

**METALWORK.** The metals most used in Byz. were GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE, LEAD, and IRON. Imitations of gold and silver were obtained by applying gold, silver, and tin leaf to other metals. Related metallic effects were gained by glazes and glosses added to CERAMICS, while GLASS objects copied those in metal—eventually, perhaps, replacing some domestic gold and silver PLATE. Precious metals were sometimes counterfeited, and therefore a touchstone was used by the silversmith to test for purity. Metals were obtained from MINES but were also recycled, particularly for COINS. At least in the 4th C., metals were transported by the state in the form of INGOTS. State metalworking extended to gold, silver, and bronze coins, gold MEDALLIONS, LARGITIO DISHES, JEWELRY, WEAPONS, and ARMOR (including ceremonial armor embellished in gold and silver by the BARBARICARI) and, apparently, from the 4th to the 7th/8th C., certain silver objects marked with imperial SILVER STAMPS. Lead SEALS were produced for civil, military, and ecclesiastical officials of all



ranks. Public and private metalworking establishments functioned simultaneously: the *Book of the Eparch* (Bk. of Eparch 2.1, 11) refers to the independent ERGASTERIA of silver- and goldsmiths in Constantinople and stipulates that the *chrysochooi* be grouped together on the Mese. Coppersmiths (see SMITH) were apparently located near the CHALKOPRATEIA church.

Byz. metalwork generally preserved Roman techniques, with the notable exception of the manufacture of large-scale bronze statuary, which had ceased by the early 7th C. Techniques that did continue included the application of hammered sheets of gold, silver, and bronze to furniture and architectural members as metal REVETMENTS and the related treatment of DOORS. The survival of advanced metalworking techniques is suggested by the existence of AUTOMATA. Smaller scale Byz. metalwork included the production of gold plates used from the 8th C. onward in making ENAMELS; domestic plate, household fittings (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS), UTENSILS, and LITURGICAL VESSELS in silver and bronze produced by both hammering and casting techniques; and forged iron TOOLS. Gold and silver objects display diverse techniques of decoration, for example, raising decoration from the reverse (repoussé) or from the front (engraving and chasing) and openwork (as on the ANTIOCH "CHALICE"); embellishments, included gilding and inlaying of details in NIELLO and encrustation with gems or enameled plaques. Techniques used for jewelry were likewise varied.

In contrast to the investigation of 4th–7th C. silver and bronze, so far very little scientific research has been undertaken on works of the 9th C. and later (M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *BICR* 9–10 [1952] 23–40). It is clear, however, that the size and weight of cast bronzes was reduced and silver usually employed only in thin sheets after the 9th C.; in the 15th C. Bessarion complained that metalwork was no longer to be expected in Byz. The account in *De ceremoniis* of the preparation for the Cretan campaign of 960–61 is extremely useful for the list of implements and weapons it provides, for some information about their cost and the quantity, as well as for the cost of lead, copper, and tin valued in the ratio of 4:18:34 (*De cer.* 675.14–15, 676.2–3). Alchemical MSS may someday provide clues to the composition of alloys, methods of refining metals, and

casting and gilding; for the time being they have been insufficiently studied. (See also METALLURGY.)

LIT. *Argenterie romaine et byzantine*, ed. F. Baratte (Paris 1986). *Roman Crafts*, ed. D. Strong, D. Brown (London 1976). Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 71–119. M. Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* (Paris–The Hague 1974) 9–73, 124–50. —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

**METAMORPHOSIS.** See TRANSFIGURATION.

**METANOIA** (Μετάνοια), female PERSONIFICATION of Repentance (see PENANCE), associated with David's remorse for his sin with Bathsheba (2 Sam 12). Metanoia occurs in the PARIS PSALTER and related MSS (Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, figs. 8, 54) and embodies the sentiment physically conveyed by the king's attitude of PROSKYNESIS. Metanoia is depicted as a classicizing figure, garbed in a chiton and raising one hand to her chin in the Antique gesture of meditation or mourning. —A.C.

**METAPHOR** (μεταφορά, lit. "transference"), a compressed SIMILE in which two objects are juxtaposed by analogy. Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 4:523 [1242.33–35]) states that poetry requires "unusual imagery" (*terastion*), citing as an example *Iliad* 21:388, "heaven trumpeted." "Had [Homer] said 'heaven thundered,' it would not have the effect of a paradox," comments Eustathios. In the wake of antique classification, the Byz. used metaphors aimed at the animation of the material world (*apo empsychon eis apsyncha*), so that, for example, arrows would be called bloodthirsty. Especially important was metaphor in relation to religious objects or persons worthy of veneration: the Virgin was the new Eve, *ekklesia*, a well, crown, rose, burning bush, rod of Aaron, closed garden, and so on; the cross (according to Germanos II) was the throne of God, a ladder to heaven, the imperial scepter, the altar, the couch of the Lord, and so on (PG 140:637B–640A). The effect of metaphors was enhanced by their agglomeration, exaggeration, and conjunction with puns. On the other hand, traditional and "stable" metaphors (e.g., "time rides by") were not perceived as such. Vestiges of popular everyday metaphors, including references to sexual and bodily functions, are infrequent in "pure"

literary texts; an example is found in Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 473.58–59) who makes Ivanko complain about his young bride, "Why do you give me a suckling kid to cover when I am in need of a full-grown goat?"

LIT. S. Mrozek, "Les phénomènes économiques dans les métaphores de l'antiquité tardive," *Eos* 72 (1984) 393–407. Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:285–91. —A.K.

**METATORION** (μητατόριον; also *mitatorikion*, etc.), a room in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and perhaps other churches. The term first appears in THEODORE LECTOR (127.26–27), who relates that some conspirators attacked Patr. Euphemios (489–95) "in front of the *metatorion*." According to the *Narrative on the Construction of Hagia Sophia* (Preger, *Scriptores* 104.1–3), Justinian I erected a *metatorion*, that is, a chamber (*koiton*), paneled with gold, where he "might rest whenever he went to the church." In the *Book of Ceremonies* Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos often mentions the *metatorion* as a chamber in the Great Church that "the lords" enter during great feasts (*De cer.* 566.1–4); after taking communion in a chapel, the emperor moved into the *metatorion* (88.10–11); here he changed his clothes (192.18–19) and took breakfast together with his *megistanes* and senators (18.2–4). This implies that the *metatorion* was a substantial space housing a suite consisting of a narrow *triklinos* (the place for breakfast), the *metatorikion* proper, and a *koiton* (109.21–23). The precise location of the *metatorion* is not clear: Constantine variously describes it as situated near the bema and altar (17.12, 145.16–17), behind the gate of the narthex (64.4–5), or in the gallery (157.16); even more enigmatic is the evidence of chroniclers (e.g., *TheophCont* 370.18–20) that when Nicholas I Mystikos prohibited Leo VI from entering Hagia Sophia, the emperor went to the *metatorion* "via the right side."

This diversity of evidence in the sources has resulted in diversity of scholarly opinions: there is disagreement as to whether there were one, two (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 256, n.192), or even three (Strube) *metatoria*; and whether it was housed in the southeast exedra (Majeska, *Travelers* 228) or in the south nave (Strube), or inside or outside the church (D.F. Beljaev, *Byzantina* 2 [St. Petersburg 1893] 128). In the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes the term is attached to a domed structure in which Leo VI reads Samonas's attack on icons

(Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.268). Attempts to identify certain parts of excavated churches as *metatoria* (D. Pallas, *EEBS* 20 [1950] 295–307) are highly hypothetical (P. Lemerle, *REB* 10 [1952] 185).

LIT. Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* 72–81. J.B. Papadopoulos, "Le mutatorion des églises byzantines," in *Mém.L.Petit* 366–72. —A.C.

**METEORA** (from μετέωρος, "floating in the air"), a group of monasteries built on rocky spires in northwestern Thessaly near STAGOI. The spectacular outcrops of this region, from 200 to 300 m high, are formed of eroded conglomerate and riddled with caves that provided shelter for the hermits who first settled there. Organized monasticism developed quite late at Meteora; its first attested establishment was the early 14th-C. skete at Doupiane under the supervision of a PROTOS. A number of Athonite monks moved to Meteora to escape Turkish pirate raids. The oldest surviving church is the *katholikon* in the rock-cut monastery of the Hypapante, built, according to a later inscription, in 1366/7. Its well-preserved decorative program (T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age* [Paris 1977] 201f) includes sainted local bishops such as Achilleios of Larissa and Oikoumenios of Trikkala. The most important monastery at Meteora was the Great Meteoron, dedicated to the Transfiguration and founded by ATHANASIOS OF METEORA in the late 14th C. The second founder of the Meteoron was John-Ioasaph Uroš (1373?–1423?), son of SYMEON UROŠ, "emperor" of the Serbs and Greeks in Thessaly; he eventually became head or "father" of the Meteoron. The cross-in-square church that he founded in 1388 now serves as the bema for the 16th-C. *katholikon*. The monasteries of St. Stephen and St. Nicholas Anapausas were also founded in the late 14th C., Hagia Trias in 1476; the Church of St. Nicholas Anapausas, built in 1527, has frescoes by Theophanes of Crete. Other monasteries, including Barlaam, Rousanou, and Prodromos, were post-Byz. foundations of the 16th C. when the Meteora were at the height of their prosperity and provided a bastion of Orthodoxy during the Turkish occupation of Greece.

SOURCES. N.A. Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 191–332. S. Lambros, "Symbolai eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *NE* 2 (1905) 49–156.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *Meteora, The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London 1975). N.A. Bees, *Ta cheirographa ton Meteoron kodikon ton apokeimenon eis las monas ton Meteoron* (Athens 1967). G.A. Soteriou, "Hai monai ton Meteoron," *EEBS* 4 (1927) 382-415. N. Nikonanos, *Meteora. Ta monasteria kai he historia tous* (Athens 1987). —A.M.T., A.C.

**METER.** Though the distinction between long and short syllables in Greek had been disappearing since at least the 2nd C. B.C., educated writers of POETRY in the first Byz. centuries still seemed able to appreciate the difference and the ancient metrical patterns based on it. The number of meters used, however, was reduced to HEXAMETER, elegiac couplet (hexameter + pentameter), iambic trimeter, and ANACREONTIC. SYNESIOS of Cyrene was the last poet to make extensive use of the other classical meters. In the surviving meters there was also a tendency to regulate the number of syllables and the position of some word-accent, particularly at the ends of lines. In the 6th C. the wide use of these meters was clearly archaizing, but seems to represent the last throes of a dying tradition, rather than the revival of a dead one. The use of the hexameter after the 7th C., however, appears to be a purely artificial genre exercise. Iambic trimeters and Anacreontics evolved in the same way, but more gradually.

The archaic meters were replaced by two kinds of rhythmical forms, based on word-accent rather than length of syllable: the ecclesiastical (esp. in the KONTAKION and the KANON, showing response of rhythmical patterns between whole strophes) and the rhythmical line. The three most common repeated lines are of 15, 12, and 8 syllables, forming POLITICAL VERSE, the DODECASYLLABLE, and the Byz. Anacreontic, respectively. Political verse has some similarities with the late hexameter, but is unlikely to have developed from it; the other two forms clearly grow out of the ancient iambic trimeter and Anacreontic. As the influence of the rhythmic meter first began to be felt, the poets remained anxious to keep up the ancient patterns—what has been called the "historical orthography of versification," a meaningless symbol of poetic proficiency. Thus much 12- and 8-syllable verse of the 9th to 12th C. tries to satisfy the archaic demands for a pattern of long and short syllables, and also to place word-accent correctly for the contemporary ear. Only political verse, and some later 12- and 8-syllable verse, was written without serious regard for the pattern of syllable quantities.

LIT. P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962). F. Dölger, "Die byzantinische Dichtung in der Reinsprache," *Eucharisterion* (Thessalonike 1961) 1-63. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:89-97. —M.J.J.

**METHODIOS**, bishop of Olympos in Lycia, perhaps also of Patara, Philippi, and Tarsos; saint (martyred ca. 311); feastday 20 June. His one extant work is the *Symposium* or *On Chastity*, a dialogue in which ten maidens extol their purity, in contrast to the celebration of Eros in Plato's *Symposium* (T. Miller in *Antichnost' i Vizantiya* [Moscow 1975] 175-94). Two main themes are Origenist asceticism and Irenaeian recapitulation. Attached as postlude is his *Partheneion* (Maidens' Song—the Greek title perhaps deliberately recalls Alcman), a hymn to Christ, Mary, and the Church (virginity again the connecting theme), in iambic strophe with acrostics and refrain, the first Greek forerunner of the KONTAKION. Methodios was also an active polemicist, attacking Origenist notions of the human body and time in a treatise on the resurrection (*Aglaophon*) and Gnostic fatalism in an essay on free will (I. Dujčev, *Balkanica* 8 [1977] 115-27); extracts from the Greek text survive. His Plotinian view of time and his development of a dualism between historical and eternal existence, akin to Plato's form-matter dichotomy, have been seen as a critical influence on the theology of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS (B. Otis, *DOP* 12 [1958] 118-20). Other works, mainly scholarly exegesis of Old Testament lore, survive only in Church Slavonic translations. The lost work most to be regretted is probably his refutation of PORPHYRY. (See also **METHODIOS OF PATARA, PSEUDO-**.)

ED. PG 18:9-408. *Le Banquet*, ed. H. Musurillo, V. Debidour (Paris 1963), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. H. Musurillo, *The Symposium* (Westminster, Md., 1958).

LIT. H. Musurillo, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 1109-17. V. Buchheit, *Studien zu Methodios von Olympos* (Berlin 1958). Idem, "Das Symposium des Methodios arianisch interpoliert?" in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. F. Paschke (Berlin 1981) 109-14. C. Riggi, "Teologia della storia nel Simposio di Metodios di Olimpo," *Augustinianum* 16 (1976) 61-84. —B.B.

**METHODIOS**, missionary to the Slavs and saint; born Thessalonike ca. 815, died 6 Apr. 885; feastday 6 Apr. His baptismal name was perhaps Michael. The brother of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER, Methodios began his career as an administrator, serving as *archon* of a "Slavic prin-

cipality" in Macedonia. About 850 he abandoned his wife and withdrew to Mt. OLYMPOS in Bithynia, where he eventually became *hegoumenos* of the "Polychron" (= Gr. Polychronios?) monastery and perhaps was ordained a priest. He may have accompanied Constantine on his trip to Khazaria in 861. Emp. Michael III sent Methodios and Constantine to MORAVIA in 863. The extent to which Methodios helped Constantine create the GLAGOLITIC alphabet and translate Greek texts into CHURCH SLAVONIC is unclear. He journeyed with Constantine to Rome in 867, and in 869 Pope HADRIAN II consecrated him bishop.

Returning to Pannonia and Moravia in 870, Methodios was arrested by the Franks, tried, and imprisoned in Swabia. After being released in 873, he worked hard to organize a native church in Moravia, despite pressure from the Franks, who forced him to go to Rome in 879 to defend his orthodoxy. He returned to Moravia in 882 via Constantinople, where he obtained support for his efforts from PHOTIOS. According to his Life, probably written by KLIMENT OF OHRID, in 884 he completed translating the Bible. Other translations attributed to him after Constantine's death include "patristic books," the SYNAGOGUE OF 50 TITLES of John III Scholastikos (see NOMOKANON), and a *kanon* for the office of St. Demetrios. The many liturgical works available in Church Slavonic after his death, including the Triodion, Heirmologion, and Oktoechos, may have been translated under his direction. He may also have composed Constantine's vita.

SOURCES. Vita in T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego* (Poznań 1959) 97-121. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis: Fontes* (Zagreb 1960).

LIT. K. Bonis, "Ein weiterer Beitrag zur Frage der Abstammung der Slawenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:41-57. A.A. Alekseev, "K opredeleniju ob'ema literaturnogo nasledija Mefodija," *TODRL* 37 (1983) 229-55. K. Gamber, "Der Erzbischof Methodios von Mähren vor der Reichsversammlung in Regensburg des Jahres 870," *OstSt* 29 (1980) 30-38. *Methodiana* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1976). I. Dujčev, "Zur Biographie des Erzbischofs Methodios," in *Serta Slavica in memoriam Aloisii Schmaus* (Munich 1971) 140-43. See also bibl. for CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. —P.A.H.

**METHODIOS I**, patriarch of Constantinople (4 Mar. 843-14 June 847) and saint; born Syracuse second half of 8th C., died Constantinople; feastday 14 June. A son of influential parents, Methodios went to Constantinople to continue his education but instead entered the CHENOLAKKOS

MONASTERY in Bithynia; he subsequently became *hegoumenos* either there or in another monastery. After 815 Methodios traveled to Rome, probably as a representative of the deposed patriarch NIKEPHOROS I; upon his return in 821, he was arrested and exiled by the Iconoclast government. Released in 829 he assumed importance at the court of Theophilos; elected patriarch after the latter's death, Methodios was instrumental in the restoration of icon veneration in 843 (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Difficult political problems ensued: while Methodios tried to be moderate toward former Iconoclasts, the radical Stoudites urged him to inflict severe punishments on heretics; they criticized Methodios for his defense of the opportunistic patriarchs TARASIOS and Nikephoros. These attacks by the extremists forced Methodios to excommunicate and confine some intransigent monks (I. Doens, C. Hannick, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 93-102). The patriarch's attitude toward the West is poorly known; it is worth attention that his name was inscribed in the Reichenau *Liber confraternitatum* alongside that of the local abbot Heito who resigned in 822/3 (H. Lowe, *DA* 38 [1982] 341-62).

A well-educated man, Methodios is known as a copyist of MSS (P. Canart in *Palaeographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica* 1 [Rome 1979] 343-53) and a writer; his own writings include polemical, liturgical, and hagiographical works (e.g., biographies of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and EUTHYMOS OF SARDIS), poetical *kanones*, and homilies. The authorship of some works attributed to Methodios (e.g., a vita of St. Nicholas) remains contested. The vita of Methodios (*BHG* 1278) is anonymous and poor in information.

ED. For list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexicon* 524f.

SOURCE. *Vita Methodii*—PG 100:1243-62.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 414-43. V. Laurent, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1597-1606. J. Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites," *REB* 45 (1987) 15-57. V. Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche saint Méthode," *EO* 34 (1935) 385-401. A. Frolov, "Le Christ de la Chalcé," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 107-20. —A.K.

**METHODIOS OF PATARA, PSEUDO-**, pseudepigraphic author of an APOCALYPSE. The text was attributed to the 4th-C. bishop of Patara in Lycia (martyred in 311) but was actually written in the 7th C. It is preserved in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Old Slavonic versions. The text consists of two parts: historical, from Adam to the foundation of the Byz. Empire (which is linked to



relatives of Alexander the Great); and prophetic, describing the Arab conquest and their future defeat by the Byz. The consensus is that the text was written in Syriac (even though Syriac MSS are of later origin), probably in Mesopotamia, although M. Krivov (*VizVrem* 44 [1983] 215–21) hypothesizes that it was produced in a milieu of Syrian refugees in Byz. Apocalyptic in its essence, the text is hostile toward the Arabs and full of anticipation of their defeat. The major difficulty in its interpretation is the statement that the Byz. victor over the Arabs will issue forth from the Ethiopian sea: M. Krivov (*VizVrem* 38 [1977] 120–22) interprets this as an indication of a Greco-Ethiopian alliance against the Arabs, P. Alexander (*ADSV* 10 [1973] 21–27; *AHR* 73 [1968] 1006f) as a replacement of the traditional expectation of Ethiopian triumph by the hope of Byz. victory. The Latin version is known from MSS of the 8th C. In Byz. the prophecy became esp. popular from the 14th C. onward—the Greek version survives in four redactions in 14th–17th-C. MSS.

ED. *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*, ed. A. Lolos (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios*, ed. A. Lolos (Meisenheim am Glan 1978).

LIT. F.J. Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period," vol. 1 (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic Univ. of America, 1985). G.J. Reinink, "Ismael, der Wildesel in der Wüste," *BZ* 75 (1982) 336–44. —J.L., A.K.

**METHONE** (Μεθώνη), or Modon, city of MESSANIA in the far southwest corner of the Peloponnesos, an important naval station on the route between the Aegean Sea and Italy. Attested as a city in late antiquity (Hierokl. 647.17), it was visited by Belisarios on his way to North Africa in 533. Methone apparently survived the Slavic invasions more or less intact, and it was undoubtedly strongly fortified. The city suffered considerably from Arab devastation in the 9th–10th C., although it did receive refugees from other parts of the empire; in 881 the Byz. admiral NASAR donated the booty he took from the Arabs to the church of Methone (*TheophCont* 304.13–14). The city apparently prospered during the 11th–12th C., but it also became the lair of pirates, and the Venetians attacked it in 1125 and destroyed the walls. Methone played a crucial role in east-west trade and it was one of the ports that Alexios III opened to Venetian traders in 1198. To many of the Crusaders the Peloponnesos was known as the

*isle de Modon* (ROBERT OF CLARI 111), reflecting the central role the city played for many Westerners; GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN landed at Methone in 1204 and began his conquest of the Peloponnesos there. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE, however, granted Methone to Venice and, along with KORONE, Methone remained under Venetian control (despite struggles with the despotate of the MOREA) until 1500, when it fell to the Ottomans.

The bishop of Methone was originally subject to Corinth (*Notitiae CP* 3.762), but by the 10th C. he was a suffragan of PATRAS (7.551). The best known bishops were St. Athanasios of Methone (late 9th–early 10th C.) and NICHOLAS OF METHONE, who provided an interesting contemporary description of the city (J. Dräseke, *BZ* 1 [1892] 445). The Venetian overlords retained the Greek bishop of Methone, who in 1301 was under the jurisdiction of Monemvasia (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:482).

The walls of Methone are primarily Venetian in date, but they are mostly built on Byz. foundations and many Byz. *spolia* are used in them. Near the city is a Christian catacomb of St. Onouphrios, similar to some in Sicily and southern Italy, dating from the 4th C. (D. Pallas, *ArchEph* [1968] 119–73).

LIT. N.G. Kotsires, *Symbole sten historian Methones* (Athens 1977). G. Soulis, "Notes on Venetian Modon," *Peloponnesiaka* 3–4 (1958–59) 267–75. S.B. Luce, "Modon—A Venetian Station in Mediaeval Greece," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of E. Kennard Rand* (New York 1938) 195–208. Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, "He Methone, stathmos sta taxidia byzantinon autokratoren ste Dyse," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985/6) 97–107. Andrews, *Castles* 58–83. —T.E.G.

**METHYMNA.** See LESBOS.

**METochION** (μετόχιον), a monastic establishment (usually small), subordinate to a larger independent monastery. The word is not found in papyri and was probably not in use before the 9th C. *Metochia* were frequently founded in the countryside near monastic properties located at some distance from the monastery, to facilitate the supervision of the estates. They were also established in cities as an urban base of operations for the monastery and as a residence for monks visiting the city for business or other purposes.

As few as one or two monks might live in a *metochion* on a permanent basis; they were under the jurisdiction of the *hegoumenos* of the controlling monastery and followed its rule. A *metochion* had its own church or chapel, and sometimes, as at the SKOTEINE MONASTERY, owned a significant number of liturgical books and sacred vessels. Especially in the later period, a monastery in decline might be transformed into the *metochion* of a more prosperous monastery; an example is the monastery *tu Hagiopatitou*, which was transformed in 1257 into an *agros* belonging to another monastery (*Koulloum*, no.2.8).

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 8, 100, 192, 313f. S. Vailhé, *DTC* 3 (1939) 1418. M. Freidenberg, "Monastyrskaja votčina v Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *Učenyje zapiski Velikolukskogo pedinstitutu* 4.2 (1959) 62f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 67f. —A.M.T.

**METochITES** (Μετοχίτης), an important family of the Palaiologan era whose name derived from METochION (cf. also modern Greek *metochites*, "monk of a *metochion*"). George Metochites (born ca.1250) was archdeacon in Constantinople (1276–82) and went as an ambassador to several popes between 1275 and 1278. A supporter of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES and friend of Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS, he was dismissed and imprisoned in early 1283. While in prison, where he died in 1328, he wrote several theological works, including the so-called *Dogmatic History*, in which he relates the theological controversies that followed the Council of Lyons in 1274.

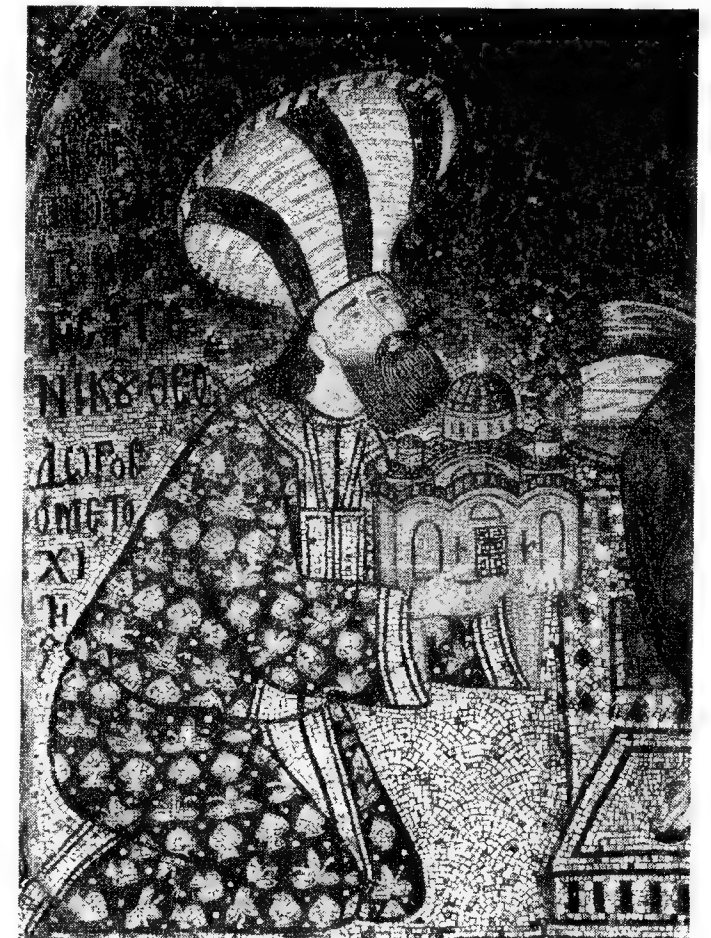
His son Theodore (see METochITES, THEODORE), the renowned statesman and writer, had five sons, who also took part in administration, esp. as governors and generals: Demetrios Angelos Metochites (fl.1326–55); Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites (*megas logothetes*, 1355–57); Michael Laskaris (ca.1326); Alexios Laskaris Metochites (*megas domestikos*, 1355–69); and the fifth son whose name is unknown. Theodore's daughter Irene married John Palaiologos (caesar, after 1325). The exact relationship of some other, later members of this family is unknown: Manuel Raoul Metochites in Mistra (1362–80), correspondent of the writer Manuel RAOUL; Laskaris Metochites (*megas chartoularios* in Thessalonike, 1373–76); Andronikos Metochites (*archon* in Thessalonike, 1421); and Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, *megas stratopedarches* (1444–53) and gover-

nor of Constantinople, who died together with his sons during the Turkish conquest of 1453.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 5972, 17976–86. V. Laurent, "Le dernier gouverneur byzantin de Constantinople: Démétrius Paléologue Métochite, grand stratopédarque," *REB* 15 (1957) 196–206. —E.T.

**METochITES, THEODORE**, statesman, scholar, and patron of the arts; born 1270, died Constantinople 1332. Son of the pro-Unionist George METochITES, he followed his father into exile in Asia Minor in 1283. Despite this serious handicap to a future government career, Metochites, who maintained orthodox views, came to the attention of Emp. ANDRONIKOS II in 1290 because of his unusual scholarly attainments and entered imperial service. The *cursus honorum* of Metochites included the positions of *logothetes ton agelon*, *logothetes ton oikeiakon* (1295), *logothetes tou genikou* (1305), and *megas logothetes* (1321). He was also

METochITES, THEODORE. Portrait of Metochites as a donor; mosaic. Inner narthex of the Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.



entrusted with the delicate negotiations for the marriage of MICHAEL IX to Rita-Maria of Armenia (1295) and of the child-princess SIMONIS to the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN (1298/9). From 1305 onward Metochites held the important office of MESAZON, or prime minister, replacing his rival Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. Because of his close ties with Andronikos II, he shared in the elderly emperor's downfall in 1328. He was imprisoned, his palace destroyed, and his vast wealth confiscated. After a miserable period of exile in Didymoteichon, he returned in 1330 to Constantinople, where he ended his days as the monk Theoleptos at the monastery of CHORA.

Statesman by day, Metochites devoted his evenings to scholarly pursuits. He was a prolific and versatile author, who wrote commentaries on Aristotle, miscellaneous essays, an *Introduction to Astronomy*, orations, hexameter poems, and hagiographical *enkomia*. All of his writings except his letters are preserved; much remains unpublished, however, because of his notoriously obscure style. Metochites devoted much attention to classical antiquity, writing essays on ancient Greek history and comparing DEMOSTHENES to Ailios ARISTEIDES. He was somewhat overwhelmed by the ancient heritage, arguing that nothing was left for his generation to write about. He was conscious of the decline of the empire, realizing that Byz. was one in a series of world empires; like a living organism it had periods of growth, prosperity, and decay. He emphasized the instability of human life, but hoped to gain immortality through his literary endeavors.

Metochites was an avid collector of books. The scope of his library is reflected in the allusions to more than 80 ancient authors in his writings. He donated his library to the Chora monastery, whose church he restored between 1316 and 1321. His mosaic portrait is preserved in a lunette panel in the church's inner narthex.

ED. *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. C.G. Müller, T. Kiessling (Leipzig 1821; rp. Amsterdam 1966). *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites*, ed. M. Treu (Potsdam 1895). R. Guiland, "Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 265-302. For further ed., see Hunger, *Lit.* 1:192f, 2:248f.

LIT. H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites: Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1952). I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels 1962). Idem, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:17-91. E. de Vries-

van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam 1987).  
-A.M.T.

**METROKOMIA** (μητροκωμία, lit. "mother-village," perhaps formed on the model of *metropolis*); a rare term that designated a type of rural district. Interpretation of the term varies: a privileged village (Gelzer, *Verwaltung Ägyptens* 75, 78), administrative center of a region-*pagus* (A.C. Johnson, L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* [Princeton 1949] 325), tax district (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 8, n.2). The term is known from inscriptions in Syria (e.g., Dittenberger, *Orientalis* 2, no.609) and Egypt (no.769, the reign of Diocletian) but not from papyri. The edict of 415 (*Cod.Theod.* XI 23.6) established that only fellow villagers (*convicani*) could possess lands there and no PATROCINIUM could be imposed upon *metrokomiai*. The term reappears in 10th-C. legislation: a novel of Romanos I (Zepos, *Jus* 1:201.5-8) refers to an "old law" (probably that of 415) forbidding sales of land to persons other than the inhabitants of the same *metrokomia*; a novel of Constantine VII of 947 (1:217.15-18) allows the purchase of land only by fellow villagers (*synchoritai*) and, in case of emergency, by villages (*choria*) of the same *metrokomia* or *kometoura*. The term was not employed in charters.  
-M.B.

**METROLOGY**, the study of the MEASURES used for length, surface, volume, weight, and time, along with the relationships among these. This study is based on various literary texts, including both theoretical works and practical texts, and on surviving items such as coins, weights, and buildings (all of which presuppose standards of measurement). A primary problem in the interpretation of the texts is the use of one term for different measures and, vice versa, the use of different terms for the same measure; in addition, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between theory and practice and to determine which standards were actually in effect at a given time. This is exacerbated by the existence of numerous local systems, many of which had no connection with the official standard. In addition, Byz. systems of measurement grew out of ancient practice, and many ancient names survived when the medieval reality had changed totally. The state maintained control over measures and, although standard measures were commonly made available to the

public to facilitate trade and commerce, they are not always easy to determine today.

SOURCES. F. Hultsch, *Metrologorum scriptorum reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1864-66). E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen*<sup>2</sup> (Thessalonike 1982).

LIT. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970).  
-E. Sch.

**METRON** (μέτρον), measure of capacity of liquids; synonymous terms are *mistaton*, *mitro*, and *mirro* (It.). Different *metra* were used depending on whether wine and water or oil was being measured and on the purpose of measuring.

1. From the 9th C. onward the most important wine measure was the *thalassion metron* (generally called simply *metron*), of 1/10 MEGARIKON (= 10 *minai* = 10.25 liters), which can be filled with 30 *logarikai litrai* of white wine or 32 *logarikai litrai* of water. Besides this standard measure, other *metra* are preserved: the *annonikon metron* (= 2/3 *thalassion metron* = 6.8 liters), the *monasteriakon metron* (= 4/5 *thalassion metron* = 8.2 liters), and other *metra* of local validity.

2. For oil the *thalassion metron*, sometimes called *elaikon metron* or simply *metron* (= 1/12 *megarikon* = 1.5 *lagenia* = 8.52 liters), can be filled with 30 *soualiai litrai* or 24 *logarikai litrai* of olive oil. Its ratio to the corresponding wine measure is 5:6.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 141-53.  
-E. Sch.

**METROPHANES** (Μητροφάνης), politician and writer; metropolitan of Smyrna (ca.857-80). A staunch supporter of Patr. IGNATIUS, Metrophanes was exiled in 860. According to F. Dvornik (in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 9 [1967] 758), Metrophanes went to Cherson, where he met CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS on their way to Khazaria; he eventually informed ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS that Constantine had discovered St. Clement's relics. Restored after PHOTIOS was deposed, Metrophanes refused to recognize Photios in 879/80 and was excommunicated by the pope's legates. His letter to Manuel, *logothetes tou dromou*, is an important source for the struggle between Photios and Ignatios (Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 43f). Metrophanes also wrote an *enkomion* of St. Polykarp of Smyrna, several exegetical works (the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* is preserved only in Georgian), an Anacreontic hymn on the Trinity (Mercati, *CollByz* 1:443-51), etc.

ED. Mansi 16:413-20. For list of other works, see Beck *infra*.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 543f.

-A.K.

**METROPOLITAN** (μητροπολίτης), the head of the episcopate in an ecclesiastical territory normally coinciding with a civil *provincia* (*eparchia*). The title, first employed by NICAIA I, is derived from the capital (*metropolis*) of the province, in which the metropolitan-bishop resided. This administrative division of the church (already fully developed by the 4th C.) was officially sanctioned at Nicaea I. The same council also legitimized the metropolitan's right to confirm all episcopal elections within his territory (canon 4). The ordination itself was to be performed by all the bishops of the province. As supervisor of his territory, the metropolitan convoked and presided over the provincial synod, which as a rule was held twice yearly (cf. Nicaea I, canon 5). Some bishops without suffragans were nevertheless given the title metropolitan, and some metropolitans (e.g., of Athens, Thessalonike, Ephesus) were also called ARCHBISHOPS.

LIT. G.M. Rhalles, "Peri tou axiomatos ton metropoliton," *AkadAthPr* 13 (1938) 755-67. E. Herman, "Appunti sul diritto metropolitico nelle Chiesa bizantina," *OrChrP* 13 (1947) 522-50. P. Giduljanov, *Mitropolity v pervye tri veka christianstva* (Moscow 1905).  
-A.P.

**MEZIZIOS** (Μεζίζιος, Arm. Mžēž), an Armenian probably of the princely Gnuni house (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 135); *patrikios* and *komes* of the Opsikion; usurper. He accompanied CONSTANS II to Italy and in Sicily was proclaimed emperor following Constans's murder in 668. The revolt of Mezizios ended in early 669, but scholars disagree on the circumstances. Most accept the report of Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 352.4-7) that Constantine IV personally led a fleet to Sicily, where he captured and executed Mezizios and his father's murderers. Others (following E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 455-59) believe the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:346) that troops from Italy and Africa suppressed the rebellion and sent Mezizios's head to Constantinople. Mezizios's son John also revolted against Constantine IV but was defeated and killed.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:8-14. W. Hahn, "Mezezius in peccato suo interiit," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 61-70. P. Grierson, "A Semissis of Mezezius (668-69)," *NChron* 146 (1986) 231f.  
-P.A.H.



**MICE** (sing. *μῦς*) were treated in Byz. literature as despicable and abhorrent. Their skin was ugly (vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Veselovskij 2:143.14–15); they spoiled food and destroyed books and even works of art (CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, epigram 103; Michael GABRAS, ep.359). Eustathios of Thessalonike, with mild irony, described the bold foraging of mice that he was unable to stop. Mice belonged to the underworld, where they prospered, according to the *Timarion*. In the *Katomyomachia* (War of the Cat and the Mice), by Theodore PRODROMOS, they represented the political underworld with its vocal demagogues. Mice are treated in a different, philosophical vein in the oriental material included in BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (ed. G.R. Woodward, H. Mattingly, 188.9–13): two mice—one white and the other black, symbolizing day and night—gnaw the roots of the tree of human life.

The appearance of a mouse, weasel, or SNAKE in a house was viewed as an omen in ancient times (PG 36:1024A), but firmly rejected by John Chrysostom (PG 64:741A). The author of the *Geoponika* (1:3.13) believed that the squeaking of mice forecast a storm; he was also familiar with the magical prescription against an invasion of mice (one had to glue to a rock a sheet of paper with a special appeal to mice), but he did not believe in its effectiveness. There is also a 15th-C. treatise on getting rid of mice (E. Kakoulides, *Hellenika* 16 [1958–59] 119–25).

LIT. H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1968) 53–63. —Ap.K., A.K.

**MICHAEL** (Μιχαήλ), Hebrew personal name (lit. "who is like God"). It occurs in the Old Testament as a common name, but in the New Testament only twice—for the archangel. Unknown in Greek and Roman antiquity, the name appeared in the second half of the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:762f) but remained extremely rare. Prokopios of Caesarea mentions only the archangel Michael, and in Theophanes the Confessor there are but five Michaels, including the archangel. No saints of this name are known before the period of Iconoclasm. From the 9th C. onward the name became popular: in Skylitzes there are 44 Michaels, following only CONSTANTINE (60) and JOHN (48); it holds fourth place in Anna Komnene, after GEORGE; fifth place, after THEODORE, in Niketas Choniates.

It retains fifth place in the acts of *Lavra*: in those of the 10th–12th C., the name Michael stands between Constantine and NIKEPHOROS, and in later ones between NICHOLAS and Theodore. From the 9th to the 13th C. it was a popular imperial name; nine emperors were called Michael. Four patriarchs of the 11th through early 13th C. bore this name. —A.K.

**MICHAEL**, archangel and saint, feastdays 6 Sept. (Miracle at Chonai) and 8 Nov. (Synaxis ton Asomaton). Michael is mentioned twice in the Old Testament (Dan 10:21, 12:1) as the helper of the people of Israel; he is called an angel (or *archon* in a variant reading). He also appears twice in the New Testament, in the Epistle of Jude (v.9), where he is described as disputing with the devil over the body of Moses, and in Revelations 12:7–9 where he fights a dragon; in Jude he is specifically referred to as an ARCHANGEL.

In Byz. Michael was venerated, primarily in western Asia Minor, as a wondrous healer whose activity was closely associated with sacred springs: a church dedicated to Michael in GERMIA was famous for its healings with "holy waters." Even more famous was Michael's church at CHONAI, a center of pilgrimage, connected with the miracle performed there by Michael (see CHONAI, MIRACLE AT). At Pythia, not far from Constantinople, Justinian I enlarged a church of Michael built on the site of a temple of Apollo famous for its hot spring (Janin, *Églises centres* 85). There were nearly two dozen sanctuaries of Michael in and around the capital, many of them going back to the 6th C. (Janin, *Églises CP* 337–50).

From the 9th C. onward, Michael was esp. venerated as the commander (*archistrategos*, *taxiarchos*) of the heavenly host who brought his troops to the aid of the imperial armies; hence he was particularly cultivated by the emperor in the latter's role as military commander. The classic visual image of this aspect of Michael is his appearance before JOSHUA in military garb on the eve of Jericho (e.g., JOSHUA ROLL, sheet IV). A victory attributed to the intervention of Michael is related in the Latin *Apparitio S. Michaelis in monte Gargano*, translated into Greek by the 10th C. (S. Leanza, *VetChr* 22 [1985] 291–316).

In monumental painting, Michael stands as an archangel with GABRIEL, both dressed in imperial

robes, alongside Christ or the Virgin or flanking a doorway. Michael is also presumably the angel shown weighing souls in images of the LAST JUDGMENT.

Many incidents of angelic intervention in the Old and New Testaments came to be attributed to Michael, and eventually a cycle of miracles was developed, for example, the 9th-C. narration of the deacon Pantoleon (*BHG* 1286; cf. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins* [Brussels 1963] 147–52). Illustrated cycles of the miracles of St. Michael, attested from at least the 11th C. (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:120–41), were essentially biblical cycles involving the ANGELS and archangels to which were added more recent miracles performed by Michael (S. Koukiales, *Ta thaumata-emphaniseis ton angelon kai archangelon sten byzantine techne ton Balkanion* [Athens 1989]). In 1076 the Church of St. Michael at Monte Sant'Angelo in Italy ordered bronze DOORS from Constantinople to be adorned with 23 scenes involving Michael and Gabriel; an equally lengthy cycle devoted entirely to Michael adorns the bronze doors of the 13th-C. Church of the Virgin at SUZDAL.

LIT. *BHG* 1282–94C. C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE* 12 (1984–86) 39–62. O. Meinardus, "Der Erzengel Michael als Psychopompos," *OrChr* 62 (1978) 166–68. J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherer* (Leiden 1977). D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:44–47. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MICHAEL I ANGELOS**. See MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS.

**MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (25 Mar. 1043–2 Nov. 1058); born between 1005 and 1010, died Hellespont, 21 Jan. 1059. A member of the senatorial family of KEROULARIOS, Michael was involved in 1040 in a plot against Emp. Michael IV; to avoid a greater punishment, he became a monk. He was restored to imperial favor by Constantine IX, who appointed him patriarch after the death of ALEXIOS STOUDITES. Keroularios, who inherited the rigorism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, was in conflict with liberal intellectuals like PSELLOS and his companions while enjoying the strong support of the Constantinopolitan population; the downfall of the "liberal" faction vindicated his position.

In the early 1050s the tension between Byz. and Rome increased. The controversy centered around the question of the AZYMES. The papacy tried to

attract to its side PETER III, patriarch of Antioch, but he, albeit more moderate than Keroularios, supported the Byz. point of view. When the papal legate HUMBERT arrived in Constantinople for negotiations, Constantine IX was anxious for an alliance that was necessary to resist the Norman penetration into southern Italy, but neither Humbert nor Keroularios was ready to agree. Niketas STETHATOS served as the patriarch's mouthpiece, and a collection of texts, the so-called *Panoplia*, was produced, attributed to Keroularios by A. Michel (but see Tinnefeld, *infra* 109–14). The tract *On the Azymes* also does not belong to him (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 25 [1967] 288–91). The conflict reached its peak in the reciprocal excommunications of Humbert and Keroularios (16 July 1054). After the rupture Keroularios started using the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH on his seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.16), but the SCHISM was not yet final.

Through his victory over Constantine IX in this conflict, Keroularios acquired exceptional influence in Constantinople: Empress Theodora wanted to depose him, but was powerless. Keroularios ran the government under Michael VI and achieved the transfer of power from Michael VI to Isaac I Komnenos. Soon his relations with Isaac worsened, and the patriarch even threatened to destroy the emperor "like an oven he had made." Isaac had the backing of the military, however, and easily attracted the support of intellectuals who were at odds with the unyielding patriarch. Isaac ordered the arrest of Keroularios and his deportation from the capital (where Keroularios could count on the support of the population). When Keroularios refused to abdicate he was put on trial, with Psellos acting as his main accuser. The trial was supposed to take place outside of the capital in an unknown location in Thrace, but Keroularios died on the way. It has been suggested that the silver revetment of a cross in the Dumbarton Oaks collection was commissioned by Keroularios (R. Jenkins, E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 21 [1967] 233–49), but C. Mango (*CahArch* 36 [1988] 41–49) has rejected this hypothesis.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 856–86. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1924–30). E. Amann, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1677–1703. M.H. Smith, *And Taking Bread* (Paris 1978). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 79–90. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058)," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 95–127. —A.K.

**MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS** (more commonly but imprecisely called Michael I Angelos), ruler of Epiros (1205–15); died Berat, Albania, 1215. An illegitimate son of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, Michael was a cousin of the emperors Isaac II and Alexios III Angelos, but never used the Angelos family name himself. He is first mentioned in 1190 as a hostage of Frederick I Barbarossa. Before 1204 he was *doux* and *anagrapheus* of the theme of Mylassa and Melanoudion. After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade, Michael briefly entered the service of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, but then went to EPIROS to lead the resistance of the Greek inhabitants against the Latins. He acted as an autonomous ruler but did not assume the title of *despotes*, as used to be thought (Nicol, *Epiros II* 2f). It is not clear whether the Michael who was defeated by the Franks at a battle in southern Mesenia in 1205 was Michael of Epiros (R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 377–81, 388f). From his capital at ARTA, he expanded his territory into Thessaly, taking Larissa in 1212. By 1214 he had recovered Dyrrachion and Kerkyra from the Venetians. At the time of his murder in 1215 Michael controlled all of northwest Greece from the Gulf of Corinth up into Albania, thus laying the groundwork for what would become the despotate of EPIROS.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 11–46, corr. L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 (1959) 90–126 and Nicol, *Epiros II* 1–4. Polemis, *Doukai* 91f. G. Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas," *EpChron* 24 (1982) 73–120, 25 (1983) 37–112. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 49f. —A.M.T.

**MICHAEL I RANGABE** (Ῥαγγαβέ), emperor (811–13); died 11 Jan. 844 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 56, n.168). Son of the *patrikios* Theophylaktos (PG 105:489C), Michael became *kouropalates* under Emp. Nikephoros I, having married (before 794) the emperor's daughter Prokopia. She bore him three sons—Theophylaktos, Staurakios, Niketas (see IGNATIOS)—and two daughters—Georgo and Theophano (PG 105:492AB). After campaigning with Nikephoros in July 811 and surviving the disastrous encounter with KRUM, Michael became emperor on 2 Oct., when his brother-in-law STAURAKIOS abdicated in his favor. The elevation was engineered by the *domestikos ton*

*scholon* Stephanos with the blessing of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, who made Michael vow in writing to uphold Orthodoxy and respect clerics.

"Completely honest and equitable but incapable of managing matters" (Theoph. 499.32–500.1), Michael undertook a reaction against Emp. Nikephoros I, reversing his fiscal austerity with lavish donations to churches, monasteries, and charities and recalling his exiled opponents, including Leo (V). Although rejecting the claims of CHARLEMAGNE to the imperial title, in return for captured Byz. territory in Italy Michael recognized the Frankish ruler as *basileus* and tried to marry Theophylaktos to one of Charlemagne's daughters. Michael was keenly interested in religious affairs, ending the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY and urging Patr. Nikephoros to correspond with Pope LEO III. He was heavily influenced by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, who convinced him in 812 not to make peace with Krum. His failure to check the Bulgars gave rise to a conspiracy on behalf of Caesar NIKEPHOROS, which Michael easily suppressed, but after his defeat at VERSINIKIA he abdicated in favor of Leo V on 11 July. His sons were castrated, and Michael became a monk on the Princes' Islands, taking the name Athanasios. His son Niketas, after becoming the patriarch Ignatios, transferred Michael's body to the monastery of St. Michael at Satyros in Bithynia.

LIT. Th. Korres, "Scheseis Byzantiou kai Boulgarias sten periodo tes basileias tou Michael A' Rangabe," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 141–56. Guiland, *Titres*, pt. III (1970), 199f. Bury, *ERE* 17–42. —P.A.H.

**MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN**, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (from 1166); historian; born Melitene 1126, died 1199. Prior to his election Michael was a monk and the archimandrite of the monastery of Bar Šaumā. His major work is the fullest, most comprehensive chronicle in Syriac, surviving in a single MS of 1598. The *Chronicle* is composed of 21 books in chronological order from Creation to 1195. There are three columns per page, presenting religious history, secular history, and extraordinary events, respectively. At the end are lists of kings, priests, patriarchs, emperors, and Muslim rulers as well as chronological tables. For the earlier parts Michael used as sources such chroniclers as pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ and JOHN OF EPHEsus. Michael provides abundant

data on Byz.-Arab rivalries after the rise of Islam and about the course of events in the Eastern patriarchates, esp. in the 12th C. when he was an eyewitness. His data on Byz. relations with Armenia, Syria, and Crusaders are also important.

ED. *Chronique*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris 1899–1924; rp. Brussels 1960), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 298–300. P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1960) 4–6. —S.H.G.

**MICHAEL II**, emperor (820–29); founder of the AMORIAN DYNASTY; born Amorion, died Constantinople 2 Oct. 829 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 56). Born of humble parents, Michael advanced through an army career in the Anatolikon, marrying Thekla, the thematic commander's daughter, who bore him Theophilos. In 803 he served under BARDANES TOURKOS but deserted to Nikephoros I, who appointed him *komes tes kortes* and gave him a palace in Constantinople. During the reign of Michael I, Leo (V) made Michael the Amorian his own *protostrator*. Once Leo became emperor, he named Michael *domestikos* of the *exkoubitoi* with the rank of *patrikios*; Leo was also godfather to one of Michael's sons, probably Theophilos. Yet in Dec. 820 Leo arrested Michael on charges of treason and sentenced him to death. Michael escaped execution when his fellow conspirators assassinated Leo and acclaimed him emperor. Michael was crowned by Patr. Theodotos on 25 Dec.

As emperor Michael weathered the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV with help from OMURTAG, but he could not prevent the Arabs from taking CRETE between 824 and 827 and invading SICILY ca.827. In 824 he supported ICONOCLASM in a letter to Louis the Pious (Mansi 14:417–22); opponents accused him of favoring ATHINGANOI and of being a Sabbatian. Yet he prohibited public discussion of Iconoclasm and restored ICONOPHILES (but not Patr. NIKEPHOROS I) whom Leo V had attacked; he persecuted only the future patriarch METHODIOS (I), who had conveyed to Michael a letter of Pope Paschal I defending images. Michael's marriage ca.823 to Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI and then a nun, was denounced as uncanonical by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 223–62. B. Lewis, "An Arabic Account of a Byzantine Palace Revolution," *Byzantion* 14

(1939) 383–86. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:22–88, 437–38. Bury, *ERE* 77–119. —P.A.H.

**MICHAEL II ANGELOS**. See MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS.

**MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS** (called Michael Angelos in narrative sources), ruler of Epiros and Thessaly (from ca.1230); born ca.1206, died between Sept. 1266 and Aug. 1268 (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 29–32). A bastard son of MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he went into exile after his father's murder. He established himself as ruler of EPIROS after the capture of his uncle THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS in 1230 at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. Marriage to Theodora Petraliphaina (see THEODORA OF ARTA) brought him the support of the powerful PETRALIPHAS family, which favored closer ties with the empire of NICAEA. This culminated in 1238 with the personal visit by Patr. GERMANOS II to Arta and with the grant of the rank of DESPOTES by JOHN III VATAZES ca.1249 (Nicol) or 1252 (Ferjančić).

In 1256, as the price of the marriage of his son Nikephoros Angelos to a Nicaean princess, he was forced to surrender the key positions of Servia and Dyrrachion. It was too high a price. Thereafter Michael sought to check the Nicaean advance. One by one he recovered the towns and fortresses lost to the Nicaeans. The recovery of Thessalonike seemed to be within his grasp. To this end he allied with MANFRED of Sicily and WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN. Mutual suspicion wracked the alliance. A Nicaean army defeated the allies completely at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). Although Michael had to flee to the Ionian islands, the Nicaean occupation of Epiros was so unpopular that he was soon able to return and drive the conquerors out. He finally came to terms with MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS in 1264. His achievement was largely negative: he insured that Epiros would never be fully reincorporated in the restored Byz. Empire. He was buried in the monastery of the Blachernai, just outside ARTA.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 128–95. R. De Francesco, *Michele II° Angelo Comneno d'Epiro e la sua discendenza* (Rome 1951). P. Lemerle, "Trois actes du despote d'Epire Michel II concernant Corfou connus en traduction latine," *Prosphora eis Stilpon Kyriakiden* (Thessalonike 1953) 405–26. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 63–68. —M.J.A.



**MICHAEL III**, emperor (842–67); born 19 Jan. 840 (L. Rydén, *Eranos* 83 [1985] 182, n.30), died Constantinople 23/4 Sept. 867. Son of Theophilos and THEODORA, Michael was crowned co-emperor as an infant in 840 but had no real authority under Theodora's regency (842–56). In 855 Theodora arranged a BRIDE SHOW and married him to EUDOKIA INGERINA. At age 16, with help from Caesar BARDAS, Michael deposed the regents Theodora and THEOKTISTOS and became sole ruler on 15 Mar. 856 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 190). Byz. sources, writing largely to justify Basil I's murder of Michael, portray him as a dissolute emperor engaging in drinking bouts, horse races, and religious burlesques, while ignoring state affairs. Yet modern scholars have shown that he was not inactive, esp. in military affairs, and, with capable advisers such as Bardas, Patr. PHOTIOS, PETRONAS, and Basil, his reign had important achievements (A.A. Vasiliev, *Byz-Metabyz* 1 [1946] 237–48; Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. I [1948], 71–77).

Under Michael III the Arabs were held in check. In 859, during his first military campaign, he unsuccessfully besieged SAMOSATA. In 860 an attack on Constantinople by the Rus' forced him to break off a campaign in Asia Minor, but in 863 he played an important role in defeating 'UMAR, emir of Melitene (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 443–50). He rebuilt ANKYRA and refortified NICAIA. He sponsored the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia and the baptism of BORIS of Bulgaria. Yet he was easily influenced by associates: Michael permitted Basil to assassinate Bardas in 865 and crowned him co-emperor in 866, but shortly thereafter Basil had him murdered in his bedroom at the palace of St. Mamas. Michael's body was buried in Chrysopolis, but Leo VI (perhaps Michael's son by Eudokia Ingerina) removed it to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 57).

The revival of monumental painting in Michael's reign has generally gone unrecognized. Theophanes Continuatus credits him with having "the empress's wardrobe" in the Great Palace decorated with religious images. Michael's own likeness was set up in the Chrysotriklinos, along with those of Christ and the Virgin (*AnthGr*, bk. 1, no. 106). The inscription around the apse mosaic

of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, implies his participation in this major enterprise.

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Der Kaiser als Mime," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 39–50. Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, pt. IV (1971), 452–96. T. Wasilewski, "Studia nad dziejami panowania cesarza Michała III," *Przegląd historyczny* 61 (1970) 359–80. H. Grégoire, "Inscriptions historiques byzantines," *Byzantion* 4 (1927–28) 437–68. Idem, "Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30) 327–46. —P.A.H., A.C.

**MICHAEL III**, patriarch of Constantinople (Jan. 1170 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 258]–Mar. 1178); died Constantinople. A relative of the metropolitan of Anchialos (his customary designation "of Anchialos" is incorrect), he made an ecclesiastical career in Constantinople as the chief of the patriarchal chancery and then *protekdikos*. Around 1165–67 he was promoted to the post of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON; in his inaugural speech (which is incidentally important as a source for Byz.-Hungarian relations [Browning, *Studies*, pt. IV (1961), 173–214]), Michael emphasized as his purpose the struggle against rationalistic ("heretical") views. As patriarch he continued condemnation of the non-Orthodox interpretations of John 14:28 that had been rejected by the Council of 1166 under Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES. He tried to improve the discipline of the clergy: he confirmed the strict division between civil and ecclesiastical offices (V. Laurent, *EO* 33 [1934] 309–15), forbade bishops to ordain clerics from other dioceses, and established—according to the principle of OIKONOMIA—*siteresia* for deposed deacons lest they become wandering beggars (S. Troianos, *FM* 6 [1984] 205–18). Loyal to Manuel I, Michael published on 24 Mar. 1171 a *tomos* prescribing the oath of fidelity to the emperor's heir.

Michael's attitude toward Rome is a subject of discussion: traditionally (e.g., V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 258–64) the *Dialogue* of Manuel I and Michael on the UNION OF THE CHURCHES, in which Michael expresses consistently anti-Latin views, has been considered authentic; J. Darrouzès (*REB* 23 [1965] 79–82), however, redated the text to the 13th C., probably without sufficient foundation. Negotiations with Pope ALEXANDER III continued but were unsuccessful, even though the pope reduced conditions for reunion to a minimum. R. Ljubinković (*Starinar* 20 [1969] 191–

204) attributed to Michael's patriarchate the MS Paris, B.N. gr. 880, which has an evident anti-Latin tendency. Negotiations with regard to union with the Armenian church by Michael's envoy THEORIANOS also failed.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1109–50. V. Laurent, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1668–74. Beck, *Kirche* 627. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 117, 119–22. —A.K.

**MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN** (Σίσμανος), Bulgarian monarch, son of Šišman, *despotes* of Vidin; born before 1292, died Velbužd after 28 July 1330 (?). Elected tsar by a council of boyars after the death of Georgij Terter II (1322), he brought the war against Byz. to a successful conclusion. In 1324 Michael married Theodora, daughter of Michael IX and widow of Tsar THEODORE SVETOSLAV. In the Byz. civil war of the 1320s he first supported Andronikos III against his grandfather Andronikos II in 1327 but in the following year changed sides and besieged Constantinople. After the defeat of Andronikos II, Michael concluded an alliance with Andronikos III, directed against the growing power of Serbia. Defeated and captured at the battle of VELBUŽD, Michael died of his wounds. Shortly afterward he was succeeded by his nephew IVAN ALEXANDER who reversed Michael's policy by making a lasting alliance with Serbia.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 268–73. A. Burmov, "Istorija na Bŭlgarija prez vremeto na Šišmanovci," *GSU FIF* 43.1 (1946–47) 1–58. —R.B.

**MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (from 20 March 1208); died Nicaea 26 Aug. 1214. Educated in both the Christian and classical tradition, Michael was a member of the literary circle of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. In Constantinople he held the post of *megas sakellarios*. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade he was chosen patriarch by THEODORE I LASKARIS, who wished to establish the ecumenical patriarchate in exile in Nicaea to bolster his own imperial claims. The patriarchate had been vacant for two years since the death of JOHN X KAMATEROS (1206), who had refused to come to Nicaea because of old age. Michael, who performed Theodore's coronation, supported his claim to be sole emperor by asserting that there can be only one emperor,

since the earthly kingdom is in the likeness of the kingdom of heaven. Michael took the unusual step of pledging forgiveness of sins for all Nicene soldiers who died in battle; this initiative, which was contrary to Byz. tradition, evidently soon fell into abeyance. Michael engaged in theological arguments with Nicholas MESARITES (Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen* 3:14.31–33).

ED. N. Oikonomides, "Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos," *REB* 25 (1967) 113–45. LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1203–18. —A.M.T.

**MICHAEL IV PAPHLAGON**, emperor (1034–41); died Constantinople 10 Dec. 1041. Member of a family of money-changers of Paphlagonian origin, he was introduced to the Empress ZOE by his brother, JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS. Michael became Zoe's lover and, when ROMANOS III was murdered, he was proclaimed emperor (12 Apr. 1034). The short-lived resistance of Patr. ALEXIOS STROUDITES was ended by a generous donation. Michael, an honest and unsophisticated man who suffered from epilepsy, was pushed into the background by John, whose policy favored the highest civil functionaries. John aimed to increase the state's monetary income: the AERIKON was introduced, and taxation in kind in Bulgaria was replaced by payment in specie. Morrisson ("Dévaluation" 6) stressed that the devaluation of Byz. coinage began in Michael's reign. These policies incited resistance of both the aristocracy (Michael faced the opposition of Constantine DALASSENOS and plots of the KEROULARIOI) and the provincial population, esp. the rebel Peter DELJAN. The military successes of George MANIAKES collapsed after his recall from Sicily, and Stefan VOISLAV established the independence of Duklja (Diokleia). Michael actively supported the church, partly in hope of a cure for his epilepsy. John strove to retain the predominance of the Paphlagonian family; childless, Michael proclaimed as heir his nephew, the future MICHAEL V. With immense personal effort, Michael led a successful expedition against Deljan; soon after celebrating a triumph in Constantinople, he resigned, received the tonsure, and died. His conspiracies and death are illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 505–06, fig. 243).

LIT. Skabalanović, *Gosudarstvo* 23–41. J.M. Hussey, *CMH* 4.1:196–98. G. Litavrin in *Istorija Vizantii* (Moscow 1967)

2:264–66. S. Caruso, "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca," in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentine* (Florence 1986) 261–84. —A.K., C.M.B., A.C.

**MICHAEL V KALAPHATES** (Καλαφάτης, i.e., "the Caulker"), emperor (1041–42). Son of Stephen, a caulker (whence Michael's nickname), and the sister of MICHAEL IV, he was adopted by ZOE and named CAESAR and heir ca. 1035. Three days after Michael IV died, Zoe proclaimed Michael emperor, while he pledged to respect her. Once in power, he banished JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, released John's opponent Constantine DALLASSENOS, and sent George MANIAKES to Italy as KATEPANO. He enforced strict justice. Relying on the advice of his uncle, the *nobelissimos* Constantine, Michael determined to exile Zoe. He confirmed his popularity with the masses in several processions (Easter, 11 Apr. 1042, and the following Sunday). Once Zoe had left, he claimed that she had plotted against him. On 19 Apr. a widespread popular uprising occurred. Houses and chapels built by his relatives were destroyed and the Great Palace besieged. Despite aid from his uncle and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS, the mob broke through the walls. At dawn, 21 Apr., Michael and Constantine fled from the palace to STODIOS, whence both were soon dragged, blinded, and dispatched to monasteries. CONSTANTINE IX sent Michael to Chios.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine DEMOKRATIA and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *DOP* 17 (1963) 303–08. G.G. Litavrin, "Vostanie v Konstantinopole v aprele 1042 g.," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 33–46. *Kleinchroniken* 2:143–46. —C.M.B.

**MICHAEL VI STRATIOTIKOS** (called "the Old"), emperor (ca. 22 Aug. 1056–30 Aug. 1057 [J. Shepard, *BS* 38 (1977) 26f, 30]); died ca. 1057. Already elderly, a member of the BRINGAS family (*Kleinchroniken* 1:160), Michael served in the *stratitikon* (see LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU), perhaps as its *logothetes* (Attal. 52.21—see Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 33, n.16). When Empress THEODORA was dying, her eunuchs and officials selected him for his pliability. Leo PARASPONDYLOS remained chief minister. Michael continued negotiations with the German emperor for an alliance against the NORMANS (Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 333–41). While Michael lavished promotions on

officials, he neglected to conciliate the populace and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROUARIOS. HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS was driven to rebellion. At Easter 1057, when conferring salaries and rewards on officials, Michael rejected the demands of the eastern generals, led by the future ISAAC I KOMNENOS and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS. Following a second rejection, they revolted, acclaimed Isaac emperor (8 June 1057), and defeated Michael's forces near Nicaea. Michael attempted negotiations, offering Isaac the rank of CAESAR, adoption as heir, and approval of all his measures. As Isaac advanced, a conspiracy of senators, popular leaders, and the patriarch forced Michael to abdicate. According to Psellos, he died soon afterward.

LIT. M.D. Spadaro, "La deposizione di Michele VI: un episodio di 'concordia discors' fra chiesa e militari?" *JÖB* 37 (1987) 153–71. —C.M.B.

**MICHAEL VII DOUKAS**, emperor (1071–78); born ca. 1050, died Constantinople ca. 1090. Eldest son of CONSTANTINE X, he ruled as co-emperor with EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA and ROMANOS IV DIOGENES. After the latter's capture, the caesar John DOUKAS put Michael on the throne. Possibly slow mentally, Michael was an inactive ruler. He was a pupil of PSELLOS, who composed treatises for the emperor and ends his *Chronographia* with a eulogy of Michael and his family. In Michael's name, an alliance was made (ca. 1074) with ROBERT GUISCARD, whose daughter Olympias (Helena in Byz.) was betrothed to Michael's son Constantine. In 1073–74 negotiations with Pope GREGORY VII for reunion came to nothing. Administrative power passed to NIKEPHORITZES, whose severe fiscal policies made Michael unpopular. Plundering Turks beset Anatolia, while rebels (Nestor, RousSEL DE BAILLEUL, Nikephoros BRYENNIS, and the future NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES) devastated Asian and Balkan provinces. Consequently, Michael's coinage was seriously adulterated (Morrison, "Dévaluation" 8–12), while the diminution of the MODIOS of grain by a PINAKION, without a reduction in price, earned Michael the nickname "Parapinakes." When Botaneiates' victory became certain, Michael abdicated (31 Mar. 1078) and entered a monastery; his wife MARIA OF "ALANIA" married the victor. Michael was subsequently named metropolitan of Ephesus but paid only one brief visit there before returning to his mon-

astery. Numerous portraits of Michael survive, the most important on the enamels of the Khakhoulitriptych (with his wife) and on the Holy Crown of Hungary (with his son); these objects exemplify Michael's use of art as dynastic propaganda (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, nos. 37–38).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 42–46. A. Tuilier, "Michel VII et le pape Grégoire VII: Byzance et la réforme grégorienne," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:350–64. V. von Falkenhausen, "Olympias, eine normannische Prinzessin in Konstantinopel," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan 1982) 56–72. —C.M.B., A.C.

**MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS**, emperor (1259–1282); born 1224 or 1225, died in village of Pachomios, Thrace, 11 Dec. 1282. Son of the *megas domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos, Michael descended from three imperial families and founded the long-lived dynasty of the PALAIOLOGOI (1259–1453). He embarked on a successful military career, but his loyalty to the Nicene emperors JOHN III VATATZES and THEODORE II LASKARIS was questioned on several occasions. Michael took advantage of the power vacuum left by Theodore's premature death (Aug. 1258) to usurp the throne. After joining an aristocratic conspiracy to murder George MOUZALON, regent for the child emperor JOHN IV LASKARIS (Sept. 1258), Michael succeeded Mouzalon as regent and was named *megas doux* and, on 13 Nov. 1258, *despotes*. He was crowned co-emperor in Nymphaion sometime after 1 Jan. 1259 (P. Wirth, *JÖB* 10 [1961] 91). He further secured his position by his victory at PELAGONIA over an anti-Nicene coalition (summer or fall 1259) and the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins by his general Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS in July 1261. On 15 Aug. 1261 Michael entered Constantinople and soon received a second coronation. After ordering the blinding of John IV (Dec. 1261), he became sole emperor, but was excommunicated by Patr. ARSENIOS.

The early years of Michael's reign were devoted to efforts to repopulate the capital and to begin the restoration of damaged churches, monasteries, and public buildings. He also set about the construction of a fleet and strengthening of the fortifications of Constantinople, esp. the sea walls. The considerable expense of his program of reconstruction necessitated a devaluation of the hyperpyron. His concern for justice is shown by a

*prostagma* threatening appropriate punishment for imperial officials found guilty of maladministration (L. Burgmann, P. Magdalino, *FM* 6 [1984] 377–90).

Michael's foreign policy focused on the use of skillful diplomacy to ward off Latin attempts to regain Constantinople. His primary motive in agreeing to UNION OF THE CHURCHES at LYONS (1274) was to forestall the projected invasion of the empire by CHARLES I OF ANJOU. At the end of his reign, in 1282, Michael again averted Charles's imminent attack on Constantinople by helping instigate the anti-Angevin rebellion known as the SICILIAN VESPER. Michael also formed an alliance with the Mongol khan Hulagu against the Mamlūk ruler Baybars and Berke of the Golden Horde. After Berke defeated the Byz. in 1264–65, however, Michael was forced to join the alliance of the Golden Horde and Egypt (G. Vernadskij, *SemKond* 1 [1927] 73–84). Although Michael was responsible for several important military and diplomatic accomplishments, he neglected his Anatolian frontier, permitting the TURKS to increase their strength; moreover, his Unionist religious policy alienated his subjects and the majority of the clergy. At his death he was refused the final rites of the Orthodox church.

ED. *Typikon* for monastery of St. Michael—Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1.1:769–94. Autobiography—ed. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 447–76, with Fr. tr.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge 1959). Dölger, *Paraspora* 178–88. Angold, *Byz. Government* 80–93. —A.M.T.

**MICHAEL IX PALAIOLOGOS**, co-emperor (1294/5–1320); born 1277, died 12 Oct. 1320 (cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 29 [1963] 333). Eldest son of ANDRONIKOS II by his first wife, Anna of Hungary, he was named co-emperor in 1281, but not crowned until 21 May 1294 (J. Verpeaux, *REB* 17 [1959] 168–73) or 1295 (P. Schmid, *BZ* 51 [1958] 83). After the failure of marriage negotiations with Catherine I of Courtenay, titular heiress to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Michael married Rita, sister of Het'um II of Armenian Cilicia, in Jan. 1296 (I. Ševčenko in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:25 n.36). Rita, who took the Greek name Maria, bore four children: ANDRONIKOS III, Manuel, Anna, and Theodora.

Although Michael was a brave and energetic soldier, his military campaigns were notoriously



unsuccessful, with the exception of some victories over the Bulgarians in 1304. He opposed ROGER DE FLOR, leader of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, and may well have arranged his assassination in Apr. 1305. Two months later Michael suffered a humiliating defeat at Apros at the hands of the vengeful Catalans. After being defeated again in 1311, this time by the Turks, Michael was relieved of responsibility for the defense of Thrace. He predeceased Andronikos II, dying at the age of 43, reportedly of grief over the accidental murder of his son Manuel (Greg. 1:286.6–12). Michael died in Thessalonike, where he had restored the basilica of St. Demetrios.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 48–53, 90–93, 145–48, 158–67. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no. 59. *PLP*, no. 21529. —A.M.T., A.C.

**MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS**, two, or possibly three, wall-painters working in Macedonia and Serbia, ca. 1295–1317. The names of Michael and Eutychios are preserved in inscriptions in four churches: the Virgin Peribleptos (now St. Clement) at OHRID, the Bogorodica Ljeviška at PRIZREN, St. NIKITA at Banjani, and St. George at STARO NAGORIČINO. Some scholars distinguish Michael, who signed with Eutychios in the last two of these churches, from Astrapas, who so signed his name at Prizren. But the inscription “the hand of Michael tou Astrapa” appears on the sword of St. Merkourios at the Peribleptos and it is possible that Astrapas (“lightning”) was merely the nickname of a speedy painter. However that may be, the hands of Michael and Eutychios are effectively indistinguishable, the style of both exhibiting strong chiaroscuro and heavy drapery marked by hard folds. The painter John Astrapas, mentioned by Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, is thought to be a member of the same family, supposedly of Thessalonican origin. Michael and Eutychios also painted icons (P. Miljković-Peppek, *JÖB* 16 [1967] 297–303).

LIT. P. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje 1967). S. Kissas, “Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa,” *Zograf* 5 (1974) 35–37. *Serb. und Mak.* 3:12–14, 178–80. *PLP*, nos. 1595, 6353, cf. 19057. —A.C.

**MICHAELATON** (νόμισμα μιχαηλάτον, Lat. *micheelatus* in southern Italian documents), a (gold) coin struck by any emperor named Michael. The term *micheelata* is known to have been used in the

mid-11th C. to refer to HISTAMENA of Michael IV. In late 11th- and 12th-C. sources, where the term is normally found, it means a histamenon of Michael VII Doukas, the last coin of reasonably good quality (approximately 16 carats) to be struck before the collapse of the nomisma under Nikephoros III and in the early years of Alexios I. It was particularly acceptable in Italy because of its virtual identity in fineness with the Sicilian TARI.

LIT. C. Morrisson, “Le michaélaton et les noms de monnaies à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *TM* 3 (1968) 369–74. —Ph.G.

**MICHAEL GRAMMATIKOS**, *hieromonachos*, poet of uncertain date and unknown biography. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*BZ* 20 [1911] 131) identified him with Michael GLYKAS; S. Lampros (*NE* 14 [1917] 4) considered him as a contemporary of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE; S.G. Mercati (*infra* 127) hypothesized—with some hesitation—that he lived “not much later than the 10th–11th C.” In some of his epigrams Michael treated religious subjects (e.g., the Second Coming). Some are addressed to or mention certain contemporaries who lived in western Asia Minor: Leo (or Lykoleon, “Wolf-Lion”) Vestes, metropolitan of Ephesus; an anonymous *proedros* of Philomelion; Philip, *proedros* of Amorion. Mercati (*infra* 137f) also ascribed to him a poetical lamentation on Adam and Paradise.

ED. S.G. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:114–43.

—A.K.

**MICHAEL ITALIKOS**, writer; died before 1157. Michael taught rhetoric and philosophy in Constantinople and was later appointed the *didaskalos* of physicians; probably in 1126 or 1137 he participated in an embassy to Rome. He also taught the Gospels in the Patriarchal School. After 1143 he became metropolitan of Philippopolis where, in 1147, he successfully reconciled CONRAD III with the Byz. A paradigm of the Byz. intellectual, Michael proudly assured Empress Irene Doukaina that administrative offices were better filled by intellectuals than by illiterate “*logariastai* and *pronoetai*” (Gautier, *infra* 94f). He mocked the fashion of tracing genealogies back to mythological Greek kings (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 48f) and praised “logical feasts” at which “philosophical venison” would be served along with “physiological hare” and “musical swan” (Gautier, 156.4–

8). Michael corresponded with members of the ruling elite, with intellectuals such as Theodore PRODROMOS, and with several physicians. His speeches addressed to JOHN II KOMNENOS (see U. Criscuolo, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università Macerata* 5–6 [1972–73] 541–52) and MANUEL I convey important information on contemporary political events.

ED. Michel Italikos, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris 1972). See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 369f.

LIT. K. Manaphes, “Philologikai paratereseis eis to ergon tou Michael Italikou,” *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 464–75. C. Morrone, “La clausola ritmica in Michele Italico,” *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 355–63. —A.K.

**MICHAEL OF EPHESUS**, philosopher and commentator on ARISTOTLE. His biography is obscure and his dates disputed. K. Praechter (*BZ* 31 [1931] 1–12) asserted that Michael lived before 1040. If, however, “the wise man from Ephesus,” who worked on Aristotle until he ruined his eyesight, can be identified with Michael (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 283.9–11 and n.70), then the date of his life should be shifted to ca. 1100. Probably a member of the circle of Anna KOMNENE, he was instrumental in the revival of Aristotelianism in Constantinople in the 11th and 12th C.

Michael commented on Aristotle’s zoological works (Michael’s commentary on the *Generation of Animals* was wrongly attributed to John PHILOPONOS—*CAG* 14:3) as well as the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, *Sophistical Refutations* (wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias; *CAG* 2:3) and the short psychological works (i.e., *Parva naturalia*). The commentary of pseudo-Alexander on the *Metaphysics* is doubtless Michael’s as well (Preus, *infra* 12). His commentaries contain allusions to the contemporary situation, including criticism of the emperor (E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* [Oxford 1957] 140f) and a discussion of education in Constantinople where, lacking guidelines for the teaching of youth, fathers taught them according to their own understanding (*CAG* 20:610.11–13).

ED. *CAG* 2:3; 14:3; 20:461–620; 22:1–3. *Aristotelis Politica: Scholia*, ed. O. Immisch (Leipzig 1909) xvi–xx, 293–327. *Aristotle and Michael of Ephesus “On the Movement and Progression of Animals,”* tr. A. Preus (New York 1981).

LIT. B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* [= *Histoire de la philosophie*, ed. E. Bréhier, supp. 2] (Paris 1949) 215f. K. Oehler, “Aristotle in Byzantium,” *GRBS* 5 (1964) 139.

—A.K., M.W.T.

**MICHAEL RHETOR**, mid-12th-C. writer, nephew or protégé of a metropolitan of Thessalonike, perhaps BASIL OF OHRID. He made a career as a teacher at the Patriarchal School at Constantinople (*didaskalos* of the Gospels and *magistros ton rhetoron*) and patriarchal *protekdikos*. In 1156 he supported Soterichos PANTEUGENOS and was condemned with Nikephoros BASILAKES but soon thereafter submitted a confession “of his errors” (ed. L. Allatius, *De ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis perpetua consensione* [Cologne 1648] 691). Michael delivered three speeches to Manuel I with important information about the coalition of the Normans and Hungarians and imperial warfare against Serbia; he mentions the Second Crusade and conveys unique evidence about Manuel I’s plans for an expedition to the Azov Sea (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 345–47). Since it mentions a Sicilian attack on the “northern shores of the Roman empire” (Regel, *Fontes* 156.13), one speech may have been delivered after 1158 when the Normans approached Constantinople, i.e., after Michael’s confession. Michael’s description (*ekphrasis*) of Hagia Sophia (the end of which is lost) presents the architectural and sculptural elements (not mosaics) and interprets the building symbolically as a reflection of the cosmos: the beholder is invited to see the entrance, the “heaven” above, the sides of sparkling stone, and the floor which is a “sea, out of which the holy sanctuary has been scooped.”

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 131–82. C. Mango, J. Parker, “A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia,” *DOP* 14 (1960) 233–45, with Eng. tr. J. Lefort, “Prooimion de Michel neveu de l’archevêque de Thessalonique, didascale de l’évangile,” *TM* 4 (1970) 383–93.

LIT. Browning, “Patriarchal School” 12–14. P. Wirth, “Michael von Thessalonike?” *BZ* 55 (1962) 266–68, with add. in *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 421f. —A.K.

**MICHAEL SYNKELLOS**, homilist, grammarian, and saint; born Jerusalem ca. 761, died Chora monastery in Constantinople 4 Jan. 846. Of “Persian” (Arab) origin according to his vita, Michael entered the Lavra of St. SABAS ca. 786 and was ordained a priest; ca. 811 he became SYNKELLOS of the patriarch of Jerusalem. Patr. Thomas sent Michael to Rome ca. 815 to solicit financial assistance and to discuss theological and political problems. En route Michael was arrested in Constantinople as an Iconodule and suffered persecutions under Leo V and then under Theophilos, as a

close associate of THEODORE GRAPTOS and THEOPHANES GRAPTOS (S. Vailhé, *ROC* 6 [1901] 313–32, 610–42). In 843 Michael became *synkellos* of Patr. METHODIOS and *hegoumenos* of Chora.

In Edessa ca.811–13 Michael wrote a treatise on SYNTAX, based on ancient grammarians; the earliest Byz. book preserved on the subject, it is divided into eight chapters, from the noun to the conjunction. Michael treated the problem of the word, rather than the relation between words. His terminology is sometimes determined by extra-grammatical influence—thus the noun is defined as “essence (*ousia*) acting or suffering” (par.6). Especially popular from the 13th C. onward, Michael’s work survives in approximately 100 MSS. Besides the *Treatise*, Michael composed homilies and *enkomia* on saints (his authorship of the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION is questionable); a polemical account of the origins of Islam incorporated in the *Chronicle* of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (697.12–702.9) may be his work. He also wrote liturgical hymns and an anacreontic poem on the restoration of images. Michael was eulogized by an anonymous contemporary hagiographer, and later by Nikephoros GREGORAS.

ED. *Le Traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem*, ed. D. Donnet (Brussels-Rome 1982). *Die byzantinische Anakreonten*, ed. T. Nissen (Munich 1940) 48–52.

SOURCE. Vita, ed. F. Šmit, *IRAIK* 11 (1906) 227–59.

LIT. BHG 1296f. Beck, *Kirche* 503–05. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:15. D. Donnet, “Michel le Syncelle, *Traité de la construction de la phrase*: Les manuscrits de l’Athos,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 174–80. S.H. Griffith, “Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century,” *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 117–38. —R.B., A.K.

**MICHAEL VIŠEVIĆ** (τοῦ Βουσεβούτζη), prince of ZACHLUMIA from ca.910; died ca.932? or after 949. He was the ally of SYMEON OF BULGARIA in his struggle against Byz. CONSTANTINE VII reports that his relatives came from the area of the river Visla (*De adm. imp.* 33.16–18). In 912 Michael arrested Peter, son of the Venetian doge Orso II, who was returning from Constantinople with rich presents, and sent him to Symeon. In 917 Michael informed Symeon about the mission of the *strategos* of Dyrrachion, Leo Rhabdouchos, who was trying to form a broad coalition against Bulgaria; Symeon acted promptly and won the battle at ACHELOUS. In 926 Michael crossed the Adriatic and sacked Siponto (10 July) in Byz. Italy. He also

sought an alliance with the papacy; in 924 papal legates summoned a council in Spalato (SPLIT) and addressed Michael and TOMISLAV of Croatia, condemning the use of the Slavonic language in liturgy. After Symeon’s death (or before, according to Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:479), Michael was reconciled with Byz., acknowledged the sovereignty of the empire, and was granted the titles of *anthypatos* and *patrikios*.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:394f. Runciman, *Romanus* 212f, 218. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 298f. M. Lascaris, “La rivalité bulgare-byzantine en Serbie et la mission de Léon Rhabdouchos,” *RHSEE* 20 (1943) 202–07. —A.K.

**MICROCOSM** (μικρὸς κόσμος, lit. “small world”), the world in miniature. In patristic literature man is described as a microcosm in that he possesses in himself all the elements of the macrocosm; a unity of visible and invisible components, of body and soul. The latter is conceived as the essence “lying on the borders” (*methorios*) between the spiritual and the material, which serves as the mediator of a natural synthesis (Maximos the Confessor) and as “the bond (*syndesmos*) of the entire creation” (Kosmas Indikopleustes). Created by God, man is like the world, “a miniature world within the larger one” (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 26.25–26, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:76), a unity of elements subject to the law of transience (JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.70, ed. Joan-nou, p.118). The doctrine of the microcosm represents the attempt to develop an ANTHROPOLOGY in the framework of a metaphysic of participation and sympathy, in cooperation with a holistic psychological conception; as Proklos states, “The essence of man is found in his soul” (*In Alcibiadem* 1.18.4, ed. L.G. Westerink, 8). —K.-H.U.

**The Church Building as Microcosm.** The concept of microcosm in Byz. was extended to the church building, and thus the domed church as a reflection of the universe is a leitmotif in liturgical exegesis and *ekphrasis*. Following a cluster of Syriac commentaries (EPHREM THE SYRIAN, JACOB OF SARUG), the Byz. interpretation of this relationship is fully articulated in the so-called church history of Patr. GERMANOS I (“the church is a heaven on earth”) and implicit in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION in and after the 9th C. —A.C.

LIT. A. Meyer, *Wesen und Geschichte der Theorie vom Mikro-Makro-Kosmos* (Bern 1901). R. Allers, “Microcosmus from

Anaximandros to Paracelsus,” *Traditio* 2 (1944) 319–407. Balthasar *Kosmische Lit.* 171–75, 384–86. E. McVey, “The Domed Church as Microcosm,” *DOP* 37 (1983) 91–121. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 14–29.

**MICROSTRUCTURES**, small social groupings, a modern scholarly term for classifying those societal units that were relatively stable and locally limited, conscious of their existence, and thus determined by law or ritual. Byz. microstructures included FAMILY, LINEAGE, VILLAGE COMMUNITY, GUILD, CONFRATERNITY, MONASTERY, and, to some extent, town community. A special feature of Byz. microstructures was their “atomistic” character: the family was the main social unit, while the links of lineage, guild, or *polis-municipium* remained relatively loose.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, “Small Social Groupings (Microstructures) in Byzantine Society,” 16 *CEB*, vol. 2.2 (Vienna 1982) 3–11. J.F. Haldon, “On the Structuralist Approach to the Social History of Byzantium,” *BS* 42 (1981) 203–11. P.H. Stahl, *Sociétés traditionnelles balkaniques* (Paris 1979). —M.B.

**MILAN** (Μεδιόλανος, Lat. Mediolanum), residence of the praetorian prefect of Italy and of certain emperors (Maximianus, Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosios I) in the 4th C. Ausonius praised Milan as the fifth-largest city of the world after Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, and Trier. In Feb. 313 Constantine and Licinius met in Milan to elaborate common religious policy. Milan became ecclesiastical metropolis of most of northern Italy, its most famous bishop being AMBROSE. The city declined following the transfer of the imperial court to RAVENNA in 402; the see lost part of its jurisdiction to Ravenna and AQUILEIA. A major mint in the late 4th C., its coin production declined ca.404, ceased completely ca.420, and resumed on a much reduced scale from the last years of Valentinian III to 498.

The city was sacked by the HUNS in 452 and was contested by the forces of ODOACER and THEODORIC THE GREAT between 489 and 491 but recovered under the OSTROGOTHS. In 538 Milan’s leading citizens declared in favor of the Byz. cause, and in retaliation the Ostrogoths razed it in 539. Following Frankish raids in the 550s Milan was restored by NARSES but fell to the Lombards on 3 Sept. 569; its bishop fled to Genoa, where his successors remained until ca.650. Under Carolingian and later Ottonian rule, Milan remained a

connecting point with Byz.: in 1001 its archbishop Arnulf was sent to Constantinople by OTTO III. It is possible that the Pataria movement of 11th-C. Milan originated under the impact of Byz. dualist sects. In 1112 Peter GROSSOLANO, archbishop of Milan, visited Constantinople to discuss the FILIOQUE and other theological problems. In the 1160s, while involved in war against FREDERICK I, Milan sent two legates to Constantinople for negotiations; Emperor Manuel I promised financial support for Milan’s restoration but required an oath of *fidelitas*.

**Monuments of Milan.** In the 4th and 5th C. Milanese art and architecture were more inventive and diverse than those of any other Western city, even ROME. S. Lorenzo, a uniquely ambitious tetraconch related in plan to 5th-C. churches in Syria, was probably an imperial foundation and is to be identified with the “Basilica Portiana,” sequestered from St. Ambrose by Valentinian II. The niches of its octagonal chapel of S. Aquilino contain late 4th- to early 5th-C. mosaics that depict Christ as philosopher and as HELIOS; in the vestibule are fragments of a large apocalyptic composition. Churches sponsored by St. Ambrose were materially more modest but interesting for their symbolism. The Basilica Apostolorum (rebuilt as S. Nazaro) was a cross-shaped cemetery basilica that signified the faith in general resurrection for all who were buried in Christ. In the octagonal baptistery of the cathedral, Ambrose added a verse inscription that explained the regenerative symbolism of the number eight. A portrait of Ambrose is included in the 5th- to 6th-C. mosaics in the chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d’oro at S. Ambrogio; although posthumous, it is a highly individualized image that clearly attempts to “portray” him in the modern sense.

LIT. *Storia di Milano*, vols. 1–4 (Milan 1953–54). *Milano, una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi*, ed. C. Bertelli (Milan 1987). —I.S.B., D.K.

**MILDENHALL TREASURE**, dated to the 4th C. and found in 1942 near Mildenhall in Suffolk, England. Now in the British Museum, it represents a medium-size collection of domestic silver PLATE. The treasure is composed of 27 silver objects (four plates, eight bowls, two goblets, five ladles, eight spoons), many elaborately decorated and some (goblets, ladles) bearing a resemblance



to pieces in the CARTHAGE TREASURE. The mixture of pagan and Christian elements in the decoration resembles much domestic silver of the period: a set of three plates (one large, two small) displays Dionysiac scenes; three bowls have emblemata with Alexander the Great, his mother, and a hunter, respectively, while three spoons are inscribed with a CHRISTOGRAM. The names Pascentia and Papittedo appear on two spoons and that of Eutheros is scratched on a plate. It has been suggested that the last-mentioned individual was Emp. Julian's *praepositus sacri cubiculi* of that name (355–61 [PLRE 1:314]) who, as owner of the treasure, presented it to Lupicinus, the *magister equitum* for Gaul (ibid. 1:520), before the latter's departure for Britain in 360.

LIT. K.S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London 1977). —M.M.M.

**MILEŠEVA**, a monastery in southwestern Serbia, near Prijepolje, founded ca. 1220 by Prince Vladislav, son of King STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED. The *katholikon*, dedicated to the ASCENSION, has a Byz. ground plan: a nave with short cross arms for the choir, a single dome on pendentives, and three semicircular apses. The frescoes were probably executed before 1228; they reflect a standard Byz. church program, though the selection and distribution of the scenes is unusual. Along with portraits of the founder and his ancestors, the narthex contains a portrait of an unidentified Byz. emperor, possibly John III Vatatzes, standing near Constantine I the Great and Helena, his holy forebears; this is the only example in a Serbian church of a Byz. emperor thus acknowledged as overlord. Two artists were responsible for the frescoes; both were probably Greek, for they used a technique for rendering volume—the juxtaposition of red and green tones—otherwise employed only by the most sophisticated and classicizing Byz. painters. The backgrounds are either blue or ochre, the latter covered by gold leaf with imitation mosaic cubes drawn upon it. These frescoes are important for any study of the antecedents of Palaiologan painting, as few Byz. monuments have survived from this period. The marble sarcophagus of Vladislav is preserved in the nave beneath his portrait; an exonarthex with two side chapels and frescoes of the Last Judgment was added ca. 1236 to house the tomb of St. SAVA OF SERBIA.

LIT. S. Radojčić, *Mileševa* (Belgrade 1963). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 47–50. D. Nagorni, "Bemerkungen zum Stil und zu den Meistern der Wandmalerei in der Klosterkirche Mileševa," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 159–72. *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda. Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 750 godine postojanja* (Belgrade 1987). —G.B.

**MILESTONE** (μίλιον, Lat. *miliarium*), a stone post placed on a highway to indicate distance. Thousands of Roman milestones have been found from North Africa to Britain to Arabia; they were cylindrical columns made of limestone, granite, etc., usually 2–3 m high and set on a square base. They regularly bear inscriptions in Latin or Greek, some in praise of emperors, including those of the 4th and 5th C. (e.g., a milestone erected under Theodosios II and Valentinian III in 435—*CIL* 17.2, no.53). Apparently no milestones of the 6th C. or later have survived. The marking of distances, measured in MILIA (about 1,480 m), started from the Milion in Constantinople (see MESE). Milestones are an important source not only for studying the system of ROADS, but also for late Roman imperial propaganda. After the triumph of Christianity in the 4th C. certain milestones were provided with Christian symbols (e.g., the CROSS) and inscriptions.

ED. G. Walser, *Miliaria imperii Romani* [*CIL* 17.2] (Berlin–New York 1986).

LIT. K. Schneider, *RE* supp. 6 (1935) 395–431. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, tr. N.H. Field (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 39–47. L. Gounaropoulou, M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Les miliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985). P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976) 177–200. P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique Proconsulaire* (Rome 1987). —A.K.

**MILETOS** (Μίλητος), city on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, now Balat (from Gr. Palatia). Its excavated remains show that Miletos flourished in the time of Diocletian, when much building and restoration took place, then fell into a decline; ancient buildings collapsed and small, shoddy structures, which disregarded the regular urban plan, were constructed over and within the ruins. The reign of Justinian I brought recovery as shown by a new cathedral, restored baths, and drainage of the harbor, works owed to the influence at court of a native son, HESYCHIOS of Miletos. New fortification walls of the 7th–8th C., which excluded much of the ancient city and used the theater as their citadel, indicate a drastic contrac-

tion; small houses were built over the ruins within the circuit. Eventually, perhaps in the 12th C., Miletos withdrew entirely within its ancient theater, which was provided with a new citadel. It consequently took the name Palatia, for the people of the time thought the theater had been a palace. Miletos, which was originally a city of the THRAKESION theme, was briefly occupied by the Turks after Mantzikert and after the reconquest assigned to the theme of MYLASA AND MELANOUDION in the 12th C. By then it was a small township referred to as a *chora* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, nos. 64.15, 73.3) or even *ktema*, "estate" (*op.cit.* 2, no.66.1); it possessed no separate administration except for fiscal officials called *praktores*. It fell to the Turks of Monteshe ca. 1285.

Suffragan of APHRODISIAS, Miletos became an autocephalous archbishopric by 536, and a metropolis under Manuel I. The monastic center of LATROS was northeast of Miletos.

LIT. FOSS, "Twenty Cities" 477–79. W. Müller-Wiener, "Das Theaterkastell von Milet," *IstMitt* 17 (1967) 279–90. Idem, "Die 'Grosse Kirche' (sog. Bischofskirche) in Milet," *IstMitt* 23–24 (1973–74) 131–34. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 126, 137f. —C.F.

**MILIARESION** (μιλιαρήσιον, from Lat. *miliaren-sis*), a name applied in the 4th C. to silver coins struck 72 to the pound and having in terms of bronze coins a value of 1,000 half-scripula or obols (J.-P. Callu, *RN*<sup>6</sup> 22 [1980] 126–30). Byz. sources of the 7th–11th C. use it for the basic Byz. silver coin reckoned 12 to the SOLIDUS. Thus, *miliaresion* was the Byz. name for the HEXAGRAM in the 7th C., and, afterwards, for the coins of a broad, thin fabric introduced by Leo III in 720 and characteristic of the 8th–11th C. (Numismatists, however, generally use the term *miliarsesion* for the latter coin only.) These coins seem initially to have been struck 144 to the pound, giving them a theoretical weight of 2.27 g, but in the Macedonian period they were heavier, probably 3.03 g (108 to the pound). Miliarsesia ceased to be struck in 1092, as a result of Alexios I's coinage reform, but the name survived as a money of account, 1/12 of the nomisma. The denomination was subsequently revived as the BASILIKON. Western documents apply the derivative term *millarès* to various types of Muslim silver coin.

LIT. H.L. Adelson, "A Note on the Miliarses from Constantine to Heraclius," *MN* 7 (1957) 125–35. Idem,

"Silver Currency and Values in the Early Byzantine Empire," *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, ed. H. Ingholt (New York 1958) 1–26. *DOC* 2:17–21, 3:62–68. —Ph.G.

**MILION** (μίλιον), a measure of distance originally meaning 1,000 Roman double-steps (*passus*), also called *stathmos* or *semeion*. Byz. metrological tables calculate 1 *milion* as 7 or 7.5 *stadia*, respectively 4,200 and 4,500 "feet" (see Pous), that is, approximately 1,312 m and 1,404 m; the figure of 7.5 *stadia* is also given in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 113.8–9), but John TZETZES gives 4,600 "feet." On the other hand, both the *Treatise on Taxation* and Constantine HARMENOPOULOS define 1 *milion* as 750 geometrical or 840 simple ORGYIAI (= 1,581 and 1,574 m, respectively). As longer measures of distance, an *allage* of 6 *milia* and *hemeresios dromos* of approximately 30 *milia* were used. The classicizing *stadion* and *parasanges*, although mentioned in the *Treatise on Taxation*, were not employed in everyday life.

(For the Milion in Constantinople, see MESE.)

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 32–36.

—E. Sch.

**MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES** on a regular basis date from the early 4th C., when Constantine I granted his Christian soldiers leave to attend Sunday liturgy. By the mid-5th C. military chaplains are found in the army (Jones, *LRE* 632f), and priests are commonly listed among the army's nonmilitary personnel in 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA; St. Loukas the Stylite (10th C.), for example, was a military chaplain who conducted services for soldiers each Sunday (Delehay, *Saints stylites* 201.14–25). Liturgical books were brought along on imperial campaigns (*De cer.* 467.4).

Religious rituals were an integral part of the army's daily routine. According to the 10th-C. PRAECEPTA MILITARIA, matins and vespers were held daily, and the soldiers sought repentance through prayer and tears; anyone failing to participate was severely punished. Before battle the soldiers were enjoined to resolve their differences, to fast, and to confess their sins before taking communion—measures intended to reinforce morale, to dispel anxiety and the fear of death, and to secure God's favor. Other prebattle rituals included the blessing of standards and weapons. After battle, proper services for the dead were

observed and thanksgiving for victory was offered, esp. following such notable successes as the triumph of John I Tzimiskes over the Rus' in 971 (Skyl. 300.65-67).

SOURCES. Th. Detorakis, "Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre," *Muséon* 101 (1988) 183-211. A. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo," *Aevum* 22 (1948) 145-68.

LIT. J.-R. Vieillefond, "Les pratiques religieuses dans l'armée byzantine d'après les traités militaires," *REA* 37 (1935) 322-30. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 237-52.

-E.M.

**MILITARY SAINTS**, a group of SAINTS (including GEORGE, DEMETRIOS, NESTOR, THEODORE TERON, THEODORE STRATELATES, MERKOURIOS, PROKOPIOS) conceived and represented as armed soldiers. The evolution of the image of military saints consisted in the militarization of their roles: from civic official to warrior, from soldier to general, from foot soldier to mounted knight. The chronology of this development, however, cannot be established with precision. Some earlier martyrdoms contained the theme of the Christian's renouncing the military profession and proclaiming himself a fighter for the king of heaven; later this "antiwar" attitude disappeared. The MIRACLES worked by military saints included, besides "normal" ones, actions such as the defense of cities and providing assistance to armies. The military saints cannot, however, claim an exclusive prerogative to military deeds: the VIRGIN MARY, the apostle ANDREW, and some other saints were also active as military protectors of the Byz. The military aristocracy often chose military saints as patrons and placed their images on SEALS; the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY introduced figures of Demetrios, George, and Theodore on coins.

LIT. Delehay, *Saints militaires*. A.F.C. Webster, "Varieties of Christian Military Saints: From Martyrs under Caesar to Warrior Princes," *SVThQ* 24 (1980) 3-35. L. Kretzenbacher, *Griechische Reiterheilige als Gefangenenerreter* (Vienna 1983).

-A.K.

**MILL** (μύλος). A mill powered by oxen, *mylikon ergasterion zoökineton* (*typikon* of PETRITZOS monastery, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 43.392-93), was the predominant device for grinding GRAIN in the Roman Empire. In a law of 364 an average bakery is described as having animals and slaves. This form of mill continued to exist in later centuries: the 10th-C. BOOK OF THE EPARCH (ch.18.1)

also mentions the animals that turn the millstones, and in the 11th C., on the ground floor of the Constantinopolitan mansion of Michael ATTALEIATES, was a mill driven by a donkey. The *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA (p.60.25-26) forbade strangers access to the monastery's *onomyloi*, mills powered by donkeys.

The hand mill (*cheiromylon*) was also known: a thief stole the quern that Loukas the Younger kept in his hut (E. Martini, *AB* 13 [1894] 103.30-31); such querns were carried in the wagon trains of campaigning armies (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 5.6). A most unusual example is the geared mill turned by Samson in an illustrated Octateuch (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r [II]).

Water mills (*hydromylones*) were used in late antiquity: a 5th-C. mill was excavated at the agora of Athens. The axle ran between the sockets from the wheelrace to the pit in the mill room; on the shaft, where it crossed the pit, a vertical tympanum was set, meshing with the larger horizontal tympanum whose vertical shaft moved the millstone. In Rome, mills on the Janiculum powered by water from an aqueduct are attested in the 4th-6th C.; when the Goths in 537 stopped the flow of water through the aqueduct, the Romans tried to set up floating mills on the Tiber. In Byz. texts water mills are common from the FARMER'S LAW to the documents of the Palaiologan period; evidently they became the principal type of mill. Water mills were of two types, the winter mills that worked only when streams were in full spate and the "year-round *ergasteria*" (e.g., MM 4:7.7). A water mill is included in the floor mosaic of the Great Palace at Constantinople (*Great Palace, 1st Report*, pl. 41).

Windmills (*anemomylones*) appear infrequently in documents, but they evidently existed in the 14th C.: thus, a *praktikon* of 1304 mentions a windmill located near a water mill (*Lavra* 2, no.99.39). The same *praktikon* indicates that peasants could own shares of a windmill (ibid., no.99.54.152).

LIT. O. Wikander, "Water-Mills in Ancient Rome," *Opuscula Romana* 12 (1979) 13-36. A.W. Parsons, "A Roman Water-Mill in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 70-90. G. Brett, "Byzantine Water-Mill," *Antiquity* 13 (1939) 354-56. G. Demetrokales, "Hoi anemomyloi ton Byzantinon," *Parnassos* 20 (1978) 141-44.

-A.K., J.W.N., A.C.

**MILUTIN**. See STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN.

**MILVIAN BRIDGE**, span over the river Tiber in Rome, site of the battle of 28 Oct. 312 where CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT defeated MAXENTIUS. Prior to the battle, according to both Eusebios of Caesarea and Lactantius, Constantine had some sort of religious experience, attributed at least in later times to the Christian God. The emperor put signs on his troops' shields or devised standards (LABARUM) that reflected that experience. Maxentius cut off the approaches to Rome, including the Milvian Bridge, but constructed a temporary bridge of boats and came out to fight. Constantine's victory and the death of Maxentius made him sole emperor in the West and consolidated the position of Christianity (see EDICT OF MILAN); it was also an important precedent for Christian concepts of TRIUMPH. The battle is depicted on the Arch of Constantine; a relief from Caesarea in Mauritania often said to show the battle probably does not. The patristic comparison between the battle and the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA was exploited on sarcophagi and preserved in Byz. art. In the PARIS GREGORY (fol. 440r), the miniature depicting Constantine's victory places the bridge over a Tiber painted red.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 42-45. A. Alföldi, "Cornuti: A Teutonic Contingent in the Service of Constantine the Great and its Decisive Role in the Battle at the Milvian Bridge," *DOP* 13 (1959) 169-79.

-T.E.G., A.C.

**MIME** (μῆμος), a term designating an ACTOR. Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:415.5-9) distinguishes *mimoi*, *skenikoi*, and *thymelikoi*; the *thymelikoi* were respectable people who performed EPITHALAMIA to the accompaniment of musical instruments, but *mimoi* and *skenikoi* were buffoons (*paigniotai*) who played the roles of slaves, soldiers, and women and engaged in slapstick. Mimes and jesters provided amusement at imperial banquets: at the court of Leo VI the *skenikos* Lampoudios crudely taunted Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 43.23-27); a *mimos* named Chaliboures entertained Isaac II and his guests (Nik.Chon. 441.24), etc. The satiric image of Michael III in historiography of the 10th C. represented the emperor as involved in theatrical (*skenika*) activity (Ja. Ljubarskij, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 39-50).

-A.K.

**MIMESIS**. See IMITATION.

**MINERALOGY**. Contrasted with the careful classification of "stones" in Theophrastos's work of ca.300 B.C., Byz. lapidaries concentrated almost always on their magical and medical properties, a tendency foreshadowed by sections of the Hippocratic corpus as well as the record of medical stones and metals by DIOSKORIDES. When AETIOS OF AMIDA wrote his medical encyclopedia, the topic of medical stones had become subsumed within a large, popular genre of magical and mythological lapidaries, represented in the extant texts of "Orpheus," called *On Stones* (*Orpheos lithika*, ed. G.N. Giannakes [Ioannina 1982]). Under the name of Zoroaster survive fragments of lapidaries, closely related to certain passages in the magical papyri (*The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz [Chicago 1986] vol. 1) as well as to *On Stones* by PSELLOS. Also related are some of the Greek works on ALCHEMY. The astrological properties of "stones" are linked with seasonal herbs, likewise of major importance, in some tracts purported to be by HERMES TRISMEGISTOS as well as many sections in the texts of Byz. ASTROLOGY. Byz. authors sought to discover the connections of "stones" and their growth in the earth with PHARMACOLOGY and MAGIC; although precious and semiprecious gems were emphasized, the study of "things mined" (including coral, magnetite, and amber as well as the expected opal, topaz, emerald, GOLD, SILVER, and copper) entailed an ever more detailed collection of data, used to provide efficacy in astrological or alchemical medicine and pharmacy. (See also GEMS, AMULET, and MINES.)

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:277f. *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe*, ed. J. Bidez, F. Cumont (Paris 1938) 2:197-206. J. Riddle, "Amber in Ancient Pharmacy," *Pharmacy in History* 15 (1973) 3-17.

-J.S.

**MINES** (μέταλλα) operated in various areas of the Roman Empire and are often mentioned and described in the sources; some of them ceased to function, at least temporarily, in the late 3rd C. (J. Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique des anciens* [Brussels 1977] 13). For the late Roman period, there is information about both public and private mining operations throughout the empire. Edmondson (*infra*) has argued that at this time larger mining districts declined, the emphasis changed to smaller-scale exploitation of mines, and there was less direct government control of mining operations. Although many miners were



freemen (Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 101), widespread use was made of criminals (and prisoners of war), since legislation of the 4th and 5th C. prescribed work in the mines as punishment (*in metallum damnare*). This legislation, preserved primarily in the *Codex Theodosianus*, was repeated in the *Basilika* and by Harmenopoulos, but these later repetitions may be anachronistic. In the Balkans in late antiquity mines were under the supervision of the *comes metallorum* for Illyricum. There is very little information on Byz. mines from the 7th to 12th C., much more data (primarily from non-Byz. sources) for the 13th–15th C. Vryonis (*infra*) has argued that the silence of the Byz. sources does not mean that mines ceased to function on Byz. soil, but that Byz. historians did not consider this sort of information important.

IRON was widely available: mines are attested in Syro-Palestine, Anatolia (Trebizond, Sinope), the Crimea, the eastern Danube region (Capidava, Păcuil lui Soare, Dinogetia), Macedonia, and Noricum. In the Roman period major centers of copper production were located in the West (M. Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* [Paris–The Hague 1974] 13–15); the mines of Euboea were exhausted, and those of Sinai and neighboring areas ceased to be exploited after the 3rd C. Among the sources of copper after the 6th C. were Cyprus, Pontos, and the Caucasus; old BRONZE was also recycled. A decrease in bronze coinage is evident from the beginning of the 7th C. but it is hard to determine to what extent this was connected with a decline in copper mining.

The ancient sources of GOLD in Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor were practically exhausted by the 6th C. even though the traditional expression "the gold-rich Pactolus" (in Lydia) was still used proverbially. Gold was brought to Byz. from Armenia: in the 6th C. Prokopios (*Wars* 1.15.18) cites the strongholds of Bolon and Phrangion in Persarmenia as places where the metal was extracted, and in the 9th C. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 179.7) speaks of golden mines (*chrysorychia*) in the Armenian mountains. Gold came also via AXUM: Kosmas Indikopleustes (2:51f) describes how Axumite merchants visited the land of Sasou (Yu. Kobiščanov, *PSb* 11 [1964] 94–112) to exchange meat, salt, and iron for gold ingots called *tanchara*. Gold was also mined on Mt. Pan-

gaion in Thrace, and nuggets were found in the auriferous streams of the Rhodope Mountains.

SILVER was likewise mined in widespread regions of the empire. The mines in Attica (at Sounion, Laurion, and Thorikos) were in operation in the 5th–6th C. (G. Fowden, *JHS* 108 [1988] 55 and n.43). In the 6th C. PAUL SILENTIARIOS (vv. 679–80) noted that silver used in the decoration of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, came from Sounion and Mt. Pangaion. Other silver mines were located in Armenia and Cyprus; esp. in the late Byz. period silver was obtained from the Caucasus and Serbia (e.g., at Novo Brdo).

Numerous toponyms of small settlements deriving from the terms for iron and copper—for example, Sidera (*Xénoph.*, no.19.35), Sidereas (*Lavra* 2, no.111.11), Sideropetra (*Lavra* 2, no.90.210), Siderokastron (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. 28.44), Siderokauseia (*Esphig.*, no.15.19, etc.), Siderionin (*Vazelon*, no.12.3), Chalkobounon (*Xénoph.*, no.4.17), Chalkopagas (*Lavra* 3, no. 122.12)—probably reflect the expansion of medieval mining; it is noteworthy that toponyms connected with gold and silver (save for large towns like Chrysopolis) are extremely rare—for example, the rivulet Argyroba (*Lavra* 2, no.108.899).

LIT. S. Vryonis, "The Question of the Byzantine Mines," *Speculum* 37 (1962) 1–17; rev. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 25 (1964) 259–61. J.C. Edmondson, "Mining in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond," *JRS* 79 (1989) 84–102. V. Velkov, "Rudodobivane i minno delo v drevna Trakija," *Godišnik na Nacionalnija politehnički muzej* (1973) no.2, 23–40. D. Samsaris, "Les mines et la métallurgie de fer et de cuivre dans la province romaine de Macédoine," *Klio* 69 (1987) 152–62. O.Ju. Belous, "Ob upravlenii gornymi predpriiatijami v pozdnej Rimskoj i rannej Vizantijskoj imperijach (IV–VI vv.)," *ADSV* 24 (1988) 143–51.

—A.K., A.M.T.

**MINORITES.** See FRANCISCANS.

**MINTS.** Byz. COINS were at some periods minted only at Constantinople, but more often there were one or more provincial mints as well. Only in the early period (4th–8th C.) were the mints commonly indicated on the coins. Where explicit mint-marks are absent, identification is highly conjectural.

The pattern of minting in the later Roman Empire was set by Diocletian, who brought all mints under the direct control of the state. The great size of the empire made the centralized

manufacture of coins impossible, so provincial mints were created, patterned closely upon the civil dioceses. Minting was controlled through the praetorian prefectures, but the directors of the mints (*procuratores monetarum*) came under the jurisdiction of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. Closely geared to the needs of the state and army, minting was to some degree sporadic, gold and silver coins in great quantity being required at intervals for accession donatives and quinquennial distributions.

A mint-mark forming part of the design on a coin identified the mint by abbreviating its name (e.g., RM for *Roma*), often adding SM (for *Sacra Moneta*) or the standard abbreviation for the technical term for refined gold (OB, *obryzum*) or silver (PS, *pusulatum*). Also, as most mints were divided into OFFICINAE, this was indicated as well, normally as a Greek numeral (from A to I = 1–10). In the third quarter of the 4th C. the minting of gold was centralized in the palatine officium of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, so that coins of this metal were struck only when and where the emperor was in residence. After the accession of Arkadios, the eastern emperor rarely left Constantinople; in consequence the formulae CON and CONOB (COMOB in the West) became the distinctive mark of gold coins, used even when the gold was minted elsewhere. This was notably the case after Justinian I's reconquest of the West, for this resulted in the opening or reopening of imperial gold mints at Carthage, Ravenna, and Rome. The little silver that was then being struck came from the same mints. At the same time there were many provincial mints for copper, with mints and *officinae* normally identified on the coins as they had been in the 4th C.

The reign of Herakleios saw a change, for in 628–29 all provincial mints other than Alexandria were closed. Whether such a situation could have lasted, given the difficulty of transporting heavy copper coins over large distances, is impossible to say, for Syria and Egypt were lost to the Arabs within a few years. But dies were occasionally sent out from Constantinople to enable minting to be carried out at Thessalonike, and in the West a plethora of mints existed down to the time of the loss of these provinces.

In later centuries the bulk of coins was struck at Constantinople. Nicholas MESARITES vividly describes the dirt and noise in which the mint em-

ploees worked in his account of their role in the revolt of John KOMNENOS in 1200 (Mesarites [ed. Heisenberg] 25.32–26.9). Provincial mints were opened from time to time, as administrative or military needs dictated, but since mint-marks were no longer employed—even CON did not last beyond the reign of Leo III—their products can be separated from those of the capital only by iconographic or stylistic differences, and the locations of the mints themselves can be determined only by the evidence of find spots or, in the case of coins struck by usurpers, by our knowledge from other sources of where these usurpers were in power (e.g., Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus). The main provincial mint was normally Thessalonike, to which Hendy would assign all copper FOLLES with rulers' names struck between 1059 and 1092 (leaving the Anonymous Folles to Constantinople). This mint was supplemented in the 12th C. by one in central Greece, perhaps at Thebes. Later coins can sometimes be attributed to Thessalonike by their peculiarities in style or fabric, confirmed occasionally by a preference for representations of St. Demetrios or of an emperor, or an emperor and another saint, holding a building inscribed with the name of the city. Trebizond was a mint under the GABRADES and again from the 13th C. onward under the emperors of Trebizond; Nicaea and Magnesia were imperial mints at various times in the 13th C. The mark ΦΛΔΦ identifies a group of 14th-C. trachea struck at Philadelphia—Pegolotti refers to *perperi di Fildelfe* (S. Bendall, *Schweizer Münzblätter* 34 [1984] 3–8).

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 371–447.

—Ph.G.

**MINUSCULE**, the script used from ca.800 to copy MSS. It evolved in the 7th or 8th C. from the CURSIVE script. The oldest dated minuscule MS is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK from 835. In book production the minuscule had such advantages over the UNCIAL as greater compactness and greater speed of writing, combination of letters by LIGATURE, and (later) frequent ABBREVIATIONS. The use of accents and breathings (at first intermittent, later regular) led to greater legibility and more reliable texts. In the 9th–10th C. it served for the TRANSLITERATION (*metacharakterismos*) of Greek uncial MSS, including antique works: examples of *metacharakterismos* are the codices com-

missioned by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, e.g., the Euclid MS of 888 (Oxford, Bodl. D'Orville 301), or the Plato of 895 (once on Patmos, now Oxford, Bodl. Clarke 39). The hypothesis that minuscule script originated in the STODIOS MONASTERY in Constantinople has been met with skepticism by N. Wilson (*Scholars* 66). The new Sinai finds (1975) suggest that an early form of minuscule was in wide use in the Palestine region between 800 and 850.

Minuscule is written without regard for the regular separation of words; it is contained within four parallel lines, with upstrokes and downstrokes. Among the typical features of early minuscule are (1) the angular breathings (in the form of a truncated eta; (2) the iota adscriptum (i.e., written on the line next to the preceding letter), a feature that continues into the 11th C.; and (3) writing the letters on the ruling line (later, the letters are written under the line). As early as the late 9th C. letters from the majuscule alphabet, for example, gamma and kappa, were reintroduced into the minuscule, at first at the end of lines. H. Hunger has proposed the term "pearl script" to characterize the style of minuscule that flourished esp. in the 10th and 11th C. (H. Hunger in *PGEB* 202). In the 12th C. the enlargement of the circumflex and certain letters changed the appearance of the written page. In the second half of the 13th C. was introduced a cursive form of minuscule (called beta-gamma style by N. Wilson and *Fettaugenmode* ["blob of fat style"] by H. Hunger), alongside the traditional or archaizing minuscule, which imitated 11th-C. models. The bookscript of the 14th C. is characterized by a more calligraphic style, called "Metochites style" by Hunger after the style of deluxe MSS containing works by this author (e.g., Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 95), and by the development of the HODEGON style. The earliest Greek printed books (and to a great extent modern ones as well) adopted the 15th-C. minuscule letters for their type.

LIT. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1934-39). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 30-35. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 94-107. *PGEB* 139-65, 175-80, 191-99, 221-39, 283-90, 303-21. E. Granstrom, "K voprosu o vizantijskom minuskule," *VizVrem* 13 (1958) 222-45. C.M. Mazzucchi, "Minuscule corsive e librerie," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 166-89. —E.G., I.S.

MIRABILIA. See PARADOXOGRAPHY.

**MIRACLES** (sing. *θαῦμα*), extraordinary events, either beyond the range of corporeal nature or extremely unlikely. Perceptible to the senses, miracles were believed to have been produced by God or—with divine support—by a SAINT as a sign of the supernatural. A miracle is to be strictly distinguished from extraordinary phenomena produced by DEMONS or MAGIC. The miracles caused directly by God were viewed primarily as punishing humans for their sins (fire and brimstone poured on Sodom and Gomorrah, the Egyptian plagues, drowning the Pharaoh in the Red Sea) or predicting danger, whereas the Virgin Mary and the thaumaturgic saints were thought to work a broader range of miracles: HEALING (including EXORCISM); rescues from shipwreck, captivity, or enemy attack; creating abundance instead of shortage (of bread, wine, and oil); assistance in travels (esp. in crossing rivers); entering or escaping from locked buildings; sending messages and documents with extraordinary speed; prophecy; revealing men's concealed thoughts and actions (esp. theft); incorruptibility of the corpse.

The saints work miracles thanks to the grace they have received from God who distributes among them aspects of his power, sometimes allotting a saint a geographical region and a particular field of action; they usually act in response to human petition and prayer. "This world of saints," says G. Dagron (*Vie et Miracles de sainte Thècle* [Brussels 1978] 95), "is closely modeled on the empire (served by) functionaries." Saints differ from pagan gods and miracle workers in that they do not need material objects to achieve their goals—they act primarily by purely spiritual force and psychic contact, by word (prayer), gaze, and gesture.

Collections of miracles are usually divided into those worked during the saint's life and posthumous ones; the latter are either described at the end of the VITA or form special treatises (*miracula*), such as those of Sts. GEORGE, DEMETRIOS, and NICHOLAS.

The Byz. sometimes evinced a critical attitude toward miracles—not in principle, but in specific cases. Some extraordinary phenomena, such as EARTHQUAKES, found a natural explanation, and hagiographers often complained of their audience's scepticism about miracles; contemporaries, for instance, questioned both the authenticity and divine character of the miracles of KYROS AND JOHN.

**Representation in Art.** When a miracle performed by a saint parallels a Gospel event, the biblical iconography was adopted with a minimum of alteration (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION). Depictions of exorcisms or healings performed by holy men, for example, generally show the saint standing before the afflicted person and raising one hand in a sign of blessing; the visual association with the figure of Christ is far from coincidental. Miracles that are not paralleled in the Bible were less apt to be chosen for illustration; where they do exist, the complex events were often reduced to what could be rendered by means of simple formulas. Miraculous or posthumous appearances are not signaled in any particular way: the saint just turns up in person to take part in the scene. Woven into the fabric of regular vita cycles, miracle scenes are rarely illustrated independently. One exception, however, is a templon beam at the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai, which illustrates a sequence of posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios.

LIT. H.C. Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven-London 1983). H. Delehay, "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," *AB* 43 (1925) 5-73. J. Moorhead, "Thoughts on Some Early Medieval Miracles," *ByzAus* 1 (1981) 1-11. B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983) 155-214. —A.K., N.P.S.

**MIRACLES OF CHRIST.** Of all the episodes of Christ's ministry, his miracles are the most frequently depicted. The earliest Christian art of the CATACOMBS draws almost exclusively on his INFANCY and miracles. Especially widespread are the Marriage at CANA and the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE, often paired as prefigurations of the Eucharist; the water miracles (Jn 4:5-30; 5:2-9; 9:1-7, see healing of the BLIND MAN), associated with Baptism; and the healing miracles, associated with conversion. By the 6th C., the miracles had been assembled into cycles (Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA). The 10th-C. GÖREME churches of Tokalı Kilise and St. Theodore, Sousam Bayrı (Restle, *Wall Painting* 2, figs. 71, 88-91, 105; 3, figs. 374-84) retain such sequences, but few miracles are represented in the following century and a half other than those that became major liturgical feasts, such as the miracle of the Raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1-46; see LAZARUS SATURDAY), or those included in the FRIEZE GOSPELS. Miracle scenes reappear in the later 12th C. and become prominent again in the discursive imagery of the

Palaiologan period: CHORA; Athos, Iveron 5 (*Treasures* II, figs. 11-39); monastery of St. NIKITA at Čučer; STARO NAGORIČINO.

LIT. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst," *JbAChr* 1-9 (1958-66). Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:250-72, 280-302. —A.W.C.

**MIRCEA THE ELDER**, or Mircea the Great (called Myrxas [*Μύρξας*] or Miltzes in Byz. sources), prince of WALLACHIA (from 1386); died 31 Jan. 1418. In Byz. terminology he was referred to as *voivod* of Blachia, *archegos* of the Mysoi or "Moesians" (Doukas), or *tyrannos* of Dacia (Chalkokondyles). Mircea joined the anti-Turkish alliance but was defeated at KOSOVO POLJE. When BAYEZID I invaded Wallachia, Mircea organized a partisan war against him (Chalk. 1:73f) and on 17 May 1395 routed the Turks and their Slavic vassals at ROVINE. Despite the victory, Mircea had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the sultan. The next year Mircea, in alliance with Sigismund of Hungary, marched against the Turks, but the allies lost the battle at NIKOPOLIS on the Danube. Mircea had to give up DOBRUDJA, which he had recently annexed. The Turkish defeat at the battle of ANKARA in 1402 reversed the situation: Mircea formed a coalition with Sigismund and STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ against the Turks, in 1404 supported the revolt of Constantine and Fružin in Bulgaria (P. Petrov, *IzvInst-BŭlgIst* 9 [1960] 187-214), and again occupied Dobrudja. The Ottoman prince MUSA sought Mircea's support against his brother SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI and until Musa's death in 1413 Wallachia enjoyed relative security. It was surrendered to the Turks either in the last years of Mircea or, according to R.-Ş. Ciobanu (*RevIst* 39 [1986] 764-73), after 1419/20.

LIT. R.W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians*<sup>2</sup> (n.p. 1963) 31-34. N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1937) 317-411. V. Montagna, *Politica externă a lui Mircea cel Bătrîn* (Gherla 1924). N. Pienaru, "Relațiile lui Mircea cel Mare (1386-1418) cu Mehmed I Çelebi (1413-1421)," *RevIst* 39 (1986) 774-94. —A.K.

**MIRROR OF PRINCES**, conventional term borrowed from Western medieval literature to describe a text offering advice to a ruler. Although drawing on common principles of statecraft, Mirrors are distinct from BASILIKOI LOGOI, because they offer elements of criticism rather than pure adulation. Hunger (*infra*) considers the speech of SYNESIOS titled *On Kingship* as the earliest Byz.



Mirror. The Mirrors fall roughly into two groups: the short and gnomic, their chapters sometimes linked by an acrostic; and the more discursive. AGAPETOS established, based on MENANDER RHETOR, the traditional paradigm of the emperor, which was developed later in the treatise attributed to Basil I (addressing his son Leo): the ruler should combine sound moral principles with Christian virtues and a godlike philanthropy. In the 11th C. two new virtues were added to the imperial ideal, those of noble origin and of personal military prowess: while KEKAUMENOS still clung to the image of a "civilian" *basileus*, for THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid martial character was indispensable (A. Kazhdan in *Byz. Aristocracy* 43–57). Byz. authors (cf. SPANEAS, BLEMMEYDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS) used pseudo-Isocrates' *Demonikos* and other classical examples to develop the imperial paradigm. Elements of the Mirror penetrate various strains of Byz. literature, from BARLAAM AND IOASAPH to historical works (e.g., VITA BASILII, Michael ATTALEIATES) to *Stephanites and Ichneutes* by Symeon SETH.

ED. For editions, see individual authors. Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:157–65. K. Emminger, *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln*, 3 vols. (Munich 1906–13). I. Čičurov, "Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit in den byzantinischen Fürstenspiegeln des 6.–9. Jahrhunderts," in *Cupido legum* 33–45. Ibid., "Tradicija i novatorstvo v političeskoj mysli Vizantii konca IX v.," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 95–100. R. Romano, "Retorica e cultura a Bisanzio: due Fürstenspiegel a confronto," *Vichiana* 14 (1985) 299–316. —E.M.J., A.K.

**MISKAWAYH**, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Arab historian; born ca.942, died 16 Feb. 1030. Of obscure background, a secretary under the vizierate of the 'Abbāsids, he later served the Būyids in Rayy, where he held several positions, including curatorship of a private library. An enormously learned man, he was esp. interested in philosophy, medicine, and alchemy. He wrote on medicine, philosophy, and religion and was a respected *littérateur* and poet. He disdained the contemporary Greeks but admired the classical thinkers and firmly advocated religious toleration.

His best-known work is *The Experiences of the Nations*, a history from Creation to 980. Its first volumes are based on Miskawayh's predecessors. As he sometimes preserves material from works now lost, his accounts of the Persian wars under Maurice and Herakleios and of the Arab con-

quests in Syria are of interest. From 951 on he provides original material informed by keen critical observation and access to extensive library resources and official circles. He repeatedly relates Byz. successes in the frontier wars of the 10th C., and also describes diplomatic negotiations and contacts, in particular the magnificent reception for Byz. AMBASSADORS in Baghdad in 917.

ED. *Tadjaribo 'l-Omami*, auctore Ibn Maskowaih, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1869–71; rp. Baghdad 1964) vol. 2. *The Tajārib al-umam or History of Ibn Miskawayh*, ed. L. Caetani (Leiden-London 1909–17) vols. 1, 5, 6. *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations*, ed. and tr. H.F. Amedroz, D.S. Margoliouth, in their *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, vols. 1–2 (Oxford 1920–21).

LIT. M.S. Khan, "The Eye-Witness Reporters of Miskawayh's Contemporary History," *Islamic Culture* 38 (1964) 295–313. Idem, "The Personal Evidence in Miskawayh's Contemporary History," *Islamic Quarterly* 11 (1967) 50–63. Idem, "Miskawayh and Arabic Historiography," *JAOS* 89 (1969) 710–30. —L.I.C.

**MISMĪYAH**. See PHAINA.

**MISSIONS**. Christianity was a missionary religion from the time of the apostles, esp. St. Paul. Missionary activity received added importance in the 4th C. when the concept developed that the late Roman Empire and christianized territory were co-terminous (see OIKOUMENE); hence, the conversion of non-Christians was a boon to the empire. Thus, the state was frequently involved in missions and often used missionaries as agents of imperial policy. Byz. missions can be divided into three categories: those in which military intervention was used to support the spread of Christianity, those that were part of a diplomatic effort, and those conducted by individuals, who were sometimes officially supported, sometimes on their own.

In the 4th–5th C. Orthodox bishops such as PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA spread Christianity among pagans, but missions to people outside the empire were undertaken largely by Arians, Nestorians, and Monophysites, whose activities within Byz. were limited; ULFILAS was the primary missionary to the Goths while Nestorian missionaries traveled as far as China. The great age of Orthodox missionary activity began in the 9th C., inspired in part by the Rus' attack on Constantinople in 860, and leading directly to the mission dispatched by

Photios to BORIS I of Bulgaria and that of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to the Moravians. Missionary centers were established at OHRID, PRESNAV, and other cities, where Slavic priests were trained in Byz. Christianity. Missionaries were also sent to the Alans and other peoples of the northern Caucasus and to Hungary. The greatest success of Byz. missionaries was the conversion of VLADIMIR I of Kiev in 988. Missionaries such as St. NIKON HO "METANOITE" worked within the frontiers of the empire for the conversion of pagan peoples settled there.

Characteristically, Byz. missionary activity worked "from the top down" by focusing first on the rulers and leaders of society who then arranged the conversion of their people en masse, although missionaries also worked consistently among the people after the "official" conversion. The traditional view that Byz. missionaries normally operated on the premise that people should be addressed in their own language, and hence the Scripture, liturgy, and writings of the Fathers were translated into local languages, has recently been questioned (I. Ševčenko, *infra* 19 and n.38). Forced hellenization was sometimes attempted, esp. when Byz. achieved direct political control over the missionary area. Byz. practice, however, led in most places to the emergence of native "national" Christianity, strongly influenced by Byz. models but culturally and administratively separate.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium," *HUSt* 12–13 (1988–89) 7–27. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.IV (1967), 649–74. C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, II, 1. *Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich 1978) 279–359. F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). Obolensky, *Byz. Commonwealth* 83–97, 103f, 136–53, 173–201. —T.E.G., I.Š.

**MISSION TO THE APOSTLES** refers to two distinct Gospel episodes: Christ's mission to the newly assembled 12 APOSTLES (Mt 10:1–42, Mk 6:7–11, Lk 9:1–5) and his farewell to the 11, recounted in Luke 24:50 as a parting blessing and elsewhere (Mt 28:18–20, Mk 16:15–18) as a final mission. Two compositions existed, one showing a frontal Christ flanked by two groups of six disciples, the other showing him to one side. Each composition could be applied to either episode, although, where both compositions appear in the

same MS, the accompanying text reveals that the symmetrical one is meant to represent the farewell. This is confirmed in the wall paintings in Cappadocia (Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME—Restle, *Wall Painting* 2, pl.108), where the ASCENSION is conflated with the symmetrical image of the Mission. PAUL often appears as one of the disciples, and the farewell scene always depicts 12, not the canonical 11, to show that the scene signifies Christ's mission to his Church. Miniatures of the Mission preface certain 11th- through 12th-C. Gospel books, illustrating the call to evangelize that the Gospels fulfill. Unknown before the 9th C., the image becomes rare again in Palaiologan art.

LIT. A.W. Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 10–11. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:363. —A.W.C.

**MISSORIUM**. See PLATE, DOMESTIC SILVER AND GOLD.

**MISTHIOS** (μίσθιος), also *misthotos* (from *misthos*, wage), terms that in papyri denoted hired workers (Fikhman, *Egipet* 109). *Misthotos* appears once in the FARMER'S LAW (par.34) as a designation of a hired shepherd, and hagiographers, drawing upon John 10:12, often speak of a *misthotos* who, unlike a good shepherd, abandons the sheep and runs away. The *Book of the Eparch* describes *misthioi/misthotoi* as journeymen in the guilds of *metaxopratai* and *serikarioi*: they signed contracts with their masters for not longer than a month. In the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.41) as well as in the vita of Basil the Younger, a *misthios* is a peasant who resides and works in a PRO-ASTEION in which the owner does not live. St. Christodoulos of Patmos, in the *typikon* of 1091, is probably referring to this category of people when he speaks of laymen who work five days a week for his monastery and return home for the weekend. *Ecloga* 8:2 applies the term *misthios* to the poor freeman who worked to repay debt or ransom. Late Roman texts contrasted *misthios/misthotos* with *misthotes*, tenant or contractor, but Byz. jurists confused these terms: the *Basilika* used the word *misthotos* for both contractor and free *colonus* (E. Popescu in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* [Prague 1978] 109f).

The terms are infrequent in later documents and appear usually in conjunction with *douleutes*

(e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.62.7, a.1221-36) or *proskathemenos* (no.68.54, a.1263), implying their transformation into dependent peasants. The derivatives *mistharnoi* and *mistharnountes* are also accompanied by the definition "*proskathemenoi*" (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.4.5, a.1300). The author of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE describes a hired gardener as *misthotos* (v.1985), *misthargos* (v.1672, etc.), and *misthargoutzikos* (v.2352).

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Raby i mistii v Vizantii IX-XI vv.," *Učenyje zapiski Tul'skogo pedinstitutu* 2 (1951) 78-84. E. Lipšic, *Byzanz und die Slaven* (Weimar 1951) 78-82. V.A. Smetanin, "Naemnye rabotniki pozdnevizantijskoj derevni," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 55-60. —M.B., A.K.

**MISTHOSIS** (*μίσθωσις*), a form of lease. Byz. legal sources designate as *misthosis* a series of legal transactions involving the transference of something or the performance of a job for pay (*misthos*). The term corresponds to the Roman/Justinianic *locatio-conductio* and to the Hellenistic *misthosis*. The tenure of a vineyard, the rent of a house, and the completion of a piece of work are all accordingly designated as *misthosis*. Since the labor of an individual can also be given over to another person in exchange for payment, the service and work CONTRACT was also classified as *misthosis*. The term (cf. *Digest* 19.2) is maintained in the *Basilika* (20.1) and even into the 14th C. (cf. Harm. 3.8) in collections of legal norms.

In practice, however, this uniformity quickly dissolved; the notion of ownership was not distinctly outlined, so that by the post-Justinianic period the distinction between *misthosis* and a LOAN was difficult to establish and *misthos* and *tokos* (see INTEREST) became interchangeable. Not only LAND LEASE in general but also its specific form, EMPHYTEUSIS, could, as the *Peira* 15.17 shows, be characterized as *misthosis*. Even CHARISTIKION could be treated in this way (*Peira* 15.9), although there the absence of payment meant the transaction was closer to a loan. The collapse of the old concept was finally caused, on the one hand, by the great number of new transactions of transmission—which fluctuated between privilege, donation, transferal of rent-collection rights, among other things—and, on the other, by the reduction of free contracts for paid labor on account of the numerous institutional dependent and bondage relationships.

In place of *misthosis* new terms appeared such

as PAKTON, *aktos paktotikon* (Sathas, MB 6:622.23), or *paktotike symphonia* (624.2-3), or nonspecific older words such as *ekdosis* or *homologia*. Only *misthos* held its ground as a term for "rent" (*Dionys.* no.14.5), for "payment for a job" (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 105.5f), for "salary" (*Prot.* no.7.115), etc. In the 13th-15th C. the Byz. probably still distinguished between credit, tenure relationships, and service contracts as phenomena in their everyday life. However, it cannot be said at the present time whether in the consciousness of the jurists a uniform "act of transmission" had taken the place of the differentiated contract-typology or whether simply a collapse of the tradition of legal culture had occurred. —D.S.

**MISTRA** (*Μιστράς* or *Μυστράς*), fortress and city in the Peloponnesos, on a hill west of Sparta, at the foot of Mt. Taygetos; it was capital of the despotate of MOREA. Mistra first appears in the sources in the 13th C. WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN built a castle there shortly after his capture of MONEMVASIA; its purpose was to secure the plain of Lakonia from the Slavs of Taygetos. In 1262, after the battle of PELAGONIA, Mistra was surrendered by the Franks to Byz. From 1262 to 1348 Mistra was ruled by a *strategos*, called KEPHALE, who initially changed every year (until 1308) and who ruled all the Byz. Peloponnesos. During this period, and esp. after the Frankish victory at the battle of Makryplagi (1264?), there was considerable insecurity in the region and the inhabitants of LAKEDAEMON moved for greater safety to a city built under the fortress at Mistra. From 1348 to 1460 Mistra was seat of the *despotes* of the Morea. The city witnessed a remarkable cultural renaissance, including the teaching of PLETHON (at Mistra ca.1407-52), and attracted artists and architects of the highest quality. The city surrendered to Mehmed II on 31 May 1460.

The castle at Mistra is perched at the top of a hill that has precipitous slopes except on the east. The circuit wall has only one tower, above the ascent, and a single entrance. The keep occupies the height of the hill. The castle seems entirely Frankish in construction, but the walls of a chapel in the keep do not bond with the surrounding masonry; this may be evidence of earlier Byz. construction on the site (N.B. Drandakes, 10 *CEB* 1 [Athens 1954] 154-66). The city is surrounded



MISTRA. Ruins of the city, viewed from the west.

by a fortification wall and divided into two sections, an upper and a lower, each pierced by several gates.

The palace of the *despotai* was located on one of the few flat spaces at Mistra, in the upper city at the highest point where running water was available. It is composed of an L-shaped complex of buildings constructed in several stages from the 13th to 15th C., all arranged around a monumental open space (S. Sinos, *Architettura* 17 [1987] 105-28).

The oldest part, perhaps inaugurated already by the Franks, was a rectangular block with a single barrel-vaulted room on the ground floor and painted windows above. To this was attached a two-story residential section built in the second half of the 14th C., with six contiguous rooms on the second floor and an arched portico along the rear, the roof of which formed a balcony overlooking the wide valley. In the early 15th C. a new wing was built at right angles to the previous structures; it had a large audience hall on the upper floor and a two-story external portico along the wall facing the square.

The houses at Mistra are among the best-preserved examples from Byz. (A. Orlandos in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* [Venice 1971] 75-82). The great houses resemble the palace,

with large halls on the upper floor and storerooms at street level; many of them have balconies looking out over the plain.

**Churches of Mistra.** Seven of the town's churches, dating from the late 13th to the early 15th C., have been preserved. Their plans are varied and show an awareness of contemporary trends in Constantinople, though one particular plan survives nowhere else and may be a local invention. Their masonry, for the most part a sober cloisonné (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS), exhibits in some cases lively patterns of a Constantinopolitan type. Much of the interior stone carving consists of *spolia*, mostly medieval, robbed probably from buildings in the city of Sparta. Frankish elements appear frequently in such architectural details as pointed windows but do not affect the actual church plans; similarly, Western elements invade individual frescoes but never the overall program of decoration. The latter follows the general course of late Byz. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, with a growing emphasis on liturgical themes and extended secondary cycles, esp. those of Christ and the Virgin, at the expense of hagiographical cycles and the isolated portrait.

The earliest of the surviving churches is that of St. Demetrios, the metropolitan church built in the second half of the 13th C. as a wooden-roofed



basilica. A marble inscription suggests the involvement (in 1291/2?) of the metropolitan Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS, but the church and some frescoes at its eastern end may actually precede him (M. Chatzidakis, *DChAE* 9 [1977-79] 143-79). The church was renovated (in the 15th C.?) to adapt its elevation to the model of a nearby church, the Afendiko. Its original fresco program, though severed in its upper reaches by the renovation and not absolutely uniform in date, shows a standard feast cycle in the central part and more discursive cycles (miracles of Christ, life of St. Demetrios, miracles of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos) in the aisles and *pastophoria*.

Roughly contemporary are the two churches of the Brontocheion monastery founded by the *protosynkellos* Pachomios, who became the monastery's *hegoumenos*. One, dedicated to the Sts. Theodore, was begun between 1290 and 1295; it is the latest in date of the surviving octagon churches represented by DAPHNI and HOSIOS LOUKAS and was inspired perhaps by the Church of Hagia Sophia at MONEMVASIA. Considerably more space is allotted to fresco decoration than is usually the case in the churches of this type: there is a feast cycle, a Passion cycle, and a Virgin cycle. A second church, known as the Aphendiko, was built in the monastery shortly afterward (by 1311); it is dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria. This building was to exert a great influence on later church design at Mistra. Its plan is that of a cross-in-square superimposed on a basilica with galleries: one large dome covers the center bay of the nave, with four smaller domes over the four corners of the galleries and another over the narthex. The plan has affiliations with earlier plans such as those of BIZYE or DERE AĞZI, but whether it represents a conscious revival of earlier forms, is a late survivor of a lost genre, or even an innovation peculiar to Mistra, is hard to determine (H. Hallensleben, *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 18 [1969] 105-18).

The church was surrounded on three sides by porticoes; this and certain other architectural and masonry details (such as the marble dado inside) reveal a debt to contemporary works in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The fresco decoration shows a fine sensitivity to the various elements of the church plan and makes a clear division between the primary program (in the cross-in-square parts) and the secondary cycles (miracles and Pas-

sion of Christ, liturgical themes), which are relegated to the aisles, narthex, and galleries. A fresco of the Baptism is esp. rich in vignettes of daily life (D. Mouriki in *Okeanos* 459-61). In a room at one end of the narthex are painted texts of CHRYSOBULLS in favor of the monastery.

The Church of the Virgin Peribleptos was built into the face of the cliff, at the opposite end of town from the Brontocheion. Though there are portraits of the founders inside the church, the figures are not named, and there are no other documents or inscriptions by which to date it or explain its location. It is generally attributed to the third quarter of the 14th C. Its architecture, which had to be adjusted to the uneven terrain, is essentially a traditional cross-in-square, with the dome resting on two, instead of four, columns; the fresco program is characterized by a preponderance of eucharistic themes spreading from the main apse into the *pastophoria*, by an unusually extensive cycle of the childhood of the Virgin, and by multifigured feast compositions in dramatic landscapes.

Two other two-column cross-in-square churches are also 14th C. in date. Hagia Sophia, which inscriptions reveal was founded by the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, probably as a palace church, later became the *katholikon* of a monastery, possibly the patriarchal monastery of Christ Zoodotes known from a document of 1365. The Evangelistria Church (late 14th-early 15th C.) differs from others of this type in having a galleried narthex, and, unlike most other churches in Mistra, it preserves a good deal of contemporary sculptural decoration.

A large number of these churches have separate chapels attached to the main body of the church. The generally funerary character of these chapels is evinced by the tombs they house and the fresco portraits of noble families adorning them.

The latest of all the churches is the Virgin Pantanassa. The church (or at least its altar) was consecrated in 1428; various inscriptions in the church name the *protostrator* and *mesazon* John PHRANGOPOULOS as its founder. The architecture imitates that of the Aphendiko, but the corner domes barely project above the roof. Festoons decorate the apses, pointed arches frame some windows; and further signs of Frankish influence can be seen in the prominent bell tower. The fresco decoration, based on that of the Periblep-

tos, survives in its original state only in the upper stories; it involves familiar feast compositions richly enhanced by genre details, some deriving from antique formulas and others, especially townscapes, showing considerable Western influence.

LIT. S. Runciman, *Mistra* (London 1980). G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris 1910). Bon, *Morée franque* 639-42. I.P. Medvedev, *Mistra* (Leningrad 1973). M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras* (Athens 1985). S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris 1970). —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**MITATON** (*μιτᾶτον*, also *μητᾶτον*, from Lat. *metor*, "to measure off," "pitch camp"), a term with several meanings in Byz. Greek.

**Kind of Inn.** In the minutes of the councils of 536 and 681, *mitaton* designated "lodgings." In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.5), where the term is also rendered *oikos ton mitaton*, the word *mitaton* acquired a specific meaning—the inn in Constantinople for Syrian merchants where they stored their goods after having paid a rental fee, *ENOIKION*. At the *mitaton* the textile merchants (*PRANDIOPRATAI*) divided up the wares that they had purchased collectively from the Syrians. LINEN merchants, on the other hand, were forbidden to buy cloth "from the *mitata*." Sjuzumov suggests that *mitata* were transformed into trading stations of foreign merchants.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 155f. R. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 34. —A.K.

**Fiscal Term.** *Mitaton* was also a kind of *EPEREIA*, the character of which remains under discussion. The word appears with this sense in a Justinianic novel (130.9), and later in documents, most commonly chrysobulls, from ca.974 to 1384/5, in which privileged landowners are exempted from this burden. The earlier texts speak of the *KAINOTOMIA* of *mitaton* (*Lavra* 1, no.6.23, *Ivir.*, no.2.33), then the more neutral term "imposition" (*epithesis* or *katathesis*) emerges. In all periods, evidence for its active imposition is rare. The term usually seems to mean the obligation on private individuals to quarter military and state officials (e.g., in the *diataxis* of Attaleiates, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 105.1425-26). However, passages in Andronikos II's 1319 chrysobull for Ioannina (MM 5:82.22-5) and his 1307 chrysobull for the sees of Berat and Kanina (P. Alexander, *Byzantion* 15 [1940-41] 181.79-81) led Maksimović (*Byz-ProcAdmin* 157-60) to conclude that, at least in

the 14th C., *mitata* were forced sales of grain, at a price below that which was customary, for the needs of KEPHALAI and perhaps for armies in transit.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for the Billeting of Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 115-20. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 60f. G.T. Kolias, "Peri metatou," *Athena* 51 (1941-46) 129-42. —M.B.

**Kind of Ranch.** In Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 458.19), the term *mitaton* refers to state-supervised ranches located in "Asia and Phrygia" that supplied mules and horses for the imperial army. The officials in charge were called the *dioiketai* of the *metata* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.593), *protonotarios* of the *metaton* of Asia (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3077A), or *protonotarios* and *episkeptēs* of Phrygia (no.3115).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 111.

—M.B.

**MITHRAISM**, the cult of the Iranian sun-god Mithra. The first traces of Mithraism in the Hellenistic world (Egypt, Kommagene) date to the 3rd-2nd C. B.C.; it spread widely across the Roman Empire, esp. in the frontier provinces (North Africa, Pannonia, Dacia, Syria, etc.). The cult of Mithra, popular among soldiers, was supported by Aurelian and Diocletian, but then declined despite an attempt to revitalize it under Julian. After ca.400 it disappeared, even though the erudite Michael Psellos evoked the name when accusing monks of Chios of having introduced alien rites and mysteries.

The Mithraic cult was celebrated in temples (*mithraea*), usually subterranean, which were ornamented with reliefs showing Mithra slaying a bull. The ritual comprised banquets of bread and wine, as well as baptism through water and blood. The birthdate of Mithra was given as 25 Dec., after the winter solstice. Attempts at a rapprochement between Mithraism and Christianity were already being made in late antiquity (e.g., by PORPHYRY), but the similarity between the two is superficial, as Mithraism was predominantly a nature religion in which the idea of resurrection and salvation remained undeveloped.

SOURCE: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1896).

LIT. F. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra* (Brussels 1913). R. Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Meisenheim-Königstein Ts. 1984). A.D. Nock, "The Genius of Mithraism," *JRS* 27 (1937)

108–13. R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius* (Leiden 1975). Lj. Zotović, *Mitraizam na tlu Jugoslavije* (Belgrade 1973).  
—F.R.T.

**MITRA** (μίτρα) in both classical and Byz. usage could designate a headband or headdress; Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 297.6) uses the expression “mitra of Ares” as a metaphor for troops surrounding a city. Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies* 19.31.4) defined a *mitra* as a Phrygian hat; this interpretation of a *mitra* as a tall spherical hat is preserved in a *scholion* to the *Chiliades* of TZETZES (1:236, p.548) in which the commentator mentions a headdress in the form of a *mitra*. Nonnos of Panopolis used the verb *mitroomai* in the sense of “to band the hair,” a fashion used by women. The word retains this meaning of feminine headgear in Western sources of the 9th C. The term *mitra* was also applied to the Turkish turban. Finally, since the word is frequently used in the Old Testament, esp. for the headcovering of a high priest, it came to denote episcopal HEADGEAR, such as the veil of the patriarch of Constantinople, and specifically the papal tiara.

LIT. P.E. Schramm, “Die geistliche und die weltliche Mitra,” in his *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1954) 51–68. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 21f, 70–72.  
—A.K.

**MIXOBARBAROI** (μειοβάρβαροι, Lat. *semibarbari*), an ancient term that, according to Hesychios of Alexandria, designated men who were neither HELLENES nor BARBARIANS but had qualities of both. The term was widely used by Byz. authors of the 11th–12th C. (Attaleiates, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates) to denote populations of the Danubian region that spoke several languages. Anna specifically stressed that *mixobarbaroi* could speak Scythian or Turkish. Some of them, for example, Alexios I's general Monastras, entered imperial service and achieved high positions. There is insufficient data to support E. Stănescu's view that the *mixobarbaroi* were VLACHS and the fore-runners of the Rumanians.

LIT. E. Stănescu, “Les ‘mixobarbares’ du Bas-Danube au XIe siècle,” *Nouvelles études d'histoire* (Bucharest 1965) 45–53. N. Ș. Tanașoca, “Les mixobarbares et les formations politiques parisiennes du XIe siècle,” *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 12, no.1 (1973), 61–82. V. Tüpkova-Zaimova, *Dolni Dunav* (Sofia 1976) 126–31.  
—A.K.

**MODALISM**, a modern concept in the history of dogma, used from the 19th C. onward to designate a form of MONARCHIANISM that sharply distinguishes between the mode of God's manifestation in the history of salvation (OIKONOMIA) and the one wholly transcendent God; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are understood as different persons or manifestations of God. The Father is depicted as the creator and lawgiver of the Old Covenant; the Son as the redeemer; and the Spirit as the paraclete and perfecter.  
—K.-H.U.

**MODE** (ᾠχος), a system of melodic formulas for Byz. CHANT, the OKTOECHOS being the collection of eight modes that forms the compositional framework of Greek and Latin medieval music. Each mode has a restricted set of melody types peculiar to it that can be employed in many different combinations and variations. Byz. theorists refer to the eight sets as Modes I–IV Authentic and I–IV Plagal, a terminology borrowed in early Western treatises.

The origins of the *oktoechos* are obscure. It appears to have little in common, apart from nomenclature, with the ancient Greek tonal system. Some scholars have speculated that its beginnings lie in Near Eastern musical and philosophical traditions. The authenticity of an 11th-C. MS of John of Maiuma's *Plerophoriai* (ca.515), which alludes to “the music of the *oktoechos*,” is questionable. Also doubtful is the allegation that an anthology of hymns by Patr. SEVEROS of Antioch was an *oktoechos*. It does seem certain, however, that by the late 7th C. the eight-mode system had become established within the Greek liturgical world, and the attribution of its organization to JOHN OF DAMASCUS, while not totally accurate, may contain some historical fact. In any event, he contributed significantly to the formation of a liturgical book called the *oktoechos* that contains the variable hymns of the HOURS throughout the church year, beginning with the first week after Easter.

LIT. H.J.W. Tillyard, “The Modes in Byzantine Music,” *BSA* 22 (1916–18) 133–56. Strunk, *Essays* 3–36.  
—D.E.C.

**MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS**. Literary sources suggest that painters employed earlier works of art as models for their creations. Basil the Great (PG 31:493A) speaks specifically of artists who

“copy icons from icons,” while Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 116:657B) uses the image of skilled painters depending upon an archetype. Such texts do not explain the transfer of design from a mosaic or fresco *in situ* to another mosaic or fresco geographically far removed, nor the recurrence in miniatures of designs executed earlier in monumental art. Accordingly, scholars have suggested the use of model-books, motif-books, and iconographical guides. The oldest surviving example of this last genre, the *Painter's Manual* (*Hermeneia*) of Dionysios of Phourna (*infra*), written ca.1730–34, may incorporate Byz. practices, as may the working drawings of post-Byz. painters (L. Bouras in *Holy Image* 61–63). Cartoons (*anthibola*), the preparation of which Dionysios describes, were made from existing works and may bear some relationship to drawings from the periphery of the empire that are said to reproduce Byz. works of art (Buchthal; Der Nersessian, *infra*). Like the descriptions of OULPIOS the Roman, some such sketches may be based on, rather than be the basis of, images. But identification of their function raises even more difficult problems than the fact of their rarity.

The use of model-books by Late Antique floor-mosaicists has been vigorously denied (P. Brueneau, *RA* [1984] 241–72). Yet Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus exchanged *picturae* for use in the decoration of churches that they were building. Hagiographical allusions to architects' sketches abound and the 8th-C. vita of St. Pankratios of Taormina has its hero set out for the West from Palestine equipped with *chartia* (panels? papyri?) and two volumes containing the “pictorial story (*eikonike historia*) of the Old and New Testaments.” Both general iconographical guides and sets of specific motifs have been suggested as means whereby images were disseminated in the 12th C. (E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* [Palermo 1960] 56f, 84). Use of the Cotton GENESIS as a source by the mosaicists of the narthex of S. Marco in Venice remains the only plausible example of a richly illuminated MS serving as a guide to the creation of a monumental cycle.

ED. Dionysios of Fournas, *Hermeneia*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1909). Tr. P. Hetherington, *The “Painter's Manual” of Dionysios of Fournas* (London 1974).

LIT. H. Buchthal, *The “Musterbuch” of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Vienna 1979) 13–

18. S. Der Nersessian, “Copies de peintures byzantines dans un carnet arménien de ‘modèles,’” *CahArch* 18 (1968) 111–20. V. Grecu, “Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei,” *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 675–701.  
—A.C.

**MODESTY, TOPOS OF**, a typical feature of authors' self-characterization in the prefaces (rarer in the closing parts) of their works; it is also found in the COLOPHONS of scribes. The topos was well known in antiquity: Quintilian advocated its use, Lucian made fun of it, Menander Rhetor gave its rules. The Byz. used various epithets of modesty (*ταπεινότης*) or self-deprecation: *hamartolos* (sinner), *athlios* (wretched), *akathartos* (dirty), *amathestatos* (illiterate), *agroikos* (boorish), and so on; even an author as excellent as Basil the Great might deplore his *astheneia* (weakness). George Hamartolos calls himself worthless and states that he has no knowledge “of scientific inquiry and systematic treatment of secular [affairs]” (ed. C. de Boor, 1:1.11–14); Theophanes the Confessor admits his ignorance (Theoph. 4.2–3); the author's incompetence is mentioned in the preface of almost every saint's vita.

This modesty, however, is only one side of the coin: it is introduced as an ANTITHESIS to the truth and clarity that are the author's major objective. The same George “the Sinner” forgets his modesty when he states that his “poor booklet” presents the unadorned truth in concise and clear form (p.2.6–8). The anonymous hagiographer of Loukas the Stylite takes a further step: after complaining of his weakness and faintheartedness and expressing his desire to remain silent, he boldly announces that his vita is “a work of divine force and a gift granted by the superior power” (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 195.7–17). The modest and untutored writer considered himself a tool in the hands of the Holy Spirit. From the 11th C. onward we sometimes encounter the author's frank appraisal of his talent, for example, in Psellos and Tzetzes, but the topos of modesty continued in scribal colophons and other writers.

LIT. C. Wendel, “Die *tapeinotes* des griechischen Schreibermönches,” *BZ* 43 (1950) 259–66.  
—A.K., I.Š.

**MODIOLOS** (μοδῖολος, lit. “little pot”), a gold imperial CROWN mentioned by several 10th-C. authors and, after a long interval, by Patr. Germanos



II in the 13th C. (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 38 [1988] 339f). According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 414.17, 432.15), this type of crown was offered to Leo I in 457 and to his grandson Leo II in 473. It was also worn by empresses (Genes. 5.64–67). If the emendation of Dagron (*CP imaginaire* 185, n.115) is correct, the statue of Tyche in Constantinople bore a *modiolos* as well. The scanty source evidence does not permit a clarification of the constitutional role of the *modiolos*; most probably, it was given by the senate to the emperor during the coronation ceremony.

LIT. P. Charanis, "The Imperial Crown Modiolus and its Constitutional Significance," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 189–95, with discussion by F. Dölger, *BZ* 38 (1938) 240 and P. Charanis, *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 377–81. *DOC* 3.1:129, n.395. —A.K.

**MODIOS** (μόδιος), a unit of measurement for both grain and land, of varying quantity. A normal Roman (or Italic) *modius* equaled 20 *librae* (LITRAI, pounds) of wheat, the *modius castrensis* in the 4th C., 30 *librae*. There were various kinds of *modioi* in Byz. The sea (*thalassios*) or imperial (*basilikos*) *modios* equaled 40 *logarikai litrai*, or 17.084 liters; the monastic (*monasteriakos*) *modios*, 32 *logarikai litrai*, or 13.667 liters; the revenue (*annonikos*) *modios*, 26.667 *logarikai litrai*, or 11.389 liters. E. Schilbach assumes that the so-called large (*megas*) *modios* equaled 4 sea *modioi* and identifies the cross-signed (*staurikos*) *modios* with the revenue *modios*. He also assumes that there was a special *modios* for trade, which he identifies with the public (*politikos*) *modios* mentioned in Byz. sources and with the Italian *moggio* (*mozo*) di Romania. He equates this with 18 sea *modioi*.

The sea *modios* was mostly used as a measurement for the land *modios*. Synonymous terms are sowing (*sporimos*) *modios* and geometric (*geometrikos*) *modios*. The following equation is established: 1 *modios* = 2 sq. *SCHOINIA* = 40 *logarikai litrai* of wheat seed = 200 sq. *ORGYIAI*, that is, 888.73 sq. m; in some cases 1 *modios* is equated with 288 sq. *orgyiai*, or 1,279.78 sq. m. From the 13th C. *STREMMMA* was synonymous with *modios*. In some classicizing texts the term *medimnos* was used instead of *modios*.

**Use in Documents.** Both treatises on taxation and acts recording actual practices (cadasters, charters) measure land in *modioi* without specifying what type of *modios* was in use. Another dif-

ficulty that Byz. land surveyors faced was the transition from linear measurements to *modioi* as square measures (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 10 [1956] 101–03). Some inconsistencies in measurement force scholars to assume that in certain cases large *modioi* were employed, in other instances small *modioi* (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 128, n.1). Difficulties sometimes appeared insurmountable: thus officials who compiled the *praktikon* of Kephallenia confessed that they were unable to "measure in *modioi*" (*modiologesai*) 36 small pieces (*komatia*) of land (Th. Tzannetatos, *To praktikon tes Latinikes episkopes Kephallenias tou 1264 kai he epitome autou* [Athens 1965] 47.253); in other cases a *komatis* could be expressed in *modioi* (e.g., MM 6:159.8–9). Definition of an allotment as *komatis* ("piece") or *loris* ("strap") is typical of Trebizond (e.g., F.I. Uspenskij, V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie akty* [Leningrad 1927] no.143), where they were sometimes calculated in *psomaria*; Schilbach (*Metrologie* 127) identified *psomiarion* as the sea *modios*. The capacity of boats was also measured in *modioi* (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.7.14), likewise without specification.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 56–59, 72f, 95–108. R.P. Duncan-Jones, "The Size of the *modius castrensis*," *ZPapEpig* 21 (1976) 53–62. —E. Sch., A.K.

**MODON.** See METHONE.

**MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY** (from *μοιχεία*, "adultery"), a religious, political, and legal dispute (795–811) over the second marriage of CONSTANTINE VI. In 795 Constantine divorced his wife Maria to marry his mistress Theodote, Maria's *koubikoularea*. Constantine's mother Irene reportedly encouraged him in order to undermine his authority; Constantine claimed that Maria had tried to poison him. Patr. TARASIOS initially opposed the marriage, since no emperor had ever divorced his wife, but acceded when Constantine threatened to restore ICONOCLASM (PG 99:1048–53). The wedding, performed in Sept. 795 by Joseph, *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia and superior of the Kathara monastery, angered many churchmen, who considered the marriage uncanonical and broke off communion with Tarasios. Constantine tried to appease PLATO OF SAKKOUNDION and THEODORE OF STODIOS, but in 797 he had them beaten and exiled. After Constantine's de-

thronement that same year, the monks returned and were reconciled with Tarasios, who then deposed Joseph of Kathara.

In 806 Patr. NIKEPHOROS I revived the issue by rehabilitating Joseph, probably because Emp. Nikephoros I wished to reward him for mediating during the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS in 803. By 808 Archbp. Joseph of Thessalonike (Theodore's brother) refused to communicate with the emperor and patriarch. In 809 a synod confirmed Joseph of Kathara's restoration, anathematized those who refused to apply *OIKONOMIA* to the affair, and reduced Archbp. Joseph to priest. The monks of the STODIOS monastery rejected the "adulterous" synod and were persecuted. Michael I ended the affair in 811 by restoring the Stoudites and deposing Joseph of Kathara. The Moechian Controversy greatly enhanced the prestige of the monastic clergy and further differentiated "rigorists" from those who favored *oikonomia* in theological disputes.

LIT. J. Fuentes Alonso, *El divorcio del Constantino VI y la doctrina matrimonial de San Teodoro Estudita* (Pamplona 1984). P. Henry, "The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of January A.D. 809," *JThSt* 20 (1969) 495–522. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 80–101. A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, vol. 1 (Odessa 1913) 350–590. —P.A.H.

**MOESIA**, Roman province on both banks of the Lower Danube. When, in the 3rd C., the territory north of the Danube was evacuated by the Romans, Aurelian created DACIA Ripensis between Moesia I (formerly Superior) and Moesia II (Inferior); later, SCYTHIA MINOR was separated from Moesia II and Dardania from Moesia I. Diocletian developed the system of forts and watchtowers in Moesia I, so that in the 4th C. the province was relatively quiet, the mainstream of barbarian invasions moving through neighboring PANNONIA. Mócsy (*infra*) hypothesizes that the 4th C. in Moesia I was a period of growth for larger estates that belonged to urban landowners; they were situated farther south from the LIMES than the smaller villas of the previous period. The pressure of the HUNS made part of the Roman population abandon Moesia I and search for refuge in the mountainous areas in the south. By the mid-5th C. NAISSUS replaced the Danubian towns as the center of trade with the Huns.

Archaeological investigation of Roman cities in

the territory of Moesia II (IATRUS, NOVAE, etc.) shows that urban life in this area ceased to exist by the mid-7th C., sometimes as a result of a catastrophe (invasion of the Avars and Slavs), sometimes of a slow decline. Byz. authors of the 11th–15th C. applied the ethnic term *Mysoi* primarily to the Bulgarians, but also to the Pechenegs and Hungarians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:207–09).

LIT. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London-Boston 1974) 266–358. V. Kondić, "Ergebnisse der neuen Forschungen auf dem obermoesischen Donaulimes," *9 CEFR* (1974) 39–54. S. Vaklinov, "Za kontaktite meždu starata i novata kultura v Mizija i Trakija sled VI v.," *IzvestDr* 29 (1974) 177–88. —A.K.

**MOGLENA** (Μόγλενα), a region in southeastern Macedonia. Circa 1015 Moglena was a Bulgarian territory administered by an *archon* Elitzes (Skyl. 352.33–34). Captured by Basil II, it formed a theme first attested in 1086 (*Lavra* 1, no.48.6) and a bishopric mentioned in a chrysobull of 1020. The Lavra of Athanasios obtained lands in Moglena and ca.1196 had a dispute with local *stratiotai* and the bishop of Moglena's *paroikoi* when they refused to pay rent (*dekateia*) to the monastery (*Lavra* 1, no.69). Another conflict arose ca.1181 when the monastery contested the rights of Cumans who were granted *pronoiai* in Moglena (*Lavra* 1, no.65). In 1205 Moglena was conquered by Kalojan.

LIT. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 1:72. Ostrogorsky, *Feodalit'e* 48–53. —A.K.

**MOKIOS** (Μώκιος), legendary saint whose memory was celebrated on 11 May, the day of the foundation of Constantinople. According to his *martyrion* (written probably after the 6th C.), Mokios was born in Amphipolis, fought against idolatry, suffered during Diocletian's persecutions, and was decapitated at the decision of the curia (*bouleuterion*) of Byzantion. His cult became popular in Constantinople at an early date; by the 5th C. Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 8:17.5) mentions his shrine there. Later tradition ascribes the foundation of the church to Constantine I himself, who allegedly constructed it on the site of the temple of Zeus (or Herakles).

The location of the church and the monastery of St. Mokios is not yet precisely established. It was probably situated near the cistern of Mokios

built on the seventh hill, beyond the walls of Constantine and not far from the GOLDEN GATE. It is questionable that the church collapsed in the reign of Leo III, as alleged, but a section of it was destroyed in the 9th C. and sumptuously restored by Basil I. It was a place of important court ceremonies; on 11 May 903, during a customary procession to St. Mokios, Leo VI was attacked and wounded in the church. The memory of various martyrs was celebrated at St. Mokios, which also housed the relics of St. EUTHYMIOUS THE YOUNGER. Still splendid at the beginning of the 13th C., the church was in ruins at the end of the 14th C. when John V used its stones to repair the walls near the Golden Gate.

SOURCE. H. Delehay, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AB* 31 (1912) 163–87. F. Halkin, *Martyrs Grecs: IIe–VIIIe s.* (London 1974), pt. XII (1965), 5–22.  
LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 354–58. —A.K.

**MOKISSOS** (Μωκισσός, now Viranşehir), a city in western Cappadocia at the foot of the Hasan Dağ southeast of KOLONEIA. Justinian I rebuilt the ruined city, renamed it Justinianoupolis (a name last attested in 692), and elevated it to the rank of ecclesiastical (though not civil) metropolis, with an *eparchia* that stretched south of the Halys River. The bishopric survived under its original name through the Byz. period, without playing any role in history. The extensive site, which lies in a protected valley, contains the remains of nine churches (mostly standard basilicas, one cruciform), streets, and unidentified civic buildings.

LIT. *TIB* 2:238f. M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna 1979) 26, 46–48. —C.F.

**MOLDAVIA** (called Pogdania or Bogdania [Βογδανία] by the 15th-C. Greek historians Sphrantzes and Chalkokondyles, probably from the name of the mid-14th-C. prince Bogdan [H. Ditten in *BBA* 5 (1957) 94f]), geographic term designating the territory north of the Lower Danube, in the basin of the Dniester, Prut, and Siret rivers. The term *Moldavia* is found in vernacular texts, such as the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, and *Moldoblachia* appears in ecclesiastical nomenclature (*Notitiae CP*, no. 21.181); both terms are probably later than 1453.

In late antiquity Moldavia was populated by DACO-GETANS and remained in the sphere of

Roman economic and cultural influence. From the 4th C. onward, Moldavia was a passage zone for many barbarian tribes (Germanic, Hunnic, Avar, etc.); at the end of the 6th C., Slavs began to settle there. Byz. impact diminished and the area seems to have been cut off from the empire until the 10th C., when Byz. coins and objects penetrated into Moldavia. Archaeologically distinct in the 7th C., the autochthonous and Slavic cultures were probably merged in the 8th C. Byz. coin finds decrease again in the 11th C., as first the Pechenegs and then the Cumans became the dominant factor on the Lower Dniester. It is possible that Rus' tribes of Tivertsians and Ulichians gained control of the area, whereas the ethnic origin of the Brodniks (who are mentioned in the same area in the 12th–13th C.) is still controversial.

In the mid-13th C. Moldavia was occupied by the Tatars and lost its connections with Byz. In the 14th C., Hungary established its power over Moldavia and between 1359 and 1365 the country achieved independence.

LIT. N.A. Mochov, *Moldavia epochi feodalizma* (Kišinev 1964) 57–119. D.G. Teodor, *The East Carpathian Area of Romania in the V–XI Centuries A.D.* (Oxford 1980). V. Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries* (Bucharest 1986). Idem, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X–XIII: Români și Turanici* (Iași 1985). I.A. Rafalovič, "K voprosu o stepeni vlijanija Vizantii na material'nuju kulturu naselenija Karpato-Dnestrovskich zemel' v VI–IX vv.," in *Karpato-Dunajskie zemli v srednie veka* (Kišinev 1975) 7–19. —A.K.

**MOMČILO** (Μομτζίλος), Bulgarian soldier who fought on both sides in the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 and was rewarded with the titles of *despotes* (by Anna of Savoy) and *sebastokrator* (by John VI Kantakouzenos); died Peritheorion 7 June 1345 (Bartusis, *infra* 209). In his youth Momčilo was a *hajduk* (bandit) who plundered both Byz. and Bulgarian territories. He then served in the army of Andronikos III, but fled to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and then joined the rebel Kantakouzenos in the early winter of 1343/4, at the time of his unsuccessful siege of PERITHEORION. Kantakouzenos entrusted to Momčilo the Merope district, where he raised 300 horsemen and about 5,000 foot soldiers. He turned against Kantakouzenos, however, forcing him to flee. He briefly aided the loyalist forces of the regency, changed allegiance again, and then in the summer of 1344 pro-

claimed his independence. He captured Xantheia and assembled an army of 3,000 horsemen. He was soon defeated at Peritheorion, however, by Kantakouzenos and his Turkish ally UMUR BEG, and died in this battle. Momčilo became a hero of South Slav epic, a brigand of monumental proportions, victorious in legendary battles against the Turks.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "Chrelja and Momčilo: Occasional Servants of Byzantium in Fourteenth Century Macedonia," *BS* 41 (1980) 206–21. V. Gjuzelev, *Momčil junak* (Sofia 1967). Lemerle, *Aydin* 169f, 204–06, 210–15. —J.S.A.

**MONARCHIANISM** (from *μοναρχία*, "one rule, monarchy"), a term designating certain theologies of the 2nd and 3rd C. The term *monarchia* was used already before the Christian era, esp. by Philo, and then chiefly by the Apologists to designate the theistic view of MONOTHEISM. Generally, a distinction is made between "dynamic" and "modalistic" Monarchianism. The former is a characterization of ADOPTIANISM, while the latter is used to describe so-called Sabellianism. The Sabellian heresy eventually becomes that which is generally understood by the terms Monarchianism and MODALISM. It is consciously opposed to the doctrine of the Logos presented in the Gospel of John and the Apologists, and esp. to the notion of mediator (subordinationism) that was applied in the middle-Platonic doctrine or theology of principles encountered, for example, in Origen. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are simply different modes by which the one God appears in the history of salvation (ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ). The proponents of this effort to interpret the data of the New Testament in the framework of Hellenistic concepts of divine epiphanies, so as to preserve the monotheism inherited from the Judaic tradition, were Sabellios, Noetos of Smyrna, and Epigonos (called Praxeas in the West).

In the genealogies of heresies so common in Byz., 4th-C. theologians connected MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA with Monarchianism, while in the 6th C., the same charge was made against SEVEROS OF Antioch and the JACOBITES. Protestant dogmatists of the 19th and early 20th C. largely overestimated the significance of modalistic Monarchianism and presumed a background of religious ideas directed against the philosophical tradition.

LIT. M. Simonetti, "Sabellio e il sabellianismo," *Studi storico-religiosi* 4 (1980) 7–28. —K.-H.U.

**MONARCHY.** See AUTOKRATOR; TAXIS.

**MONASTERY** (μονή), complex of buildings housing MONKS or NUNS (see also NUNNERY). The term is used primarily for a KOINOBION, LAVRA, or an IDIORRHYTHMIC monastery. Byz. monastic architecture was standardized at a fairly early date, with many of the common elements appearing at SOHAG in Egypt, QAL'AT SEM'AN in Syria, and St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai. A monastery was often contained within strong defensive walls, along the inside of which were located the dormitories of the monks, stables, workshops, and storage buildings. These surrounded an open space, with the principal church (the KATHOLIKON) at its center. In front of the church was the PHIALE. One side of the enclosure, most commonly that facing the church, was occupied by the refectory (TRAPEZA). Other buildings could include a BATH and an infirmary.

Monasteries varied greatly in size, ranging from a minimum of three (later eight to ten) monks to several hundred (A.-M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 4f, 18–20). They were located in both town and countryside but were most numerous in Constantinople and the HOLY MOUNTAINS such as Mt. Olympos and Mt. Athos. A. Bryer estimated that about 1,000 different monasteries are recorded in the Byz. sources (*SChH* 16 [1979] 219f, n.3), about one-third of them in Constantinople (a statistic perhaps skewed by the nature of the available sources).

There were no monastic "orders" as in the West; thus the organization of each monastery varied and was prescribed by its ΤΥΡΙΚΟΝ. There were nonetheless some connections between monasteries, for example, between those on the same holy mountain or between a monastery and its smaller affiliated establishments, the METOCHIA. The *typika* of some monasteries were closely modeled on those of earlier foundations. Monasteries were variously classified as imperial, patriarchal (see STAUROPEGION), or episcopal, and as private or independent.

In general each monastery had a superior (HEGOUMENOS), steward (ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ), sacristan (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ), and other officials charged with supervision of the refectory, treasury, and archives. Most monasteries possessed agricultural lands and other properties that provided food for the monks and revenues to maintain the buildings



and operations of the monastery. (See also MONASTICISM.)

LIT. A.K. Orlandos, *Monasteriake architektonike* (Athens 1926; 2nd ed. 1958). S. Mojsilović-Popović, "Secular Buildings in Medieval Serbian Monasteries," *Zograf* 16 (1985) 19–25. P.M. Mylonas, "Research on Athos," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 529–44. —M.J., A.M.T.

**MONASTERY, DOUBLE** (διπλοῦν μοναστήριον), a monastery housing two separate but adjacent communities of men and women, under the direction of the same superior, and supported by the same sources of income. Because of the dangers posed by such close proximity of monks and nuns, double monasteries were officially prohibited as, for example, by novel 123.36 of Justinian I (546). The inefficacy of his legislation is demonstrated by the continuing existence of double monasteries, such as the one presided over by St. Anthousa in the 8th C., which allegedly housed 900 monks and nuns (C. Mango, *AB* 100 [1982] 401–09). The Second Council of Nicaea (787) forbade any future foundations of this sort (can. 20). Circa 810 Patr. Nikephoros I went a step further and closed all double monasteries.

The Palaiologan period saw a resurgence of these institutions. Some of the foundations, such as the monastery of Philanthropos Soter established in Constantinople by Irene CHOUMNAINA, were designed so that the family of the founder could remain close even in monastic seclusion (R. Trone, *BS/EB* 10 [1983] 81–87). Patr. Athanasios I attacked the practice (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no. 1747) but is known to have founded two double monasteries himself, Nea Mone on Mt. GANOS and the monastery on the hill of Xerolophos in Constantinople. Because of disputes over the division of labor, the latter monastery was partitioned in 1383 by Patr. Neilos Kerameus and its property distributed to the two communities of monks and nuns (MM 2:80–83).

LIT. S. Hilpisch, *Die Doppelkloster: Entstehung und Organisation* (Münster 1928) 5–24. J. Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins," *EO* 9 (1906) 21–25. R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge: Commende et typica (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 42–44. Beck, *Kirche* 138. —A.M.T.

**MONASTICISM** (from μονάζειν, "to live alone"), a life devoted to worship, practiced by MONKS and NUNS. Monasticism was an essential part of the

social and religious fabric of the empire, affecting the life of every Byz. and playing a spiritual, economic, philanthropic, and cultural role. Initially a lay movement, monasticism first appeared in the late 3rd C. when Christians began to retire to the Egyptian DESERT for solitary lives of ASCETICISM and PRAYER. Among these early DESERT FATHERS was ANTONY THE GREAT, whose biography by Athanasios of Alexandria provided a model for future generations of monks. In the 4th C., as the HERMITS attracted disciples, communities of monks and nuns developed. PACHOMIOS wrote a rule for these semicenobitic Egyptian monastic communities (see PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES), which added to the celibacy and poverty of the hermits the virtue of obedience to a superior. He also emphasized regular religious services and manual labor. From Egypt monasticism spread to the LAVRAS of Syria and Palestine (Wilderness of JUDAEA) and to Anatolia, where BASIL THE GREAT composed the Long Rules, which were to provide the basic foundation of Byz. monasticism. Basil strongly favored cenobitic monasticism (see KOINOBION) over eremitism and advocated that the MONASTERY should be a community of self-sufficient working monks. He urged moderation in asceticism and endorsed the establishment of urban monasteries.

The first monastery in Constantinople was DALMATOU, founded in the late 4th C. Thereafter monastic institutions proliferated rapidly in both town and countryside. By 536 there were almost 70 monasteries in the capital. A number of HOLY MOUNTAINS developed, where both eremitic and cenobitic forms of monasticism were practiced. The tradition of the monastery as a working community was realized in its most ideal form at the STODIOS MONASTERY in the early 9th C., thanks to the reforms of THEODORE OF STODIOS.

Late Roman emperors, esp. Justinian I, conferred upon monasteries particular economic privileges (the right to inherit from private citizens, the prohibition against confiscation of their properties, beneficial forms of renting out their lands), but, nevertheless, until the 9th C. monasteries remained predominantly modest landowners, more often rewarded by SOLEMNIA than actual land donations; it is plausible to surmise that during Iconoclasm many monasteries even lost their buildings and liquid assets. In the 10th C. monasteries began to acquire substantial amounts

of immovables. They accumulated fields, vineyards, pastures, livestock, mills, fishponds, saltworks, urban rental properties, and workshops through purchase and through the donations of emperors and private pious benefactors. Monasteries also received gifts of cash and precious liturgical objects from the faithful in exchange for old-age pensions (ADELPHATA) or posthumous commemoration. Monastic wealth was further increased because of the customary exemption of monasteries from payment of state taxes (EXKOUSSEIA).

NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, who endorsed the concept of the "poor monastery" and strongly supported Athanasios's foundation of the Great Lavra on Mt. ATHOS, tried unsuccessfully to curb the growth of monastic estates. In 964 he issued an edict restricting further acquisition of land, esp. by monasteries that lacked sufficient manpower to cultivate the estates they already owned. His decree was overturned, however, by his successor John I Tzimiskes, and monasteries continued to expand their possessions. However, in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE of 1204 only the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople is listed among the major landowners of the empire. There are copious documents from the end of the 13th C. to the 15th C. recording monastic acquisitions of land in southern Macedonia, Trebizond, on Aegean islands, etc.—but since almost all of these documents survived in monastic archives, the result is a distorted perception of the exclusive role of monastic landownership in late Byz. In reality, the state managed to curb the growth of monastic estates, and after 1371 distributed a substantial part of monastic lands among soldiers.

One feature of Byz. monasticism was the individualism of many monks and their disregard of the canonical principle of monastic STABILITY; this was esp. true of holy men, many of whom moved frequently from one monastery to another or alternated between a cenobitic monastery and a hermit's KELLION. Another manifestation of this trend was the development of IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM in the 14th C. Unlike the West, there were no established "monastic orders"; rather, each monastery was a unique foundation with its own rule or TYPIKON, although some monastic rules imitated earlier models.

The most important function of monasteries was to provide a haven from the world where

pious men and women could devote themselves to the VITA CONTEMPLATIVA (*theoria*) in the search for their own salvation and the salvation of those for whom they prayed. Monasteries also played a philanthropic role, by offering a refuge to social outcasts or those in need of assistance: orphans, the elderly, the maimed or disfigured, the mentally ill, battered wives. (They also served as a place of imprisonment or exile for deposed emperors and patriarchs, and unsuccessful rebels or political rivals.) In addition to accepting people in distress as members of their community, monasteries used some of their resources to run philanthropic institutions, increasingly performing functions that had been in the purview of the state. A number of monastic complexes included HOSPITALS, GEROKOMEIA, and XENODOCHEIA; they also regularly distributed food, money, and clothing to the needy. Owing to the relative stability of monastic property, many KTETORES considered monastic institutions a convenient place for "investment" and granted them lands in exchange for certain rights (sometimes hereditary). On the other hand, emperors and patriarchs endowed upon some lay people or ecclesiastical institutions benefits similar to those enjoyed by ktetores (CHARISTIKION).

In contrast to the West, EDUCATION was not a function of the Byz. monastery, except for the training of a few children destined for the monastic life. Monasteries did, however, play an integral role in the intellectual and cultural life of the empire. Establishments like the Stoudios and HODEGON monasteries in Constantinople housed SCRIPTORIA that produced manuscripts for both internal and external use. A. Cutler (*BZ* 74 [1981] 328–34) has estimated that in the 10th and 11th C. about 50 percent of scribes were monks, in the 14th C. about 25 percent. Although most monastic LIBRARIES were modest in size and restricted in scope to the Scriptures, hagiography, patristics, theology, and liturgy, a few, like CHORA, had some secular holdings. LITERACY was required of choir brothers and sisters; many devoted themselves to study of the Scriptures, and a number became writers, esp. of hymnography, hagiography, and theology. In the first half of the 9th C. monks and nuns formed the majority of literati; for the 14th C., I. Ševčenko (*Society*, pt. I [1974], 72) has calculated that more than 25 percent of the literati were monks.

Monasteries had a significant impact on the development of Byz. THEOLOGY and spirituality. Many leading theologians and churchmen who wrote on doctrine, liturgy, and mysticism were monks. Monks played a key role in the ecumenical councils of the 4th and 5th C.; they were prime supporters of icons in the debate over ICONOCLASM and defended Orthodoxy against attempts at Union of the Churches. The mysticism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN in the early 11th C. and the HESYCHASM of the monks of Athos in the 14th C. profoundly affected the evolution of Orthodox tradition. A number of monks had a chance to influence ecclesiastical policy through their promotion to a bishopric or the patriarchate (see CONSTANTINOPLE, PATRIARCHATE OF).

Even though monks were the leading force in defending icon veneration in the 8th–9th C., there is little firm evidence to link monks with the production of art. Normally, teams of outside architects and ARTISTS were hired to build and decorate monastic complexes, and in many cases even MSS copied in monastic scriptoria were illuminated elsewhere, esp. when the miniature was on a separate page. Nonetheless, monasteries were great patrons of art and architecture. Most surviving Byz. churches were once monastic churches, and many icons, MSS, liturgical vessels, and the like were originally made for monasteries or were eventually donated to and preserved in monasteries.

LIT. Mango, *Byzantium* 105–24. A. Failler, "Le monachisme byzantin aux XIe–XIIe siècles: Aspects sociaux et économiques," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 20 (1975) 279–302. I. Konidares, *To dikaiōn tes monasteriakēs periousias* (Athens 1979). A. Papadakis, "Byzantine Monasticism Reconsidered," *BS* 47 (1986) 34–46. A.-M. Talbot, "An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism," *ICS* 12 (1987) 229–41. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij monastyr' XI–XII vv. kak social'naja gruppa," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 48–70. —A.M.T.

**MONEMVASIA** (Μονεμβασία, lit. "single entrance," Malvasia and Malmsey in Western sources), a fortified city on an isolated rock that lies just off the coast of the southeastern Peloponnesos. It is called a *kastron* by PAUL OF MONEMVASIA in the 10th C. (AASS May 5:426B). Evidence for its early history is scanty. It is mentioned first by HUGEBURC, who described it as located in a "Slavic land." Theophanes (Theoph. 422.29–30) speaks of Monemvasia only once, relating that the plague of 746/7 arrived there from Sicily and Calabria.

A colophon of the MS Vat. Palat. gr. 44 mentions a certain Leo who was "taboularios of Monobasia" in 898 (P. Nikolopoulos, *LakSp* 5 [1980] 227–46). On the other hand, later legends, preserved in the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA, pseudo-Sphrantzes, and other sources, claim that Monemvasia was founded ca.582/3 (P. Schreiner, *TM* 4 [1970] 471–75) and that it obtained metropolitan status from Maurice. In fact, however, a simple bishopric of Monemvasia is known from 787; it was probably a suffragan of Corinth and not Patras, as a literary tradition asserts (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:430). In the 12th C. Monemvasia served as a naval station in wars against the Normans, who in 1147 failed to seize it.

Monemvasia was the last stronghold in the Peloponnesos to acknowledge the supremacy of the Franks in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade: it fell to WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN in 1248 after a two-year siege. In 1262 the Byz. recovered Monemvasia as a result of the Treaty of Constantinople and the next year the Byz. fleet secured control of the surrounding territory; as a naval base it was administered by a *komes* (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 361). Michael VIII granted certain privileges to Monemvasia, but the authenticity of Andonikos II's chrysobull of 1301 is questionable (P. Schreiner in *Praktika B' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnesiakon spoudon* 1 [1981–82] 160–66). Michael VIII elevated Monemvasia to a metropolis that was later moved from the 34th place in the hierarchy to the 10th; the 16th-C. list of the metropolitans of Monemvasia is evidently a forgery (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 383f). In 1384 Theodore I Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, offered the city to Venice, but the powerful Mamonas family prevented the donation. In 1460 Monemvasia came under papal authority, in 1462/3 it was ceded to Venice (B. Krekić, *ZRVI* 6 [1960] 131–35), and in 1540 it fell to the Turks.

The impressive walls of Monemvasia are largely Venetian, but they are everywhere built on Byz. foundations. The Church of Hagia Sophia in the upper citadel has a breathtaking location at the edge of a sheer cliff. It is a domed octagon of the type and scale of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI; it was probably constructed ca.1150, though E. Stikas (*LakSp* 8 [1986] 271–376) argues that it was founded by Alexios I. It has frescoes of the 13th C.

An important 14th-C. icon of the Crucifixion

was removed from the Helkomenos Church to the Byzantine Museum in Athens (A. Xyngopoulos, *Peloponnesiaka* 1 [1955] 23–49; Catalog of the *Ekthese gia ta hekato chronia tes Christianikes Archaio-logikes Hetaireias* [Byzantine Museum, Athens, 1984] no.8). The church itself preserves a carved lintel of ca.1000.

LIT. W.R. Elliott, *Monemvasia, the Gibraltar of Greece* (London 1971). W. Miller, "Monemvasia," *JHS* 27 (1907) 229–41. P. Schreiner, "I diritti della città di Malvasia nell'epoca tardo-bizantina," in *Miscellanea di studi storici* (Genoa 1983) 91–98. A.D. Katsore, *Monembasia* (Athens 1976). H. Kaliga, "The Church of Hagia Sophia at Monemvasia," *DChAE* 19 (1977–79) 217–21. M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," 22 *CorsiRav* (1975) 349–55. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

**MONEY-CHANGER.** See BANKER.

**MONGOLS** (Μονγούλοι), also called TATARS, an Asian people who, under the leadership of Genghis Khan (died 1227) and his successors, created an empire stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean. While its capital was in Karakorum, two appanages separated from it in the west: the Golden Horde (with a center at Saray on the Volga) and the empire of the Ilkhans in Persian territory. In the north the Mongols defeated the CUMANS in 1223 and obliged them to seek a refuge in Byz.; they conquered Kievan Rus' by 1240 and penetrated DOBRUDJA. In the south the Mongols captured Baghdad in 1258, but were halted by the MAMLŪKS at 'Ayn Jālūt on 3 Sept. 1260.

In Anatolia, Trebizond had to acknowledge its dependence on the Mongols and pay tribute to them, while the empire of Nicaea retained a more independent stance. At first, the Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes supported the SELJUKS of Rūm against the Mongols, but, after the Seljuk defeat at Köseadağ on 26 June (or 2 July) 1243, he tried to maintain friendly relations with both powers. His successors continued this ambivalent policy. In 1265 Michael VIII Palaiologos sent his natural daughter Maria to Karakorum as a wife of the great khan Hülegü; the khan died before her arrival, however, and Maria was married to his son Abaqa. The monastery of the Theotokos Panagiotissa in Constantinople, of which Maria was a patron (Janin, *Églises CP* 213f), became known as "St. Mary of the Mongols." Another Maria, illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, married

Toktay, khan of the Golden Horde, toward the end of the 13th C. It is probably this Maria, rather than Michael's daughter, who appears as the nun Melania in the Church of the CHORA MONASTERY (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:46f), where she is described as "the lady of the Mongols." Despite this intimacy, Mongols are never represented in Byz. art, in contrast with CRUSADER ART, where distinctly Mongol features are given to one of the Magi on an iconostasis beam at the St. CATHERINE monastery on Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 20 [1966] 63f). Michael VIII also managed to preserve friendly relations with NOGAY in the north. Nuptial connections continued in the 14th C.: Andronikos III gave his daughter in marriage to Özbek, the khan of the Golden Horde. The Mongols remained tolerant toward the Christian church and, in Saray, a bishopric was established under the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

TIMUR temporarily united the Mongol Empire. He crushed both the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and his victory at the battle of ANKARA in 1402 postponed the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. After Timur's death the empire dissolved. Its last vestige in contact with Byz. was the khanate of the Crimea, founded ca.1430, which was supported by the Genoese of Kaffa. After 1475 the southern coast of the Crimea came under direct Ottoman administration.

LIT. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford 1986). B. Spuler, *History of the Mongols* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1972). R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). P.I. Zavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 93–101. M.A. Andreeva, "Priem tatarskich poslov pri Nikejskom dvore," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov* (Prague 1926) 187–200. J.J. Saunders, *Muslims and Mongols* (Christchurch, N.Z., 1977). —O.P., A.C.

**MONK** (μοναχός), a man who renounced the world in order to devote himself to a life of ASCETICISM and PRAYER. In Byz. there were various types of monks: (1) the cenobites, who lived and ate together in a communal society, the KOINOBION; (2) the *lavriotai* or *kelliotai*, who lived in separate cells but came together for common worship (see LAVRA, KELLION); (3) IDIORRHYTHMIC monks; (4) anchorites or HERMITS, who lived alone in an isolated location; and (5) wandering monks. The minimum age for adoption of the habit varied from monastery to monastery but averaged around 18; many men, however, became monks



at a later stage in life, often after being widowed. Some categories of individuals (e.g., eunuchs, young boys, fugitive slaves) were denied or limited permission to become monks. After a novitiate that could range from six months to three years, the NOVICE took vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. The monastic profession was symbolized externally by the TONSURE, the monastic habit (SCHEMA), and the adoption of a monastic name (which usually, but not necessarily, began with the same initial letter as one's baptismal name). In theory monks were supposed to remain in the same monastery for life (see STABILITY, MONASTIC), but in practice many of them wandered from one monastery to another, or left a *koinobion* to become a hermit (often as a temporary stage).

A monastery had two sorts of monks: the literate choir brothers, responsible for singing the daily offices, and the uneducated brethren who were servants (*diakonetai*) and did much of the manual labor. This hierarchical division of the monks into two classes was also reflected in their different food and dress, their seating in the refectory, even their place of burial in the cemetery. Members of the nobility who entered monastic life were frequently accompanied by servants and lived in a suite of rooms rather than a single cell. Prospective monks customarily made substantial donations to the monastery at the time of their admission; despite their vows of poverty they were allowed to retain some personal property after they took the monastic habit. In addition to the daily round of prayers and manual labor, monks might engage in intellectual endeavors such as study of the Scriptures, copying of MSS, or composition of hymns and hagiographical works.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu*. P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *DOP* 25 (1971) 61–84. D. Savranis, *Zur Soziologie des byzantinischen Mönchtums* (Leiden-Cologne 1962). —A.M.T.

**MONOCONDYLE**, a conventional scholarly term formed from the classical Greek adjective *μονοκόνδυλος*, "having but one joint" (said of the thumb). The term designates a word or a short sentence written in a single, uninterrupted line drawn without lifting the pen from the parchment or paper. The monocondyle sometimes deliberately obscures the name or signature. Synodal decisions were signed by bishops in the form of a

monocondyle (examples survive primarily from the post-Byz. period); the imperial chancellery used monocondyle notes written over two glued-together sheets of a document to prevent the addition of forged insertions.

LIT. L. Politis, *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néogrecque* (London 1975), pt.V (1957), 318–20. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 247f, n.4. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 36f. —A.K.

**MONOCYCLIC AND POLYCYCLIC**, terms central to RECENSION THEORY, specifically as it is applied to the study of illuminated MSS. The former designates a MS whose miniature CYCLE coincides both in substance and extent with the limits of its accompanying text. A polycyclic MS, on the other hand, is one whose original set of pictures has been supplemented by one or more series of images, each originally created for its own text and having its own recensional history. Each may also carry traces of the style of the model from which it was drawn. Weitzmann labels as polycyclic a number of the finest extant Byz. MSS, including the PARIS GREGORY, whose original, comparatively small set of homily pictures, he suggests, was enriched by excerpted picture cycles deriving ultimately from, for example, an illustrated Genesis, a Book of Kings, a Gospel book, etc.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Roll & Codex* 193–205. —G.V.

**MONODY** (*μονωδία*), a short unrelieved lament, intended to comfort the bereaved by sharing their grief. It differs from EPITAPHIOS in not being part of the actual funeral ceremony.

LIT. A. Sideras, "Byzantinische Leichenreden," in *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, ed. R. Lenz, vol. 3 (Marburg 1984) 17–49. —E.M.J.

**MONOENERGISM** (from *μόνος* and *ἐνέργεια*, "one energy"), a conventional scholarly term to describe a theological movement of the 7th C. Its core was the assumption that Christ had a single ENERGY attributed to his individual hypostasis. This idea was implied in MONOPHYSITISM (one nature presumes a single "activity"), but even pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3:1072C) spoke of a "new theandric activity (*theandrike energeia*)" in Christ, a phrase that was broadly used (misused, from the Orthodox point of view) by the

Monothelites. The Neo-Chalcedonians (see NEO-CHALCEDONISM) seem to have been close to the development of the notion of a single activity, but the movement fully arose as an attempt at political unification of the Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the face of the Arab threat.

KYROS of Alexandria attempted in 633 to reconcile the two parties on the basis of the formula "the single Christ and Son operating as God and man in the single theandric activity" (Mansi 11:565D). SOPHRONIOS, the future patriarch of Jerusalem, remonstrated against this formula, and during his discussions with Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople they came to a compromise: both phrases "single activity" and "two activities" were prohibited—instead, one had to speak of "the single Son acting upon both divine and human [things]." Both parties assumed that Christ was *theokinetos*, "moved by God." Pope HONORIUS approved of the compromise and in his letter to Sergios spoke of "*una voluntas*" of Christ. Sophronios soon rekindled discussion, but since the EKTESIS issued by Emp. Herakleios in 638 banned the *energeia* formulas, the debate subsequently focused on the problem of the single will (MONOTHELETISM).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 292–94. F. Winkelman, "Die Quellen zur Forschung des monenergetisch-monothelischen Streites," *Klio* 69 (1987) 515–59. P. Galtier, "La première lettre du pape Honorius," *Gregorianum* 29 (1948) 42–61. P. Parente, "Uso e significato del termine *theokinetos* nella controversia monothelica," *REB* 11 (1953) 241–51. —T.E.G.

**MONOGENES, HO** (*ὁ μονογενής*, "the only-begotten"), TROPARION that sums up the teaching of the early councils on the Christian economy of salvation in terms drawn from their creeds (J.H. Barkhuizen, *BZ* 77 [1984] 3). It was probably unknown in Constantinople before 519, for it is not mentioned in the disputes that year over the THEOPASCHITE clause, "One of the Trinity was crucified," which it paraphrases.

Justinian I introduced the *Monogenes* into the liturgy of Constantinople in 535/6 (Theoph. 216.23–24). The Orthodox attributed its text to Justinian himself; the Monophysites to SEVEROS of Antioch. Both Orthodox and Monophysite churches used it, probably from the attempted reconciliation of 533/4.

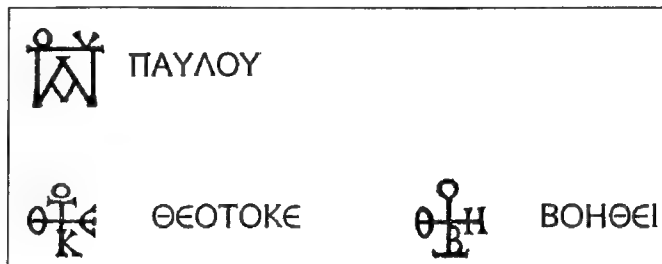
Found at the beginning of the Eucharist in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, its first certain attestation in the Byz. Eucharist is in the 9th-C. Latin version of the so-called *Church History* of Patr. GERMANOS I by ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (actually a commentary on the liturgy). It served as refrain of the third ANTIPHON on ordinary days; on feasts the *Monogenes* was a variant refrain of the second antiphon (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:308, 313f). It was intoned by singers standing beneath the ambo of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ED. Brightman, *Liturgies* 365.33–366.9.

LIT. V. Grumel, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire *Ho monogenes*," *EO* 22 (1923) 398–418. Mateos, *La parole* 50–52. —R.F.T.

**MONOGRAM**, the combination of a number of letters that form, when read in the correct order, a name, a title (or name *and* title), or an invocation. The Byz. monogram normally contains all letters of the name or word(s) in question (a repeated letter, however, is only used once). Sometimes ABBREVIATIONS are used, as in the case of the CHRISTOGRAM, and the symbols for authors' names in marginal notes in MSS. Monograms are found on elements of architecture, silver objects—here both to identify the donor by name and title and to serve as control stamps (see SILVER STAMPS)—ornaments, ivories, coins, and esp. seals. They occur abundantly from the 6th to 8th C., become rare in the 9th to 12th C., and reappear again in increasing number in the Palaiologan period, in MSS, on book bindings, and esp. on architectural elements. The most common forms are the block or box-type monogram where the letters are joined together in the form of a quadrangle, and (from ca.550 onward) the cruciform monogram where the letters are placed at the extremities of a cross.

MONOGRAM. Sample monograms. Above: block or box-type monogram signifying "of Paul"; below: cruciform monograms signifying "Mother of God, help."



The arrangement of the letters seems to follow primarily aesthetic principles; attempts to discover underlying rules have failed. Hence the decipherment often proves difficult and in many cases remains ambiguous.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 2:54–56. Idem, *Das alte Monogramm* (Leipzig 1924). W. Fink, "Das frühbyzantinische Monogramm," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 75–86. Idem, "Neue Deutungsvorschläge zu einigen byzantinischen Monogrammen," in *Byzantios* (Vienna 1984) 85–94. V. Laurent, "Monogrammes byzantins pour un hommage," *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 325–41. —W.H.

**MONOMACHOS** (Μονομάχος, lit. "fighting in single combat," fem. Μονομαχίνα), the name of a family of functionaries, perhaps related to the Monomachatoi and Monomachitai. The first occurrences of the name are questionable. The 9th-C. Life of IOANNIKIOS refers to an Iconoclast bishop of Nikomedeia whom it calls "monomachos or rather theomachos" (AASS Nov. 2.1:432B), that is, a fighter against God; monomachos, which prompted a pun, is here to be taken as a proper name. A patrikios Niketas, during Irene's reign, took the sobriquet Monomachos. An addressee of Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES was a son of patrician Niketas Mon[omachos]; unfortunately, the reading of the name is conjectural. Another Monomachos, a functionary who supervised monasteries ca.921, was mentioned by NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.96.3). The family flourished in the 11th C. when the son of a judge Theodosios became Emp. CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS. The Monomachoi had property in Constantinople and functioned primarily as judges (e.g., Pothos, *protospatharios* and judge of the Hippodrome). Despite their warlike name and the frequent use of the image of St. George on their seals, the only member of the family who is known to have been connected with the military administration was George Monomachatos, *doux* of Illyricum (Dyrrachion) during the reign of Nikephoros III; Alexios I dismissed him, and George fled to Serbia but eventually was granted amnesty. A female relative of Constantine IX (Maria or Anastasia?) was married to a prince of Rus' and gave birth to VLADIMIR MONOMACH.

The family played no role under the dynasty of the Komnenoi, but emerged again at the end of the 12th C.; George Monomachos, for example, was an official of maritime administration (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.59.27). The family is at-

tested in Asia Minor from the beginning of the 13th C. A John Monomachos lost his fortune in Philadelphia when it was besieged by the Turks in 1304; he then moved to Thessalonike, where he exercised military functions and belonged to the entourage of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS; later he became intimate with Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and accompanied him to Philadelphia in 1324 (H. Ahrweiler in *Philadelphie et autres études* [Paris 1984] 9–16). The Monomachoi were still active in the first half of the 14th C., when George Monomachos and esp. his brother Michael, eparch and grand *konostaulos*, were generals. In Jan. 1333 Michael received a *praktikon* granting him the *oikonomia* of 50 hyperpera in the villages of Chantax and Nision—an exceptional case of a recorded donation of a PRONOIA to a secular person (Zogr., no.29). He died before 1346. Another George Monomachos was an architect (*oikodemos*) in Thessalonike ca.1421 (Dölger, *Schatz*, no.102).

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 155. V.L. Janin, G.G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proischozhenii Vladimira Monomacha," *Istoriko-archeologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow 1962) 204–21, with add. A. Soloviev, *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 241–48. F. Barišić, "Michailo Monomach, eparch i veliki konostavl," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 215–34. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 112–22. *PLP*, nos. 19286–309. —A.K.

**MONOPHYSITISM**, religious movement that originated in the first half of the 5th C. as a reaction against the emphasis of NESTORIANISM on the human nature of the incarnate Christ. The term Monophysite (Μονοφυσίτης), from *monos* (one) and *physis* (nature), is, however, of later origin: it appears in ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (7th C.) and JOHN OF DAMASCUS (8th C.) when the heat of the Monophysite dispute was long over. On the other hand, some roots of Monophysite views can be found before the 5th C., for example, in APOLLINARIS OF LAODIKEIA. As a theological doctrine, Monophysitism was an attempt to find a solution to the problem of the God-Man relationship in Christ: if before the Incarnation the divine nature of the Logos existed separately, it came into contact or union with the human nature after the Incarnation. What kind of union was thus created? Was the divine nature only in an apparent unity with the man in Christ while the human nature prevailed? Was it a real mixture? Did the divine nature engulf the human nature so that only one *physis* remained? Philosophically and

theologically the questions were difficult to answer. The Monophysites suggested two responses: the so-called real Monophysites (the followers of EUTYCHES) inclined to accept the doctrine of the union of natures, whereas the moderate or "verbal" Monophysites (the partisans of SEVEROS of Antioch) construed the *physis* as close to the concept of *prosopon* or hypostasis and saw in Christ a new *physis*, possessing both perfect divine and perfect human qualities.

The Monophysite dispute began in the 440s. The initiators of the movement were Eutyches and DIOSKOROS, patriarch of Alexandria, who developed some formulations originally made by CYRIL of Alexandria. After a short-lived victory at the so-called Robber Council of Ephesus (449), the Monophysites were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon (451) that elaborated the dyophysite (or Chalcedonian) formula. The movement continued with varying degrees of success, Emp. Anastasios I supporting the Monophysites, Justin I favoring the Chalcedonians, and Justinian I vacillating between the two dogmas. The controversy was accompanied by severe persecutions of both parties, banishment of leaders, destruction of churches, etc. In the 7th C. the state and church tried to find a compromise in the form of MONOTHELETISM.

Theological and philosophical differences were exacerbated by political, social, and cultural factors: the most evident of them was the rivalry of Alexandria with Constantinople and Rome. It seems also that the rural population of Egypt and Syria supported Monophysitism partly as a protest against oppression, partly due to local traditions: the belief in a deity who died and was then resurrected was well entrenched in Egypt and Syria, and in these provinces the addition to the TRISAGION ("We believe in God who died for us") was received sympathetically. Monophysitism in its earlier stages seems to have been allied with the state, and only from the late 6th C. onward did the increasing persecutions alienate the Monophysites and make them potential supporters of foreign enemies, like the Arabs. As a symbol of local independence the Monophysite churches that were established in Syria and Egypt, and the separation of Christians into the MELCHITE and JACOBITE sects intensified political and cultural dissension in these lands. Monophysitism was accepted by the Armenian church.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1972). Idem, "The Monophysites and the Transition between the Ancient World and the Middle Ages," *Passagio dal mondo antico al medio evo da Teodosio a San Gregorio Magno* (Rome 1980) 339–65. M. Jugie, *DTC* 10 (1929) 2216–2306. R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford 1976). F. Winkelmann, "Nekotorye zamečaniia k ocenke roli monofisitstva v Egipte v poslejustinianovskuju epochu," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 86–92. L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (Brescia 1980). —A.K.

**MONOPOLY** (μονοπώλιον), the exclusive privilege of trading specific goods, existed in Byz. in two forms: state monopolies and rights granted (or farmed) to particular persons/organizations. Leo I prohibited officials from granting monopolies in any place or city for any kind of goods except SALT (*Cod. Just.* IV 59.1, a.473); Zeno outlawed monopolistic production of clothing, fish, and other commodities and underlined the illegality of collusion among construction workers, teachers of crafts (*ergodidaskaloi*), and bath attendants (*Cod. Just.* IV 59.2, a.483; *Basil* 19.18.2).

The question of state monopolies has been hotly disputed: J. Nicole (*Le livre du préfet* [Geneva 1904] 292–94), who developed a concept of Byz. as a paradise of monopolies and privileges, viewed monopolies as a factor that helped destroy the Byz. economy; in contrast, both A. Andreades (*Byzantion* 9 [1934] 171–81) and G. Mickwitz (*Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* [Helsinki 1936] 207f) denied the existence of state monopolies and acknowledged only a state regulation over commerce that was allegedly beneficial for tradesmen. Prokopios twice (*Wars* 2:15.11, *SH* 26.36) mentions "the so-called monopolies" established by governors on the frontier with Lazika and in Alexandria: the governors prohibited all trade activity by merchants and acted as *kapeloi* of all goods. While "all goods" is apparently an exaggeration, in some spheres (esp. the silk trade) the existence of a state monopoly is probable; N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 40 [1986] 33–50) assumes that by the 9th–10th C. this monopoly loosened. ALBERT OF AACHEN (*RHC Occid.* 4:311D) testifies to the presence of state monopolies at the end of the 11th C., saying that only the emperor could sell wine, olive oil, wheat, barley, and other victuals throughout the entire empire; Attaleiates' description of the monopoly in Rhaidestos (*Attal.* 202.5) likewise reveals state privilege in the grain trade. On the other hand, the report (Skyl. 277.44–



5) that Nikephoros II Phokas traded in "imperial grain" during a famine is not sufficient to assert the existence of a monopoly at that time. Other state monopolies included the emperor's exclusive rights over objects of PURPLE and GOLD as symbols of his power and the production and use of some types of weapons (e.g., GREEK FIRE).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnya i gorod* 302-04. Hendy, *Economy* 174, 626-34, 654-62. G. Brătianu, "Une expérience d'économie dirigée," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 643-62. —A.J.C.

**MONOTHEISM** in Christianity was perceived as a refutation of polytheism ("Hellenic deception") and Judaic absolute or consistent monotheism (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 7.28-30, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:17). The rejection of polytheism was a relatively easy task, even though NICHOLAS OF METHONE still found it necessary to discard Proklos's polyarchy of gods, and PLETHON attempted the revival of Olympic deities. Disassociation from Judaic absolute monotheism was a more difficult problem, solved by the concept of the TRINITY. Absolute monotheism created an unbridgeable gap between God and mankind, whereas the triune God, one in substance and numerical in hypostases, provided the possibility for intercourse with humans, a possibility realized in the double nature of Christ that formed the cornerstone of the doctrine of salvation. Besides the Trinitarian and Christological controversies that required sophisticated definitions of substance and hypostasis, the concept of the Trinity implied a danger of confusion with "TRITHEISM." Nicholas of Methone (*Anaptyxis*, p.10.13-16) pointed out that pagan gods are a multitude (*plethos*) and differ from each other, whereas within the Trinity there is no difference (*diaphora*) but one *ousia*, power, energy, will, glory, kingdom.

In modern times Peterson (*infra*) argued that monotheism was a political ideology closely connected with the idea of the unique Roman Empire; the introduction of the concept of the Trinity brought an end to this connection. Although plausible for the West, this alleged disruption did not occur in Byz. (F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 225f) where the concepts of monarchy and monotheism remained interwoven, even though in some cases political slogans could be perverted, as happened during the riot of 668 when the army, referring to the Trinity, demanded that Constans II establish the collective rule of three brothers. —A.K.

**The Monotheistic Structure of the Trinity.** The Byz. concept of God was monotheistic; nevertheless they believed in the Trinity, that is, in God the Father, the Son or LOGOS, and the HOLY SPIRIT, who were of common SUBSTANCE, although of three hypostases. The "common" (*koinon*) substance or substance "shared in common" was understood as follows in the theology of the Cappadocian Fathers: that in thought or in contemplation there was a difference (*diaphora*) and not a distinction (*diairesis*) between the persons of the Trinity. Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 36:348A) emphasized that the term *diairesis* had to be applied with caution lest their unity and their difference be obscured. The "difference" was a sufficient condition for countability or number (*arithmos*), the concept developed by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 104-09). "We venerate monarchy," said Neilos KABASILAS (ed. M. Candal, *OrChrP* 23 [1957] 252.17-20), "We believe in one God, one not numerically—this would be a Judaic baseness—but one by nature; numerically God is not one but three." When the Byz. spoke of "one Godhead and one *ousia*," they meant a monad that stood beyond any number, that is, was not countable (e.g., JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.63, ed. Joannou, p.87.95).

After Trinitarian monotheism was established in disputes against ARIANISM, in opposition to the notions of MONARCHIANISM and ADOPTIANISM, it faced a challenge from DUALISM, which posed the question of the limits of God's power: if there is only one Lord of the created world, what is the cause of evil? Byz. theologians had to refute the old idea expressed particularly by the MANICHAEANS and some heresies possibly drawing upon them (PAULICIANS, BOGOMILS) that there is an opposition between the realm of light (or God) and that of darkness (or matter); the anti-Manichaean arguments and the principles of monotheism were formulated, among others, by JOHN OF CAESAREA in his *Dialogue with a Manichaean* (*Opera* 58f, 245f).

LIT. Prestige, *God* 97-111, 242-64. E. Peterson, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig 1935); rp. in his *Theologische Traktate* (Munich 1951) 45-147. *Monotheismus als politisches Problem?*, ed. A. Schindler (Gütersloh 1978). —K.-H.U.

**MONOTHELETISM** (from *μόνος* and *θέλημα*, "one will"), scholarly term designating a 7th-C.

theological movement. It inherited the problems raised by MONOENERGISM after the ban of the *energeia* formulas in 638. The new phrase, "a single will (*thelema*) in Christ," was suggested by Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople and developed by his supporters such as Makarios of Antioch and PYRRHOS. The emperor Herakleios saw Monothelism as a means of compromise between Chalcedonians and Monophysites and proclaimed it in the EKTESIS of 638. The main opponent of Monothelism was MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR who elaborated the concept of a variety of wills: the natural will, he argued, is a property of nature, and therefore desires good; FREE WILL (*proairesis*) means a choice and therefore presupposes the possibility of error or sin; finally, *boulesis* is imaginative desire (*phantastike orexis*—PG 91:13B). Christ, having two natures, had to have two natural wills.

The TYPOS OF CONSTANS II (648) forbade discussion of the controversy, but Maximos defied the edict. He was exiled, as was Pope MARTIN I who supported him. The Council of Constantinople in 680 condemned Monothelism and its adherents. Emp. Philippikos repudiated this condemnation and tried to revive Monothelism, but when he was overthrown the movement finally disappeared.

LIT. M. Jugie, *DTC* 10 (1929) 2307-23. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme," *EO* 27 (1928) 6-16, 257-77; 28 (1929) 19-34, 272-82; 29 (1930) 16-28. P. Verghese, "The Monothelite Controversy—a Historical Survey," *GOrThR* 13 (1968) 196-211. S. Brock, "A Monothelite Florilegium in Syriac," in *After Chalcedon* (Louvain 1985) 35-45. —T.E.G.

**MONREALE**, Sicilian town 18 km southwest of Palermo, site of the abbey church of a monastery, chartered by WILLIAM II on 15 Aug. 1176; also a cathedral. It is essentially a magnified version of his grandfather's Cappella Palatina in PALERMO, which Monreale overlooks. The figural mosaics in the nave, aisles, transept, and three apses are generally ascribed to Byz. craftsmen because their style is similar to that of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING in Cyprus, Macedonia, and other centers of Byz. art. According to Demus (*infra*), so huge a body of decoration would have taken 50 mosaicists five to six years to complete, and new scenes had to be invented to extend the standard repertoire. The decoration includes an unusually detailed Old Testament narrative in the nave;

MIRACLES OF CHRIST in the aisles and transept; and in the main apse a bust of the PANTOKRATOR, the Virgin Panachrantos, apostles, and saints. Some of the miracle scenes were composed on Greek rhetorical principles and may directly reflect the sermons of PHILAGATHOS (Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 80-83). In the sanctuary are two portraits of William in imperial dress, crowned by Christ and again, as in a Byz. donor PORTRAIT, offering his foundation to the Virgin.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo 1960). W. Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo 1966). Demus, *Norman Sicily* 91-177. —D.K., A.C.

**MONTANISM**, the heresy of the Montanists (*Μοντανιστῆς*), also called Kataphrygians, followers of a certain Montanus who preached in Phrygia in the 2nd C. Their theology did not differ substantially from Orthodoxy, although some church fathers (e.g., Didymos, PG 39:881B) accused "thick-witted Montanists" of teaching the doctrine of the identity of the members of the Trinity. The main particularities of Montanism were: an emphasis on the exclusive role of the "new prophets" (Montanus and two women, Priscilla and Maximilla); attacks on the established church and its concessions to the pagan state; stress on asceticism and rejection of marriage; eschatological expectations; and veneration of a deserted city, Pepouza in Phrygia, as the new Jerusalem. John of Damascus (*Haeres.* 49, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:33f) noted the role of women among the Kataphrygians—not only did they dominate the group and serve as priests, but Priscilla taught that she had had a vision of Christ "in a female shape." According to EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus (*Panarion* 48.14.2), Montanists were numerous in Cappadocia, Galatia, Phrygia, Cilicia, and Constantinople; they were also known in the West, as far as North Africa and Spain.

Both state and church persecuted the Montanists. JOHN OF EPHESUS reportedly went to Pepouza where he burned their place of assembly and destroyed the relics of Montanus and the two prophetesses (S. Gero, *JThSt* 28 [1977] 520-24). According to a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 401.22-27), Leo III ordered that Montanists be forcibly baptized in 721/2; they responded by gathering "in the houses of their deviation" and burning themselves to death. Montanism may have survived in Byz. into the 9th C.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, "Montanism: Research and Problems," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 20 (1984) 521–37. P. de Labriole, *La crise montaniste* (Paris 1913). A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten* (Berlin–New York 1980). –T.E.G.

**MONTECASSINO** (μονή τοῦ Κασίνου), monastery south of Rome, founded in 529 by St. Benedict of Nursia. After destruction by the Lombards (581) and the Arabs (883), the monastery was finally reestablished by Abbot Aligernus ca.950. Though officially patronized by the Western emperors and not in Byz. territory, the abbey, which owned possessions in Apulia, was favored throughout the 10th–11th C. by the *strategoi* of Longobardia, the *katepano* of Italy, and the Byz. emperors themselves. Montecassino was closely associated with Greek monasticism: ca.980–95 NEILOS OF ROSSANO lived with some 60 disciples in Valleluce, a *metochion* of Montecassino; some Benedictine monks from Montecassino migrated to Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, and Mt. Sinai. A Greek monk from Calabria, Basil, was abbot of Montecassino from 1036 to 1038. During the Norman conquest of southern Italy Abbot Desiderius (1058–87) actively supported the invaders, who bestowed lavish donations on the monastery. Nevertheless, between 1076 and 1112, Michael VII and Alexios I sent sumptuous gifts to the abbots of Montecassino, hoping for their mediation in the conflict with Rome and with the Crusaders (*Reg* 1, nos. 1006, 1207f, 1262–64). In 1206, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Montecassino was given the monastery of S. Maria de Virgiottis (*tes Euergetidos*) outside the walls of Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 181).

**Monuments.** Montecassino is one of the few places in Italy where written sources attest the activity of Byz. craftsmen. According to the chronicler Leo of Ostia, when Desiderius rebuilt its main church (1066–71), he sent to Constantinople for mosaicists to decorate the sanctuary vaults and the pavement; perhaps ca.1070 a monk was dispatched to Constantinople to commission precious fittings and liturgical furniture, including the elements of a bronze and silver templon (J. Shepard, *BS/EB* 9 [1982] 233–42) and a gold and enamel altar frontal. The new basilica also incorporated bronze doors that Desiderius had commissioned in Constantinople for the old church ca.1065. Of these expensive Byz. objects only some pieces of the nave pavement and 15 plaques from

the bronze doors survive; nevertheless, much has been written about Montecassino as a source of Byz. artistic influence in Rome and southern Italy (see SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS; SALERNO), and certain illuminated MSS made in the monastery's scriptorium have been said to reflect the work of Byz. artists (H. Toubert, *MEFRM* 83 [1971] 187–261).

Leo of Ostia wrote that "since *magistra latinitas* had left uncultivated the practice of these arts for more than 500 years," Desiderius had a number of young monks trained in mosaic-making and in the arts of silver, bronze, iron, glass, ivory, wood, alabaster, and stone. It is not clear whether all of these arts were considered Byz. or taught by Byz. craftsmen, and it is usually overlooked that Amatus of Montecassino attributes the pavement to "Greeks and Saracens." Unquestionably Montecassino was a unique showcase of imported Byz. objects in southern Italy; yet modern scholars may have overestimated its role as a center of diffusion of Byz. artistic practice.

LIT. H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). F. Newton, "The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The Chronicle and Some Surviving Manuscripts," *DOP* 30 (1976) 35–54. –V.v.F., D.K.

**MONTH** (μήν). Ancient local systems and local names of months (Egyptian, Syriac, Attic, Macedonian, etc.) continued well into the late Roman period, but from the 5th C. onward they were replaced by Roman names; only on the outskirts of Byz. civilization were other denominations and systems in use—Armenian, Jewish, and Islamic. In Egypt, Egyptian month names were used until 641; their use by Christians continued even after the Arab conquest. Late Byz. antiquarians (PACHYMERES, Theodore GAZES) tried to revive Attic names of months (with slight variations), but this scholarly conceit never extended to documents and was rarely used by historians. In the Roman/Byz. calendar the reconciliation of the cycle of lunar months with the 365-day solar year was achieved by having 12 fixed months of uneven length and by intercalating one day to a given month every four years. PLETHON suggested a reform of the calendar, introducing numerical designations for the months (instead of Roman or Attic names): the first was to begin after the winter solstice; the year was to be composed of 12 months, a 13th month being intercalated

whenever the 12th month did not extend to the winter solstice (M. Anastos, *DOP* 4 [1948] 188–90). Plethon also suggested the division of the month into four parts to simplify the institution of new holy days invented by him. Within each month individual days were sometimes designated according to the traditional Roman calendar as being a certain number before three fixed points in the month—Kalends (1st), Nones (5th or 7th), and Ides (13th or 15th). However, the continuous reckoning system (1st, 2nd, etc.) eventually became the norm.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 166–80. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 11:1624–48. –B.C., A.K.

**MONTHS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF.** In the literary sphere a series of texts appears from the 12th C. onward, describing the personified months and the actions (mainly agricultural) appropriate to them; these texts fall into two groups according to whether or not dietary regulations are included. The chief representative of the first group is a set of DODECASYLLABLES attributed to Theodore PRODROMOS (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 55), in which the months address the reader directly, giving equal space to seasonal activities and to diet (the rules for which derive from the medical handbook of Hierophilus of Alexandria, 3rd C.). The chief example of the second group is the set of short EKPHRASEIS found in the romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* (at 4.5–18) of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, where the months are described in terms of the Late Antique culture, which Eustathios is apparently recreating (March wears military dress, carries sword and bow, etc.). Both groups are reflected in subsequent shorter texts lacking the pseudo-antiquity of Makrembolites; these are usually in verse and anonymous, though one set of dodecasyllables was written by Manuel PHILES. The most significant of the later texts are the vernacular descriptions in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE (ed. J. Lambert, [Ms E, 1017–1107] pp. 116–23), influenced by Makrembolites, and *Ta eidea ton dodeka menon* (The Forms of the Twelve Months), in turn influenced by *Libistros* and accompanied by illustrations. In most of the texts the year begins in March, though in some (e.g., *Ta eidea*) it starts in September.

**Representation in Art.** While Late Antique images of the months drew on astronomy, local cults,

and folklore, Byz. cycles were generally much more restricted. Certain ancient symbols were retained: the consul representing January in floor mosaics at Argos (G. Akerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* [Stockholm 1974]) and GERASA is also preserved in the Vatican PTOLEMY (Vat. gr. 1291). By the 11th C. this image had been replaced by one of feasting on a boar, as in OCTATEUCH illustration, where the Months are shown beside tombs to suggest the longevity of Abraham's descendants. In Late Antique art such personifications occurred in many media, whereas in Byz. they were confined to MSS, appearing as marginal vignettes in the Vatican MS of JOHN KLIMAX (Vat. gr. 394) or as *atlantes* decorating CANON TABLES in Gospel books. Here these figures represent labors, corresponding to descriptions of the Months in Eustathios Makrembolites. Novel variations on this iconography occur as late as the illustrations in the *typikon* of the Church of St. Eugenios, Trebizond (Athos, Vatop. 1199), written in Feb. 1346 (Strzygowski, *infra*).

LIT. B. Keil, "Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Literatur," *WS* 11 (1889) 94–142. B. Voltz, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Monatslisten," *BZ* 4 (1895) 547–58. H. Eideneier, "Ein byzantisches Kalendergedicht in der Volkssprache," *Hellenika* 31 (1979) 368–419. Poljakova, *Roman* 177–89. J. Strzygowski, "Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst," *RepKunstw* 11 (1888) 23–46. H. Stern, "Poésies et représentations carolingiennes et byzantines des mois," *RA* 45 (1955) 167–86. Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 24. –E.M.J., A.C.

**MONTPELLIER**, commercial center in Languedoc, founded in the 10th C. The first significant contact between Montpellier and Byz. was the marriage of William VIII of Montpellier and Eudokia, the niece of Manuel I Komnenos, in 1178 (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:346–59; W. Hecht, *REB* 26 [1968] 161–69). The arrangement was not part of the emperor's original plan: Manuel had hoped to marry his niece to the brother of Alfonso II of Aragon (see CATALANS) but, to the surprise of the imperial embassy that arrived in the kingdom, he was found to be already wed. It was probably on the advice of Alfonso that William was proposed as an alternative bridegroom. The marriage was ultimately a failure for all of the concerned parties but particularly for Manuel, since Montpellier was at that time a minor political power far too immersed in its own local affairs to advance Byz. diplomatic policy.



The only other evidence of significant interaction between Montpellier and Byz. is found in a series of notarial acts from Montpellier dating between 1293 and 1348 that reveal considerable commercial activity between Montpellier, Constantinople, and unspecified ports in "Romania." The major item of export from Montpellier to the empire was Languedocien and French cloth, particularly woolen items. The Genoese at Pera seem to have acted at times as intermediaries in the process. In return for cloth, the Montpelliérains sought luxury products as well as alum, skins, and wax. In 1327–28 and 1333, when poor harvests occurred, Montpellier also imported grain from the Black Sea area. The absence of notarial sources after 1348 is probably a reflection of a decline in commerce between Montpellier and the empire caused by internal problems within the empire, the economic depression in the West brought on by the onset of the Hundred Years War in 1337, and the arrival of the Black Death at Montpellier in 1348.

LIT. K.L. Reyerson, "Montpellier and the Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 456–76. —R.B.H.

**MONUMENTALITY**, a quality of massiveness and, by implication, of realism normally associated with renderings of the human figure. Primarily a function of SCALE and proportion, in Byz. painting it was achieved also through PLASTICITY and a sense of setting in SPACE. Monumentality is not necessarily absent in relief sculpture, the minor arts, or book illustration: it is found in many ivories and MS illustrations of the 6th and 9th–10th C. Nor is a progressive chronological decline from the truly monumental—still apparent in much Late Antique ivory and silver—to its negation in late Byz. art an acceptable view of stylistic development, since monumentality is strikingly evident in, for example, the massive figures, drapery, and architectural settings at SOPOČANI. But such works constitute exceptions. As most EKPHRASEIS make clear, to the Byz. eye the monumental was the result not of classical techniques but of a work's brilliance and ability to engage the emotions of the spectator. —A.C.

**MONUMENTAL PAINTING** in Byz., comprising frescoes and mosaics, can be divided into three

periods: the 4th–8th C., the 9th–12th C., and the 13th–15th C.

**First Period (4th–8th C.).** If there was a theme common to the development of monumental painting in the 4th–8th C.—a period of great artistic diversity—it is the adaptation of Roman modes of decoration to the new contexts and imagery of Christianity. Style and medium were transformed, and MOSAIC became the preferred form of mural decoration. The scarcity of evidence, with random chronological concentrations and geographical distribution, makes understanding the period as a whole difficult. Most evidence survives in two main functional contexts: in churches and their ancillary structures such as chapels and baptisteries, and in tombs, esp. the CATACOMBS; important remains also survive in a number of houses and palaces.

The invention of a variety of schemes for ornamenting the surfaces of a room ranging from the naturalistic or illusionistic to the fantastic and abstract was an important contribution of ancient Roman wall painting. Painters continued in the 4th–8th C. to use many of these methods, with emphasis given to one style or another at certain periods. At the beginning of the 4th C., and in contrast to the immediately preceding era, dominated by a highly abstract style of wall design, the preferred mode of wall painting was illusionistic, with the fictive architectural membering of walls and ceiling (columns, coffering) and the imitation of OPUS SECTILE. An important document of the period survives in Trier (ceiling traditionally dated to the time of Constantine I) where the figures, too, have a tangible, natural quality that has earned them the label "classical" (I. Lavin, *DOP* 21 [1967] 97–113). Much painting also survives in Rome (Via Latina Catacomb; Catacombs of Domitilla, Petrus, and Marcellinus); scattered remains are found elsewhere (AQUILEIA, EPHESUS).

The simple and rational architectural systems of the early 4th C., however, became progressively more complicated and illogical (with painted coffers curiously out of joint as, for instance, at STOBI) in the later 4th and 5th C. Similarly the depiction of the human form gradually lost its organic unity. In late 5th-C. ROME, RAVENNA, and THESSALONIKE, walls and ceilings frequently bore ornamental strips or a lattice of lines and complex patterns drawn from textiles (Rotunda of St.

George, Thessalonike). During this period a formula for the decoration of the BASILICA emerged that would prove vastly influential in the Middle Ages (a single large image in the conch focused on the figure of Christ or the Virgin; files of narrative scenes in rectangular panels in the nave).

In the era of Justinian I the framework of mural decoration was richly articulated with floral and geometric motifs (S. Vitale, Ravenna) in an attempt to evoke illusionistic schemes of the past but with curious contradictions (regarding, for instance, the distinction between frame and field—Kitzinger, *infra* 81–98). A more severe, abstract mode soon replaced this richly ornamental style (St. CATHERINE on Sinai, S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna). In the Church of St. DEMETRIOS, Thessalonike, and S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, of the 7th and 8th C., the subdivisions of walls—often no more than thin strips of color—were determined more by the needs of individual figures and scenes (monumental icons) than by a sense of the framework as a unified composition.

The Early Christian use of vault mosaics persisted into the 4th C., as in the Mausoleum of Constantia, Rome, but with the lower reaches of the wall reveted in opus sectile. The mausoleum clearly illustrates how the progressively less logical schemes of decoration of the period used the unique resources of the medium: patterns of strewn flowers and fruit on the ambulatory vault, first developed for FLOOR MOSAICS, here appear in mosaic on the ceiling (H. Stern, *DOP* 12 [1958] 157–218).

Probably from the time of Constantine onward, mosaics decorated the apses and perhaps even the entrance walls of great basilicas of Rome (S. Sabina). Often though not always (S. Maria Maggiore), wall paintings covered the nave walls. The preference for mosaic owed in no small part to the luminous qualities of the medium, deemed particularly appropriate to the depiction of the heavenly realm. Consequently, gold emerges as a dominant element of decoration particularly for the conch, as if sheathing the curved surface of the apse with light. Contemporary inscriptions (as at S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome) often commented on the effect. In many later churches, such as S. Vitale in Ravenna, mosaic was limited to the BEMA.

Regarding secular mural decoration in the 4th–8th C., little is known. Some houses of the period, painted notably with imitation *opus sectile*, survive

in Ostia and Ephesus. The wall decoration of the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople is known only from literary descriptions. The two paired images of the Anastasis and the Virgin and Child in the corridor beside the nave of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, dated to the reign of Pope JOHN VII, may have been painted as part of the redecoration of the palatine palace, which John VII assumed as his residence, and may reflect contemporary palace decoration in the East (P.-J. Nordhagen, *BZ* 75 [1982] 345–48).

During the period of ICONOCLASM (726–843), painting of sacred images was forbidden; it is known from both literary sources and surviving decoration that in some churches the figures of holy personages and biblical events were replaced by pictures of trees, flowers, birds, and animals as well as crosses.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London 1977). J. Kollwitz, "Die Malerei der konstantinischen Zeit," 7 *IntCongChrArch* (Vatican-Berlin 1969) 29–158. V.M. Strocka, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesus* (Vienna 1977). —W.T.

**Second Period (9th–12th C.).** A sequence of dominant metropolitan monumental painting styles can be observed between the restoration of images in 843 and the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Of course, a range of stylistic alternatives was always available to Byz. artists.

A number of post-Iconoclastic figural mosaics from the late 9th/early 10th C. surviving in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, show stoutly proportioned, flatly patterned figures that have an eminently legible presence. These are found in the room over the vestibule (870s?), the bishops in the nave tympanums (3rd quarter of the 9th C.?), the lunette of the central portal (900?), and the portrait of Emp. Alexander (ca.912). The figures in the Ascension in the dome of HAGIA SOPHIA in Thessalonike are similar. Frescoes in this style found in the provinces indicate the artistic hegemony of the capital (e.g., Ayvalı Kilise in GÜLLÜ DERE; Hagios Stephanos, KASTORIA; S. Pietro, OTRANTO). No extant monumental works in Constantinople can be dated with assurance to the mid-10th C. The lavish wall paintings of the New Church of Tokalı Kilise in GÖREME suggest, however, that the highly classicizing style found in manuscripts such as the PARIS PSALTER and the JOSHUA ROLL had a monumental equivalent.

A series of mosaic programs from the early and

mid-11th C. (HOSIOS LOUKAS, the NEA MONE on Chios, and St. Sophia in KIEV) suggest that a style characterized by simple, organically articulated figures isolated on a plain ground developed in the capital concurrently with the GREAT FEAST cycle (see CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION). A very similar style is found in the crypt frescoes of Hosios Loukas (early 11th C.). Frescoes elsewhere in the empire continue to reflect the responsiveness of the provinces to metropolitan developments, as indicated in the dramatically hard-edged figures in monuments such as the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON in Thessalonike and the apse decoration of ESKİ GÜMÜŞ. The notion that this is a particularly "monastic" style has been appropriately dismissed (C. Mango in *Habitat, structure, territorio* [Galatina 1978] 45–62).

From the mid-11th C., the dogmatic clarity of monumental images is dramatized by a new emotional content. The master of the frescoes of Hagia Sophia, OHRID, lent his images intensity through the expressions of his figures and his juxtaposition of contrasting shades. Whether this master had metropolitan connections, as did his presumed patron LEO OF OHRID, is debated. The imprint of the same aesthetic is, nevertheless, found in other parts of the empire and in Italy, contemporaneously at Karabaş Kilise in SOĞANLI, later at ASINOU and, with less sophistication, in the Mavriotissa at KASTORIA and in SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS. The mosaics of the main porch and main apse of S. Marco in VENICE, dated by Demus to the late 11th/early 12th C., show a similar formal clarity though they lack emotional expressiveness. The mosaics at DAPHNI suggest a concurrent revival of a classicizing figural style. Not only are the figures organically convincing, but there are intimations of a pictorial middle ground, a novelty in post-Iconoclastic painting. Classicizing conventions of figural representations appear in the frescoes of VELJUSA and in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and the Martorana in PALERMO and of CEFALÙ, which, like the Venetian mosaics, have been ascribed to Byz. artists.

In the second half of the 12th C. an elaborate, linear manner developed. No monumental examples survive in Constantinople with the exception of a fragmentary angel in KALENDERHANE CAMII. The Annunciation icon at St. Catherine's on Sinai ascribed to ca. 1170–80 has been treated as a metropolitan representative of this style. Its

chronological position may be suggested by datable frescoes in the provinces. The painted figures at NEREZI refine the emotional expressiveness introduced earlier in the frescoes at Ohrid. At Nerezi the forms are elongated and their drapery elaborated with multiple complex folds, while the settings for the narrative images remain uncluttered. In the frescoes at KURBINOVO and phase two of the Anargyroi in KASTORIA, this elegant expressiveness is carried to an extreme. Less emotionally wrought versions are found contemporaneously elsewhere: MONREALE in Sicily, the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS and LAGOUDERA in Cyprus. The relatively homogeneous development of monumental painting in Byz. between the late 9th and late 12th C. as well as the restricted programmatic framework within which stylistic change evolved reflect the highly centralized nature of the empire. The decentralization of the empire that was to result from the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 would fundamentally disrupt the traditions of craftsmanship and patronage that informed Byz. art.

LIT. Lazarev, *Storia* 124–272. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends." V.J. Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine: XIIe et XIIIe siècles," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1979) 159–252. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "La peinture monumentale tardo-Comnène et ses prolongements au XIIIe siècle," *ibid.* 255–84. K.M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria 1983). Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*.

—A.J.W.

**Third Period (13th C.–1453).** Though few monuments survive, written sources testify to the existence of considerable artistic activity in Constantinople in the years between the restoration of the Byz. Empire in 1261 and 1300. Some older churches were restored (St. Andrew in Krisei), and others, such as the church dedicated by the empress Theodora Palaiologina to St. John the Baptist (south church of the LIPS MONASTERY) or the north church of the Virgin PAMMAKARISTOS, were built anew. The churches founded by Nikephoros CHOUMNOS and his daughter, Irene CHOUMNAINA, and by the patriarch ATHANASIOS I are not preserved, nor are the wall paintings in the Church of the Theotokos ton Magoulion or the works of Modestos, the painter who decorated the *katholikon* of the Theotokos tes Panagiotisses (1266). Nothing survives of the mosaic portraits of Emp. Michael VIII and his family that once adorned the Church of the Virgin PERIBLEPTOS in Constantinople.

The DEESIS mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, however, preserves the basic features of what may be called the "first Palaiologan style": the larger scale of figures, the three-dimensionality, the rich shading of each particular form. The use of earlier classicizing models in this period results in a more convincing depiction of space and a better knowledge of anatomy. Drawing their inspiration from works as old as the 5th–6th C., the artists of Constantinople created a distinctive stylistic vocabulary in works such as the MS of the Acts and the Epistles in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1208) or the Gospels produced before 1300 in a scriptorium patronized by a "Palaiologina" (Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage*). The new style was immediately developed in monuments at some distance from the capital, such as the frescoes of SOPOČANI in Serbia (1263–68).

The next generation concentrated less on monumental forms and complementary colors and more on the dramatic aspect of their subjects. The frescoes of the PROTATON monastery on Mt. Athos, of the Virgin Peribleptos at OHRID, or the mosaics of the Paregoretissa at ARTA (1290) announce the main features of the so-called second or mature Palaiologan style, which reached its full development only in the second decade of the 14th C. in the mosaics and frescoes of the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople and in the mosaics of the HOLY APOSTLES in Thessalonike, and the frescoes of the Church of Christ in BERROIA. This "mature" Palaiologan style is marked by the introduction of a multitude of figures into each composition, an intensity of feeling conveyed by gesture and movement, a new sense of plasticity achieved by gradually lightening the tone of a color on the drapery, and a new sense of space enhanced by elaborate background architecture. The artists of this period also loaded their images with multiple narrative and symbolic meanings. Such painted metaphors and allusions, used rarely in Komnenian painting, became the standard mode of expression after 1300. Other important extant monuments of this period are found in MISTRA and in the churches painted by MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS. The style also appears in both painted and mosaic ICONS as well as in miniature painting.

The style was not accepted everywhere, however, and it was not easily mastered by provincial

artists. While artists trained in the larger urban centers followed more classical traditions, mannerist exaggerations appeared in provincial monumental painting toward the middle of the 14th C. (cf. esp. some frescoes from Lesnovo, near Štip, and some Greek island churches).

After the civil wars of 1321–1328 and 1341–1347 ended, artists of Constantinople tried to impose a new, "heroic" style featuring monumental figures of saints with powerfully rendered bodies, whose cheeks were covered by tiny white parallel lines to symbolize a transcendental LIGHT. These idealizing portraits of calm and powerful saints should perhaps be viewed as a response to the growing threat of Ottoman domination. The frescoes in the Peribleptos and Pantanassa churches at Mistra, in the naos of Dečani, and at Andreaš (1389) probably most closely reproduce the style as it was practiced in the capital. Some icons also are painted in this manner (i.e., the Great Deesis in the Hilandar monastery on Athos of ca. 1360, the Pantokrator in Leningrad of 1363, the Thaumaton Latomou in Sofia of ca. 1371, and the Pantokrator on Lesbos of the third quarter of the 14th C.). This late Palaiologan style did not spread quite as widely as had the previous ones, but characterizes the monuments of the "Morava" school in Serbia, the Church of Calendžicha in Georgia (painted by Manuel EUGENIKOS), and the works of THEOPHANES "THE GREEK". During the 15th C. a new artistic center emerged in Candia (CRETE), where Byz. masters produced vast quantities of icons and frescoes based on early 14th-C. models.

LIT. Lazarev, *Storia* 273–442. M. Chatzedakis, "Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIVe siècle," 14 *CEB* (Bucharest 1971) 97–134. T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du moyen âge*, vol. 1 (Paris 1977). *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle (Symposium de Gračanica)* (Belgrade 1978). *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle* (Belgrade 1987).

C.B.

**MONZA AMPULLAE.** See AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE; MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF.

**MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF.** The Cathedral of St. John the Baptist at Monza, founded by Theodelinda, queen of the LOMBARDS, and the abbey of St. Columban at Bobbio, built by her husband Agilulf (r. 590–615) and his



son Adaloald possess important collections of PILGRIM TOKENS and AMPULLAE from the Holy Land. The lead flasks, formed in molds, were made to contain oil from lamps that burned in the Christian sanctuaries of Jerusalem and the region of Bethlehem; such provenances determine their description as pilgrimage ampullae. They are decorated with images of the Virgin enthroned, scenes from Christ's infancy, ministry, and Ascension, as well as symbolic representations of the Crucifixion and the memorial *aedicula* on Golgotha. Although the Bobbio fragments are less well preserved than those at Monza, they are of interest because their iconography includes such unusual subjects as the "Navicella" (the ship, emblematic of the Church, from which the apostles watched Christ walk on the water). Sun-baked clay pilgrim tokens illustrate the Flight of Elizabeth (Bobbio) and the Virgin at the spring (Monza).

At Monza three lead boxes contain fragments of wood and bone; 25 glass flasks and a small black glazed amphora from Rome are said to have held oil from lamps in the catacombs. Five palm-shaped purses may also have contained relics. Finally, Pope Gregory I sent Theodelinda's infant son Adaloald a gold True Cross reliquary of which the original niello and gold low-relief panels may survive under a modern crystal cover. Gregory probably received the reliquary when he was *apocrisiarius* at the Byz. court. Three late antique ivory diptychs at Monza include one representing STILICHO, his wife, and their son.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Les ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris 1958). M. Frazer in *Il Duomo e i suoi tesori*, ed. R. Conti (Milan 1988) 15–48. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 20–25. —M.E.F., A.C.

**MONZA VOCABULARY**, a list of some 65 Latin or Italian words with the Greek equivalents, written in the Latin alphabet, added on the final page of a 10th-C. Latin MS in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza, near Milan. The Monza vocabulary is written in a rough Carolingian minuscule of approximately the same date as the MS to which it is appended. Difficult to read, and often more difficult to interpret, the Monza vocabulary is important because of the early Italian and vernacular Greek forms that it records. It was apparently constituted through questioning of a Greek speaker, perhaps a clergyman in northern Italy. No evidence links the Monza vocabulary with the Greek spoken in southern Italy. Like the

bilingual Psalters and similar texts, the Monza vocabulary attests to interest in and elementary knowledge of Greek in the West in the early Middle Ages.

ED. B. Bischoff, H.-G. Beck, "Das italienisch-griechische Glossar der Handschrift e 14 (127) der Biblioteca Capitolare in Monza," in *Medium Aevum Romanicum: Festschrift für Hans Rheinfelder* (Munich 1963) 49–62.

LIT. W.J. Aerts, "The Monza Vocabulary," in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* (Leiden 1972) 36–73.

—R.B.

**MOORS.** See MAURI.

**MOPSUESTIA** (Μο(μ)ψουεστία, Crusader name Mamistra, Turk. Misis), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA II (under Antioch). Justinian I rebuilt Mopsuestia's bridge over the Pyramos and in 550 called a council whose records reveal the exceptional power of the imperial representative, the *comes* (or *stratelates*). The city is said to have been destroyed by Herakleios when the Arabs advanced (they first took Mopsuestia in 637), leaving a no-man's-land between Antioch and Mopsuestia. The region remained desolate from raids of the MARDAITES. In 703, the Arabs took Mopsuestia and transformed it into a base against Byz., whose attacks it frequently met. John (I) Tzimiskes captured Mopsuestia in 965. In 1085, it became part of the ephemeral state of Philaretos BRACHAMIOS; from 1097 to 1133, Mopsuestia was generally controlled by the Crusaders, who appointed a Latin archbishop. John II captured Mopsuestia in 1137, but Manuel I had to reconquer it in 1159, when it became his main base in Cilicia. Soon after, the Armenians gained control of Mopsuestia, first as Byz. vassals, then (after 1173) as independent princes.

The most remarkable Byz. remains are the elaborate mosaics of a probably 5th-C. building—a church rather than a synagogue. These include NOAH'S ARK and a unique cycle of the deeds of Samson (E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 27 [1973] 133–44).

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI* 3:521–27. H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:202–06. G. Dagron, "Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth Century Mopsuestia," in *Charanis Studies* 19–30. L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien*, vol. 1 (Recklinghausen 1969). —C.F.

**MORA**, or Morrha (Μόρρα), also called Achridos, a mountainous region in the eastern RHODOPE. The toponym Achrido appears in the *Alexiad*

(An.Komn. 1:151.23), while Mora is a later appellative, esp. frequent in Kantakouzenos. The area was dotted with fortresses—called *astea*, *phrouria*, or *polichnia* in the Greek sources (Černomen on the Marica, Ephraim, Oustra, CONSTANTIA, and others). According to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:251.19–22), the inhabitants of Mora bred livestock and took their herds to CHALKIDIKE for the winter. Achridos-Mora, together with MELNIK, probably formed a part of the principality of the *despotes* Alexios SLAVOS but was then conquered by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1255 Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos, leading a Nicaean army, captured a stronghold in Achridos (not near Ohrid, as stated by Polemis, *Doukai* 168), and was appointed the commander of garrisons in Achridos and Tzepaina (Akrop. 1:119.11–16). Mora was a point of contention during the civil wars of the mid-14th C.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 148–54. B. Cončev, "Le château médiéval Oustra dans les Rhodopes," *BS* 25 (1964) 254–60. A. Razboinikov, "Za krepostta Efrem," *Archeologija* 7.3 (1965) 39–42. C. Ćirković and B. Ferjančić in *VizIzvori* 6:469, n.358. —A.K.

**MORAVIA** (Μοραβία, also in Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos as Great [Megale] Moravia and the country of Svjatopluk), state that arose in Pannonia in the early 9th C. after the dissolution of the AVAR khaganate. It reached its apex under the princes RASTISLAV and Svjatopluk but was crushed by the Hungarians in 906.

Archaeologists have discovered in Moravia remnants of at least 18 churches of the 9th C. (e.g., those of "Na Valách" and "Na Špitálkách" in Staré Město), some of which are of the Byz. inscribed-cross type, with a dome over the nave; Byz. jewelry and silk; and a gold coin of Michael III. It is quite plausible that some economic and political relations between Moravia and Constantinople began in the first half of the 9th C.

Excavations at Mikulčice show that the Moravians were pagan in the 7th–8th C. but thereafter converted to Christianity. The first missionaries active in Moravia were monks from Bavaria ca.800. Prince Rastislav, who was probably fearful of growing German influence in his country and a possible Germano-Bulgarian alliance, requested missionaries from Constantinople in 862. The Byz. sent CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in response. After Constantine's death and

the departure of Methodios, an "archbishop of Moravia" named Agathon (probably a supporter of Patr. Ignatios) was active in the country ca.873–79, but Latin missionaries came to dominate there. Constantine VII erroneously calls Moravia unbaptized (*De adm. imp.* 40.33). Byz. retained some ecclesiastical connection with Moravia even after Hungarian settlement there.

LIT. J. Dekan, *Moravia Magna* (Bratislava 1980). V. Vavřínek, B. Zástěrová, "Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Great Moravian Culture," *BS* 43 (1982) 161–88. Z.R. Dittich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia* (Groningen 1962). E. Honigmann, "Un archevêque ignatien de Moravie, rival de S. Méthode," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45) 163–82. J. Poulik, B. Chropovský, *Grossmähren und die Anfänge der tschechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit* (Prague 1986). —A.K.

**MOREA** (Μορέα), alternative name for the PELOPONNESOS. The origin and etymology of the name is obscure, and attempts to derive it from Slavic *more*, the sea, were rejected by Vasmer (*Slaven* 2). Others see in the name a Latin corruption of the Greek Romaia, "land of the Romans." The most common derivation is from the name of the mulberry tree (*morea*), whose leaf is similar to the shape of the peninsula. The bishopric of Moreon first appears in a notitia of the 10th C. (*Notitiae CP* 7.554) or in an addition to this text; at any rate, a seal of Theodore, a bishop of Moreon, is dated by Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, no.656) in the 11th C. V. Laurent's conjecture (*REB* 20 [1962] 186) that the bishopric was created by Nikephoros III is purely hypothetical. The bishopric of Moreon was a suffragan of Patras. Its location is uncertain, probably in Elis, near the promontory Ichthys (A. Chatzes, *BNJbb* 9 [1932] 65–91). It remains unclear whether and how the local toponym Moreon was transformed into Morea and from the 13th C. onward became the designation of the Peloponnesos as a whole, or specifically of its western coastal regions. In the 15th C. MAZARIS jokingly and artificially connected the name, which he reads as Mora, with words such as *moros*, death.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 306–14. D. Georgakas, "The Post-Classical Names Designating the Peninsula of the Peloponnesus (MOREAS)," *Studia onomastica Monacensia* 3 (1961) 302–07. —T.E.G.

**MOREA, DESPOTATE OF** (1349–1460). As a result of the Fourth Crusade, the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnesos (or MOREA), and the establishment of the principality of ACHAIA, the Byz. lost all control over southern Greece from

1205 to 1262. After William II Villehardouin's defeat at PELAGONIA, however, and his cession of several fortresses to the Byz. by the Treaty of Constantinople (1262), the Byz. regained a foothold in the Peloponnesos. During the ensuing century the Greeks reconquered the southern portion of the peninsula from the principality.

Soon after he ascended the throne, John VI Kantakouzenos created the despotate of Morea as an autonomous province under imperial suzerainty. He sent his son MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS to the Morea as its first *despotes* in 1349 to reestablish order in a province troubled by dissident *archontes*. Manuel's long rule brought a measure of peace and prosperity to the region. Shortly after Manuel's death in 1380, John V Palaiologos made his son THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS *despotes*; thereafter the despotate was an appanage ruled by a member of the Palaiologan family. By 1429 the despotate gained control of the entire Peloponnesos by a combination of warfare and marriage diplomacy and eliminated the principality of Achaia. Its final years (1429–60) were marked by conflict among the sons of Manuel II (THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, and DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS) over the rule of the despotate and devastating attacks by the Ottoman Turks, who were only temporarily thwarted by the construction of the HEXAMILION wall (1415) to defend the Isthmus of Corinth. After 1447 the *despotes* of Morea became a tribute-paying vassal of the Ottoman sultan. The despotate briefly survived the

Despotai of the Morea

Ruler	Reign Dates
MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS	1349–1380
MATTHEW KANTAKOUZENOS	1380–1381?
THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS	1381?–1407
Demetrios Kantakouzenos	1383–1384
THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS	1407–1443
alone	1407–1428
with brothers Constantine and Thomas	1428–1443
CONSTANTINE (XI) PALAIOLOGOS and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS	1443–1449
Thomas Palaiologos and DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS	1449–1460

Source: Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 373, and Zakythinos, *Despotat*.

Turkish conquest of Constantinople; its capital of Mistra fell to the Ottomans on 29 May 1460. (See table for a list of the *despotai* of Morea.)

The economic basis of the despotate was agriculture (esp. wine, olives, and raisins) and the production of salt and silk. An influx of ALBANIAN immigrants provided the manpower for farming in the region, which was severely depopulated by constant fighting. The Albanians also served as mercenaries in the army. Trade was controlled by the Venetians, who also defended the coasts. The despotate of Morea was the site of the final flowering of Byz. culture, esp. at MISTRA, where many churches were built and decorated with frescoes. The court of the *despotes* attracted numerous intellectuals, most notably the philosopher-reformer Gemistos PLETHON.

LIT. D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*<sup>2</sup>, 2 vols. (London 1975). J. Longnon, "La renaissance de l'hellénisme dans le despotat de Morée," *JSav* (1954) 111–33. M. Kordoses, "Historika-topographika Moreos kata ten proten ekstrateia tou Mechmet B'," *Peloponnesiaka* 15 (1982/4) 153–60. M. Andreeva, "Torgovij dogovor Vizantii i Dubrovnik i istorija ego podgotovki," *BS* 6 (1935/6) 114–18. T. Tzoratzakes, *He dikaiosyne ton Palaiologon sto despotato tou Mystra* (Athens 1980). —A.M.T.

**MORPHOLOGY**, study of the structure of words; in Greek, the study of nominal and verbal inflections and paradigms. Byz. grammarians adopted the analysis and classification of these features worked out by Alexandrian grammarians and given canonical form by HERODIAN and did not take into account the changes in Greek morphology over the centuries. This traditional prescriptive morphology is represented by the *Canons* of Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.) and THEOGNOSTOS (9th C.), the *epimerisms* of George CHOIROBOSKOS, and the *erotemata* of late Byz. grammarians. Meanwhile radical changes occurred in the morphology of spoken Greek. In noun paradigms most consonantal stems were restructured as vowel stems, for example, *μήτηρ* was replaced by *μητέρα*, declined like *χώρα*; thus the ancient third declension was virtually eliminated (H.-J. Seiler, *Glotta* 37 [1958] 41–67). In verb paradigms the personal endings of imperfect, first aorist, and second aorist became identical, the future was replaced by various periphrases, the perfect and pluperfect became aorist equivalents and were gradually eliminated, the

optative survived only in fossilized clichés, the middle and passive voices were amalgamated, the infinitive was preserved only in certain periphrastic tenses, the active participles were gradually eliminated in favor of an indeclinable gerund (A. Mirambel, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 56 [1961] 46–79), and many anomalous verbal forms were replaced by more regular equivalents. These changes are reflected in occasional lapses by writers using the traditional learned language in documents, in rare verbatim quotations of speech, and more comprehensively in the VERNACULAR literature which appeared from the 12th C. onward.

LIT. S. Kapsomenos, "Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 2:11–39. A. Mirambel, "Essai sur l'évolution du verbe en grec byzantin," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 61 (1966) 167–90. W. Dressler, "Vom altgriechischen zum neugriechischen System der Personalpronomina," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 71 (1966) 39–63. H. Ruge, *Zur Entstehung der neugriechischen Substantivdeklinations* (Stockholm 1969). S.M. Cole, *Historical Development of the Modern Greek Present Verbal Classes* (Urbana, Ill., 1975). Browning, *Greek* 56–87. —R.B.

**MORTAR**, a bonding material made of slaked lime, sand, and crushed brick (ranging from dust to small pieces) used in thin beds to bind courses of ASHLAR blocks or in thick beds to bind courses of bricks. Mortar was also mixed with irregular pieces of stone to form the concretelike core of walls faced on both sides with ashlar blocks and brick. When used with BRICKWORK, mortar beds are normally 5–6 cm thick. Since Byz. brick is 4 cm thick, a Byz. brick structure has more mortar than brick—the reverse of Roman brick construction. This lavish use of mortar probably contributed to the excessive warping and settling of the structure as the mortar dried. The "rubble" mortar used as the core of walls is friable and weak; it was thus avoided in piers designed to carry great weight. In the 6th C. the pointing of mortar beds resulted in smooth concave surfaces recessed behind the leading edge of the brick; later pointing created a flat surface more deeply recessed above than below.

LIT. Mango, *Byz. Arch.* 11–20. J.B. Ward-Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 55–57. F.W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden 1956) 19–40. P.L. Vocotopoulos, "The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981) 551–73. —W.L.

**MORTARIA** (δλμοι). Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 3:168.11–14) defined a *mortarium* as "a round cylindrical [*sic*] stone or a hollow vessel made of stone or wood, in which pulse or other objects were ground." In addition to their use in the preparation of food, *mortaria* were employed to manufacture drugs and colors, or to mix metallic powder; querns or "hand mills" for grinding grain were also known. Roman clay *mortaria* are found throughout the West, but in the eastern Mediterranean they seem to have been replaced by vessels of stone and marble. However, a group of large clay *mortaria* (diam. approximately 50 cm; weight approximately 11 kg) of the 3rd and 4th C. has been found in Syria. All share the same basic form—flat base, high flaring wall, broad, slightly downturned rim with spout—and all are stamped on the rim with a maker's name or trademark (e.g., "of Kassianos"; see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL). The center of manufacture has been archaeologically identified as Ras el-Basit, on the Syrian coast north of Laodikeia.

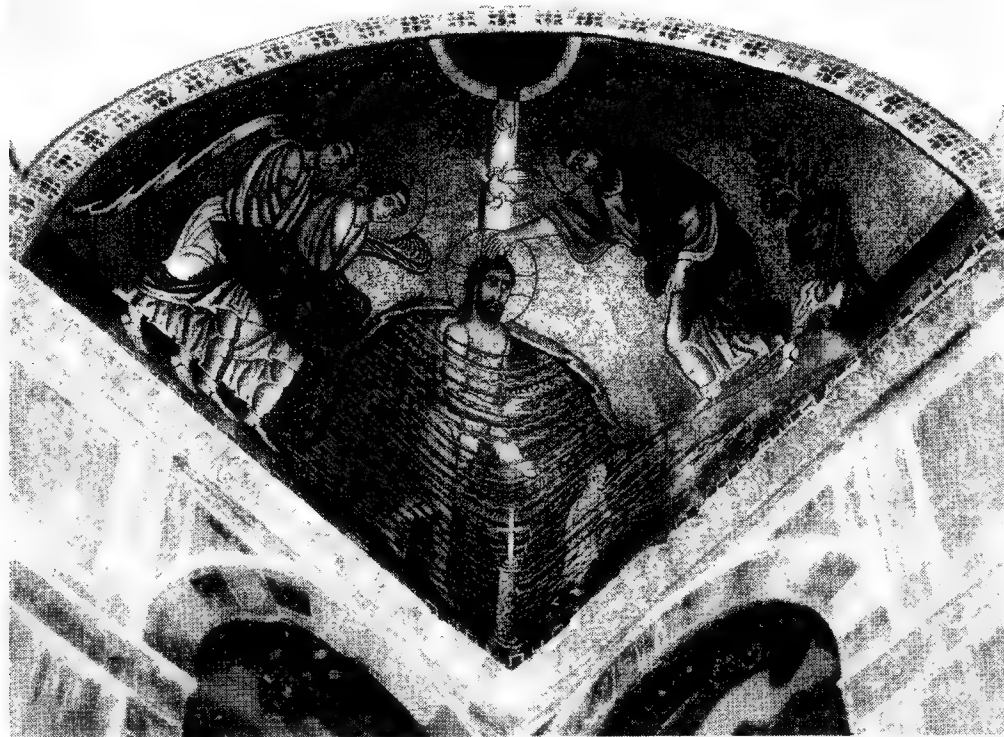
LIT. J.W. Hayes, "North Syrian Mortaria," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 337–47. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:103. —A.K., G.V.

**MORTE** (μορτή, lit. "portion"), a term denoting the (usually) in-kind RENT paid by a PEASANT on agricultural land belonging to the state or to a private landowner. The land leased was called *hypomortos ge* (*Chil.*, no.92.162). *Morte* is found predominantly in 13th- and 14th-C. documents referring to monastic and state lands in Asia Minor. It may be equivalent to PAKTON and the more common terms *dekateia* (see TITHE) and *dekaton* ("tenth"), although in some 15th-C. *praktika* the *dekateia* appears to be a fixed levy in specie, based on the total land owned (i.e., not merely leased) by monastic PAROIKOI, which was paid to the monastery that held them (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:170, n.650). In the 13th C. the difference between ownership and renting for *morte* was obscured, and tribunals had to investigate whether peasants were paying tax or *morte*; the "contract" of *morte* could pass from one generation to another (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 129f).

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 216–21. H. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *JÖB* 6 (1957) 55–67, 96–99. Angold, *Byz. Government* 134f. —M.B.

**MORTUARY CHAPEL**. See PAREKKLESION.





MOSAIC. The Baptism of Christ; mosaic, early 11th C. Northwest squinch of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis.

**MOSAIC** (ψηφιδωτόν, μουσαϊκόν), the most elaborate and expensive form of mural decoration (see **MONUMENTAL PAINTING**) employed by the Byz. With the toleration of Christianity in the 4th C. and the beginning of the construction of churches, the use of small cubes (tesserae) as an artistic medium was no longer limited to **FLOOR MOSAICS**. It was deemed more appropriate for depictions of sacred personages and biblical events to be placed on the walls and ceilings of churches than on floors where they might be walked on. The gradual shift to mosaic for mural decoration made possible the use of a greater variety of more fragile materials for the tesserae; in addition to the multicolored stone and marble typical of floor mosaic, artists used brick or terra cotta, semiprecious **GEMS**, and opaque colored **GLASS**. Gold and silver tesserae were produced by sandwiching foil between layers of translucent glass. Tesserae varied much in size, the smallest being used for modeling faces and other important details. Often following preliminary, painted guidelines, the mosaicists impressed these tesserae into a setting bed, itself laid over previous plaster strata. While

tesserae could be produced in a small local workshop, as at Masada in the early 5th C. (Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 15 [1965] 102), mosaic decoration on a large scale presupposes huge financial investment and industrial organization. The mosaic in the apse of **HAGIA SOPHIA** in Constantinople required almost 2.5 million tesserae "smeared," as Photios said, "with gold" (Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 106). Depending on the size of the tesserae used, a mosaicist could cover up to four square meters per day (I. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* [Kiev 1971] 16).

In contrast to **FRESCO TECHNIQUE**, mosaic is an essentially additive medium, contributing materially to the dominance of **LINE AND CONTOUR**. This inherent linearism could be overcome only by the use of microscopic cubes, such as are found in miniature mosaic **ICONS** of the 11th C. and later. Despite this limitation, mosaic was, at its best, a medium of great subtlety, involving hundreds of shades of **COLOR**.

In late antiquity, wall mosaics were subordinate in extent to floor mosaics and were restricted to such surfaces as domes and the conches of apses until the 6th C. During the reign of Justi-

nian I a new model was established at **Hagia Sophia** in Constantinople, paved in marble but with its upper surfaces sheathed with "the glitter of cut mosaic" (Paul Silentiarios—ed. Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreibung* 245.647). Mosaic was more widely used in this period than it was to be ever again; the finest 6th-C. examples survive at the monastery of **St. CATHERINE** at Sinai, **POREČ**, and **RAVENNA**; others are found at **DYRRACHION**, **GAZA**, and at several sites on **CYPRUS**. Mosaic was soon to become an important Byz. export. Thus in the early 8th C. the Arabs imported from Constantinople "40 loads of mosaic cubes" and a number of workmen for the decoration of the Umayyad Mosque in **DAMASCUS** (H.A.R. Gibb, *DOP* 12 [1958] 225–29), while Pope **JOHN VII** seems to have employed Byz. mosaicists for his oratory in **St. Peter's**, Rome (P. Nordhagen, *ActaNorv* 2 [1965] 121–66).

By the late 8th C., holy figures executed in mosaic were a common feature of sacred decoration: the author of the vita of **STEPHEN THE YOUNGER** complained that the images of birds and beasts set up by Iconoclasts in the Church of the **BLACHERNAI** to replace a Gospel cycle left the building "altogether unadorned" (PG 100:1120C). The economic revival of the 9th and 10th C. saw the frequent use of mosaic in the churches and private chapels of Constantinople. It was also the model of luxury in **PALACE** decoration, attested for the Kainourgion at the **GREAT PALACE** built by Basil I (*TheophCont* 332.14–335.7) and in the epic of **DIGENES AKRITAS**.

Mosaic was the technique chosen for imperial **PORTRAITS** in **Hagia Sophia** for three centuries (9th–11th) and was favored in the 12th C. by Manuel I for scenes of **HISTORY PAINTING** (Nik.Chon. 206.48–52). In emulation of the empress **Helena**, the same emperor may have sent mosaic cubes and even craftsmen such as **EPHRAIM** to Bethlehem for the Church of the Nativity. **CLAVIJO** describes mosaics (of the 12th or 13th C.?) in both the church and cloister of the **PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY** in Constantinople, as at **St. George** of **MANGANA**. It is also known that large areas of the **HOLY APOSTLES** in Constantinople were decorated by **EULALIOS** in the 12th C. The 11th and 12th C. in general represent a high watermark in work in this medium. The decorations of **HOSIOS LOUKAS**, the **NEA MONE** on Chios,

and **DAPHNI** witness to the transport of artists and materials over great distances. In the early 11th C. smalt and mosaicists were sent to **KIEV** for the embellishment of **St. Sophia** (A. Poppe, *JMedHist* 7 [1981] 41–43), and local workmen were taught the craft. A similar importation probably prevailed during the protracted decoration of **San Marco** in **VENICE**, and mosaicists figure among the other craftsmen brought from Constantinople in the 11th C. by **Desiderius** of **MONTECASSINO**. The extent to which Byz. artists participated in the 12th-C. mosaic decoration of **PALERMO** and **MONREALE** remains in question.

From the 13th C. onward mosaic was used only in the most lavish enterprises at Constantinople and, exceptionally, at **ARTA**. While the mosaic of the **DEESIS** in **Hagia Sophia** (late 13th C.) may have been an imperial commission, later programs, such as those at the **CHORA** and **PAMMAKARISTOS** in Constantinople and the **HOLY APOSTLES** in Thessalonike, were generally sponsored by the bureaucratic or ecclesiastical elite, often in conjunction with fresco decoration. The last major mosaic undertaking in the capital was at **Hagia Sophia** following the partial collapse of the dome in 1346. Shortly after 1355 the Pantokrator in the dome was restored, and images of **John V Palaologos**, **John the Baptist**, and the **Virgin** were installed on the great eastern arch (Mango, *Materials* 66–76, 87–91). The mosaics on the eastern arch, covered by plaster for centuries, were rediscovered in 1989.

LIT. P.J. Nordhagen, C. Bertelli in *Il Mosaico*, ed. C. Bertelli (Milan 1988) 45–163. H.P. L'Orange, P.J. Nordhagen, *Mosaics from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London 1966). A. Diem, "Techniken des Mittelalters zur Herstellung von Glas und Mosaik," *SettStu* 18.1 (1971) 623.32.

—A.C.

**MOSAIC LAW**, more fully titled "Excerpts from the Law Given by God through Moses to the Israelites," a collection of passages from **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers**, and **Deuteronomy** that is preserved in dozens of **MSS** from the 11th C. onward, usually as an appendix to the **ECLOGA**. The compilation cannot be earlier than the 8th C. Out of the 50 chapters of the compilation, about 20 deal with marital and sexual problems; among other topics are theft, murder, witnesses, loans, just weights and measures, charity, etc. The

compilation uses terms such as *paroikos* (11:2) and *misthotos* (7:1). Unlike the much earlier (ca. 5th C.?) Latin *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, the Greek Mosaic law contains no direct comparison of biblical and Roman legislation.

ED. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, "Nomos Mosaikos," *FM* 3 (1979) 126–67.

LIT. P.E. Pieler, "Lex Christiana," *Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechtshistorikertages* (Frankfurt am Main 1987) 485–503. S.N. Troianos, "Zum Kapitel 45 der russischen Kormčaja Kniga: Ursprung und Wesen des Nomos Mosaikos," *Cyrrillomethodianum* 11 (1987) 1–8. —A.K.

**MOSCHABAR, GEORGE**, a second name possibly Psyllos (Ψύλλος) or Psyllates (Ψυλλάτης), a relentless opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES; fl. second half of the 13th C. Moschabar (Μοσχάμπαρ) is attested in 1281 as *didaskalos tou Evangeliou*, and from 1283 to 1286 as *chartophylax*. Before Michael VIII died, Moschabar fought against Union anonymously. His *Dialogue with a Dominican on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (1277–78), another work on the same subject, still unpublished, and the *Antirrhetic Chapters* that refute the work of Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS date from this time. After the restoration of Orthodoxy, Moschabar openly opposed Bekkos and his supporters (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:98.18–99.3). His relations with the new patriarch GREGORY II OF CYPRUS deteriorated quickly. Moschabar was instrumental in bringing about Gregory's resignation in 1289 and wrote a certification of Gregory's Orthodoxy in exchange for the abdication (PG 142:129AB).

ED. *Antirrhetics*, partial ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Orthodoxos Hellas* (Leipzig 1872) 60–62.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 677f. V. Laurent, "La vie et les oeuvres de George Moschabar," *EO* 28 (1929) 129–58. Idem, "A propos de Georges Moschambar, polémiste antilatin," *EO* 35 (1936) 336–47. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 106–12, 133f. *PLP*, no. 19344. —R.J.M.

**MOSCHOPOULOS, MANUEL**, writer and philologist; nephew of the bibliophile Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS; born ca. 1265?, fl. Constantinople ca. 1300. A student of Maximos PLANOUDIS, Moschopoulos (Μοσχόπουλος) became a commentator on and perhaps editor of classical Greek poets. Virtually nothing is known of his biography, except that in 1305/6 he became involved in a plot, fell into political disgrace, and was imprisoned.

Moschopoulos was a versatile scholar, who wrote a book on Greek grammar (*Erotemata grammatika*)

with an appendix on SCHEDOGRAPHIA (J.J. Keaney, *BZ* 64 [1971] 303–13) and an unpublished work, *Discourse Against the Latins*, to which the Unionist George METOCHITES responded (PG 141:1307–1406). At the request of Nicholas RHABDAS, he composed a treatise on magic squares (P. Tannéry, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 [Paris-Toulouse 1920] 1–19). He is best known, however, for an edition of the *Olympian Odes* of PINDAR, scholia on the *Ploutos* of ARISTOPHANES (J.J. Keaney, *Mnemosyne*<sup>4</sup> 25 [1972] 123–28) and the *Batrachomyomachia*, and for his paraphrase of the *Works and Days* of HESIOD and the first two books of the *Iliad*. His commentaries are grammatical notes or explications of the text at a fairly basic level. The question of whether he produced new recensions of some of the plays of Sophocles (as assumed by A. Turyn, *TAPA* 80 [1949] 94–173) and Euripides is still under discussion. J.J. Keaney (*BZ* 64 [1971] 314f) rejects the previous attribution to Moschopoulos of an Attic dictionary (*Onomaton Attikon sylloge*). Eight of his letters survive, addressed to contemporary literati such as Theodore METOCHITES, Constantine AKROPOLITES, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

ED. Letters—Ševčenko, *Soc. and Intell.*, pt. IX (1952), 133–57. L. Levi, "Cinque lettere inedite di Emanuele Moscopulo," *StilFCl* 10 (1902) 55–72. "Le traité du Manuel Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques," ed. P. Tannéry, in *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 (Paris-Toulouse 1920) 27–60, with Fr. tr. Paraphrases of *Iliad*, Books I–II—ed. S. Grandolini in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 131–49 and in *Università degli Studi di Perugia. Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia* n.s. 18 (1980/1) 5–22. For complete list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 539.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 244–47. *PLP*, no. 19373. E. Melandri, "La parafrasi di Manuele Moscopulo ad Hom. AB 493," *Prometheus* 9 (1983) 177–92. —A.M.T.

**MOSCHOPOULOS, NIKEPHOROS**, bibliophile and bishop during the reign of Andronikos II; died between 1322 and 1332. He was named titular metropolitan of Crete by 1285, but could not reside in his see because of the Venetian occupation of the island. He was subsequently made PROEDROS of Lakedaimon (Sparta) ca. 1289. In 1291/2 he restored the Cathedral of St. Demetrios at MISTRA (M.I. Manousakas, *DChAE*<sup>4</sup> 1 [1959] 70–79). He also built windmills and planted vineyards and olive groves in the countryside nearby. Whenever possible, however, Moschopoulos preferred to live in Constantinople. In

1296 the emperor sent him to Venice on a diplomatic mission; in 1303 he served as imperial emissary to Patr. John XII Kosmas, who had just resigned his throne. In 1305 Patr. ATHANASIOS I forced him to return to Mistra.

Like his more famous nephew, the philologist Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Nikephoros was a scholar and admirer of classical literature. He possessed a library so extensive that it took four horses to transport it; he copied some codices himself (E. Gamillscheg in *Byzantios* 95–100), commissioned the copying of others, and was generous in his donations of MSS to monasteries. Among his books were a copy of the *Odyssey* and a 10th-C. MS of the homilies of Chrysostom. Moschopoulos apparently also engaged in hymnography; E. Papa-liopoulou-Photopoulou attributed to him an *akolouthia* on John CASSIAN (*Diptycha* 2 [1980–81] 119–45).

LIT. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Nikephoros Moschopoulos," *BZ* 12 (1903) 215–23. M.I. Manousakas, "Nikephorou Moschopoulou epigrammata se cheirographa tes bibliothekes tou," *Hellenika* 15 (1957) 232–46. *PLP*, no. 19376. —A.M.T.

**MOSCHOS, JOHN**, sometimes nicknamed "Eukratas"; monk and writer; saint; born Cilicia (P. Pattenden, *JThSt* 26 [1975] 41, n.1) between 540 and 550 (S. Vailhé, *EO* 5 [1901–02] 108), died Rome Sept. 619 or more probably Constantinople in 634. The prologue to his book, written by a contemporary, records that Moschos (Μόσχος) lived in and visited various monasteries and ascetic centers in Judea, Syria, and Egypt. After the Persian capture of Jerusalem (614), he sailed to the "great city of the Rhomaioi," that is, Constantinople, where he lived as patriarch-in-exile of Jerusalem. Before his death he entrusted the incomplete version of his book, *The Spiritual Meadow* (*Leimon* or *Leimonarion*) to his pupil and fellow traveler, SOPHRONIOS, the future patriarch of Jerusalem (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* n.s. 25 [1974] 41–74). This work, which was dedicated to Sophronios, consists of short edifying anecdotes about monks and hermits, in the tradition of the APOPTHEGMATA PATRUM. Its contents and pleasantly unaffected Greek ensured the wide later circulation described by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 199), who mentions variously sized EKDOSEIS. Translations were made into Arabic, Latin, and Church Slavonic. As with other similar hagiographies, the

work provides a wealth of information both for linguists (E. Mihevc-Gabrovec, *Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos* [Ljubljana 1960]) and for those interested in the social and intellectual history of his day. It also innocently spotlights, sometimes horribly, the emotional and sexual repressions of its ascetic subjects. Together with Sophronios, Moschos produced a revision of the vita of JOHN ELEMION.

ED. PG 87.3:2851–3112, with add. T. Nissen, *BZ* 38 (1938) 354–72. E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 61–94, rev. E. Kriaras, *Hellenika* 12 (1952) 188–94. Fr. tr. M.-J. Rouët de Journel, *Le pré spirituel* (Paris 1946). Ital. tr. R. Maisano, *Giovanni Mosco: Il prato* (Naples 1982).

LIT. E. Mioni, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 632–40. N.H. Baynes, "The 'Pratum Spirituale,'" *OrChrP* 13 (1947) 404–14. K. Rosemond, "Jean Mosch, patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614–634)," *VigChr* 31 (1977) 60–67. —B.B.

**MOSCOW** (Μοσκόβιον), town in the Volga-Oka basin, capital of a principality that, though subject to the MONGOLS, emerged in the 14th C. as the major rival to Tver' and LITHUANIA for control over Russia. Moscow was in contact with Byz. from the early 14th C., though it is not mentioned explicitly in Byz. sources until 1380 (MM 2:12.12), when Ivan II (1353–59) was designated the great *rhex* of Moscow and all Russia, while Symeon of Moscow (1341–53), in a letter of John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347, is called the great *rhex* of all Russia (MM 1:263.27). The route from Moscow to Constantinople via the Don and the AZOV SEA is described by IGNATIY OF SMOLENSK. Muscovite princes contributed regularly toward the repair of monuments in Constantinople (e.g., in 1347, 1364, 1398; cf. Greg. 3:199.24–200.9). Byz.-Muscovite diplomatic activity focused on the metropolis "of Kiev and all Russia." Metr. Peter (1308–26) transferred his actual residence to Moscow, and most of his successors followed suit. The official residence, however, was moved in 1354 at the order of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS from Kiev only to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma, which was regarded as the senior principality (Greg. 3:514.14–17). Philotheos and ANTONY IV used their involvement with the metropolis to sustain the semblance of Byz. authority, an authority that was lost when Moscow rejected the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. Byz. artists (THEOPHANES "THE GREEK"), worked in Moscow from the mid-14th C., as did writers associated with the Hesychast movement (KIPRIAN, EPIFANIY PREMUDRYJ, PACH-



OMIJ LOGOFET). Moscow ceased paying tribute to the Mongols in 1480, and in the early 16th C. the claim arose that Moscow was the "Third Rome," the successor to Constantinople.

LIT. Obolensky, *Byz. and the Slavs*, pt.VII (1965), 248–75. G.M. Prochorov, *Povest' o Mitjaj: Rus' i Vizantijskaia epocha Kulikovskoj bitvy* (Leningrad 1978). Meyendorff, *Russia*.

—S.C.F.

**MOSELE** (Μωσηλέ), or Mousele, a family name of Armenian origin. In 791 Alexios Mosele, the first known *DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS*, supported Constantine VI against his mother Irene and was rewarded with the post of *strategos*, but was soon arrested and blinded. Theophilos proclaimed another Alexios Mosele heir to the throne, married him to his daughter Maria, and made him caesar. After military successes in Italy, Alexios was accused of a conspiracy against Theophilos and soon retired to a monastery. The family maintained its importance in the 10th C., when another Alexios Mosele served as *droungarios tou ploimou* under Romanos I, and Romanos Mosele obtained the high title of *magistros* under Constantine VII. Basil II, however, mentioned in an edict that Romanos's descendants had fallen into extreme poverty. Family members of the 11th C. are known only from several uncertain seals, one of which belonged to the imperial notary John Mosele (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.208); in the 12th C. Michael Mosele married a noble lady related to the families of MELISENOS and XEROS. In Constantinople there were both an *oikos* and a monastery of Mosele; H. Delehay (AB 14 [1895] 161–65) suggested that a school was located in the *oikos*, a hypothesis rejected by Lemerle (*Humanism* 283, n.6); the monastery existed until the 14th C.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 10f. Janin, *Églises CP* 358f. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 155f, 176f, 184f.

—A.K.

**MOSES** (Μωϋσῆς), biblical legislator and prophet; the ideal king, according to PHILO; feastday 4 Sept. One of the tasks of Christian theologians was to demonstrate that Christ was much more than "a new Moses": Moses not only predicted the advent of Christ but "using obscure riddles shed some light on the Trinity" (pseudo-Basil of Seleukeia, PG 85:136C). Human history was construed as consisting of three stages: a period of natural law, one of Mosaic law, and one of Grace

and the New Testament. God sent Moses, says Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 17f), and Moses issued "a better law" that his contemporaries were unable to grasp in full. Gregory of Nyssa wrote a Life of Moses (ed. Simonetti, *infra*): its first book is a historical commentary on the events related in Exodus and Numbers, stressing the miraculous, rejecting naturalistic explanation, and suppressing shocking detail; the second, much longer, book is an allegorical and spiritual reading of the life of Moses as the soul's journey to liberation. The Byz. also found the story's romancelike details attractive: Moses' miraculous rescue from the river, the wonders he worked, his flight to the country of Madiam, and his military success. Moses' CROSSING OF THE RED SEA was interpreted as a prefiguration of the triumph of Christianity and paralleled Constantine I's victory at the MILVIAN BRIDGE.

**Representation in Art.** Images of Moses are found in many contexts. As the protagonist in events of Exodus and Deuteronomy, Moses recurs in narrative art, such as the OCTATEUCHS and two excerpted passages: the Odes of Moses (Ex 15:1–19; Dt 32:1–43) included and illustrated in PSALTERS. A New Testament setting is provided by the TRANSFIGURATION account (esp. Mt 17:3), in which Moses and Elijah appear beside Christ. Moses is represented as an idealized beardless youth (e.g., in the Vatican MS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES) and as a white-bearded patriarch (e.g., apse mosaic of St. Catherine's, Sinai). A single 12th-C. icon at Sinai with 20 narrative scenes from the life of Moses in the frame is probably to be explained by a local cult (Weitzmann in *Place of Book Illum.*, figs.20–21). A characteristic 12th-C. innovation is a woeful Moses with sunken cheeks (e.g., Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.161), a type further developed in the 13th C. by the addition of a short beard and heavily lined features to create an entirely different portrait type (*ibid.*, no.179).

LIT. Gregory of Nyssa, *La vita di Mosè*, ed. M. Simonetti (Venice 1984) xiv–xxxvi. H. Schlosser, *LCI* 3:282–97. *La figure de Moïse* (Geneva 1978) 99–127. —A.K., J.L., J.H.L.

**MOSES**, Arab saint of second half of 4th C.; feastday 7 Feb. According to Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 6.38.5), he was a holy man and miracle worker who lived in the desert. When the Orthodox Arab queen MAVIA revolted against the Arian Valens

ca.375–78, she insisted during negotiations with the emperor that the Orthodox Moses be consecrated as the bishop of her *foederati*. Valens finally agreed to this condition, and Moses was taken to Alexandria to be consecrated by Loukios, the Arian bishop of the city. Moses refused, however, to be consecrated by an Arian, and was subsequently taken to the "mountain" where the rite was performed by Orthodox bishops in exile. Moses then returned to Mavia's *foederati* and engaged in missionary activity among the Arabs. By some scholars he is identified with Moses the Black (J.M. Sauget, *Bibl.Sanct.* 9:652–54).

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th C.)* 152–57, 185–87.

—I.A.Sh.

**MOSES DASXURANC'I** (or Kalankatuac'i), Armenian historian (fl. 10th C.?) of whose life nothing is known. His *History of the Caucasian Albanians* ends with the attack of the Rus' on Partaw in 914. Although based on many previous Armenian sources, this *History* is valuable as a prime source for Caucasian ALBANIA and its relations with Armenia, Iran, and Georgia.

Moses focuses on the history of the church in that area of the Caucasus; he claims Albania was converted no later than Armenia. References to Byz. are few, but the campaigns of Herakleios, the schism of the Eastern churches after the Council of CHALCEDON, and the travels to Constantinople and Rome of Stephen (later bishop of Siwnik') are given some prominence. Also included is a lengthy description from about 660 of the holy sites in Jerusalem (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 11 [1896] 93–97).

ED. *Patmut' iwn Atuanic'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow 1860; Tbilisi 1912). *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*, tr. C.J.F. Dowsett (London 1961).

LIT. F. Mamedova, "Istorija Alban" *Moiseja Kalankatuj-skogo kak istočnik po obščestvennomu stroju rannesrednevekovoj Albanii* (Baku 1977). R. Hews, "On the Chronology of Movses Dasxuranc'i," *BSOAS* 27 (1964) 151–53. —R.T.

**MOSES OF BERGAMO**, or Moses de Brolo, Latin translator from northern Italy who was in imperial service at Constantinople ca.1130; died after 1157?. Moses probably participated in John II Komnenos's Danubian campaigns, lived near Constantinople's Venetian quarter, and was selected over BURGUNDIO OF PISA and James of Venice to interpret the debate of ANSELM of Hav-

elburg with Niketas, metropolitan of Nikomedeia (10 Apr. 1136). His treatise on Greek expressions in Jerome's biblical prefaces discusses Homeric imitations of Scripture (ed. G. Cremaschi, *Mose del Brolo e la cultura a Bergamo nei secoli XI–XII* [Bergamo 1945] 163–95). Moses probably wrote his poem on Bergamo (ed. G. Gorni, *StMed*<sup>3</sup> [1970] 440–56) before leaving home, although a marginal note associates it with the Byz. emperor. He translated a treatise on Christ's disciples ascribed to EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (Moses alone preserves the authentic text [*CPG* 3780–81], ed. F. Dolbeau, *AB* 104 [1986] 299–314) and a Trinitarian *florilegium* (partially ed. G. Cremaschi, *Bergomum* 47.4 [1953] 29–69). One letter (C.H. Haskins, *BZ* 23 [1914–20] 133–42), written "ex Dacia" (1128?) apparently to his brother Peter at Bergamo, treats Greek accentuation (and incidentally coinage terms). The letter of indiction 8 (1130?), certainly addressed to Peter, survives in the original (ed. G. Gorni). It mentions how fire in Constantinople's Venetian quarter destroyed Moses' expensive library of Greek MSS and shows him finagling a 15-bezant payment from the *vestiarion* for a worthless relative; Moses discusses his personal finances, the ease of travel from Venice to Constantinople, and the purchase of Byz. liturgical furnishings for Bergamo churches. —M.McC.

**MOSES XORENAC'I** ("from Xorean [or Xoren]," an unknown town), in Armenian tradition, "the father of history." The reliability and date of his *History* are still debated. This important work, the first attempt to give a coherent account of Armenian history from the settlement of the country in the days of the giants down to the death of MESROP MAŠTOC' in 439, became the standard version.

In book 1 Moses correlates the legends about the origins of ARMENIA (also found in SEBEOS as the "Primary History") with the biblical genealogies and the events of world history as known from the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. In book 2 the role of Armenia between Rome and Parthia is expounded; here the *Jewish War* of JOSEPHUS served as a prime source. Based on the works of AGATHANGELOS and pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND the narrative continues to the death of TRDAT, first Christian king of Armenia. Book 3 describes the predicament of Armenia between

the Byz. emperors and the shahs of Sasanian IRAN. It ends with a lament over the end of the ARSACID monarchy and the removal of the patriarchate from the family of GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR.

The author claims to have been a pupil of Maštoc' and to have studied in Alexandria and Constantinople. If so, the *History* contains many anachronisms. Nor is it quoted or mentioned until after 900. Its emphasis on the preeminent role of the BAGRATIDS and the down-playing of the MAMIKONEANS has led many to believe that it was written when the former rose to power and the latter declined—in the 8th C.

Moses (whoever he was) was very widely read in Greek theological and secular literature, but he used Armenian renderings of nearly all foreign sources. As a historian Moses was the first Armenian to develop an explicit philosophy of historiography. He speaks of himself as an "antiquarian," anxious to preserve information about past deeds of great men. His values are those of a landed aristocracy where valor is assessed on the basis of martial accomplishments, and rank depends on hereditary standing. Frequently Moses speaks of the importance of veracity and elegance in historical writing, and emphasizes that "there is no true history without chronology," but he had no hesitation in interpreting his sources quite tendentiously.

Several other works have been attributed to Moses Xorenac'i. Among them a unique *Geography* dates to the 7th C.; based on PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, it briefly describes the entire world, with expanded information on the provinces and political geography of Armenia (R. Hewsen, *REArm* n.s. 4 [1967] 409–32; S.T. Eremyan, *Hayastane est Ašxarhac'oyc'e* [Erevan 1963]). A book of rhetoric (*chreiai*) said to be by Moses is more difficult to date. It is based on APHTHONIOS and other Greek rhetorical writers, but adduces biblical and Christian examples to illustrate traditional Greek themes (A. Baumgartner, *ZDMG* 40 [1886] 457–515; R. Sgarbi, *Rendiconti, Accademia di scienze e lettere, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, Istituto Lombardo* 103 [1969] 78–84).

ED. *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Abetean, S. Yarut' iwn (Tbilisi 1913; rp. Delmar, N.Y., 1981). *History of the Armenians*, tr. R.W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). *Géographie*, ed. A. Soukry (Venice 1881), with Fr. tr. *Matenagrut' iwnk'* (Venice 1865) 341–616.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "On the Date of the Pseudo-Moses of Chorene," *HA* 75 (1961) 467–76. —R.T.

**MOSQUE** (μασγίδιον), Muslim building for worship. The earliest mosques are difficult to identify because they may lack definitively distinguishing architectural features; the *mihrāb* niche begins to be present only with the caliphate of al-Walid in the early 8th C. A possible north Syrian or Coptic/Ethiopian Christian influence on early mosque architecture is much debated.

In areas newly conquered from Byz. some churches were converted to mosques, or possibly even divided, temporarily, into areas for Muslims and Christians. A 6th-C. guest house in the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai was converted into a mosque; it contains a *minbar* dated by inscription to 1106. Some of the earliest surviving mosques on former Byz. territory include that at BOSTRA as well as the controversial and rebuilt so-called Mosque of 'Amr in Fustāt (Old Cairo). In areas that Byz. recaptured from Muslims, mosques were usually closed and the Muslim population ousted or annihilated.

In Constantinople a mosque was protected by treaties with the FĀṬIMIDS in the 10th–11th C. (M. Canard, *Journal Asiatique* 208 [1926] 94–99); epigraphical evidence raised the question of similar Fātimid protection for a possible mosque in Athens (G.C. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). A mosque in Constantinople is again mentioned in the 14th and early 15th C. Which Muslim sovereign's name would be mentioned in prayers at this mosque was always controversial.

LIT. O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven 1973) 104–38. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1969) 1–497, 518–21. J. Pedersen, E. Diez, "Masdjid," *EI* 3:315–89. —W.E.K., A.C.

**MOSYNOPOLIS** (Μοσυνόπολις), town in Thrace on the Via EGNATIA; it is called a *kastron* in the *typikon* of Pakourianos, "cité" or "ville" by Villehardouin. It was built on the site of late Roman Maximianoupolis (ancient Porsulae) at the foot of Mt. Papikion. The archbishop of Maximianoupolis is listed in the notitias of the early 10th C. as suffragan of Traianopolis (*Notitiae CP* 7.598). Basil II used Mosynopolis as an operational base for his Bulgarian wars. In the 11th C. the town was a *bandon* of BOLERON. Anna Komnene knew

Mosynopolis as a center of Manichaean activity. It played an important part in military operations at the end of the 12th through the beginning of the 13th C.: the Normans took it in 1185, and it was ravaged by Kalojan. Whether the town recovered after this blow remains unclear: its name appears as part of the title of the theme of Boleron and Mosynopolis in 1317 (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.7.26), and a synodal decision of 1347 mentions the return of the bishopric of Mosynopolis from the jurisdiction of Xantheia to that of Traianopolis (MM 1:260.18–21). Asdracha (*infra* 106) argues that Mosynopolis was in ruins by the 14th C., identifying it with the "old polis of Mesene, destroyed many years ago" mentioned by Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:429.14–15).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodes* 104–09. Lemerle, *Philippes* 129, 176–81. —T.E.G.

**MOTION** (κίνησις), the term by which the Byz. designated various forms of activity: movement from place to place, GESTURE, mental impulses (EMOTIONS) and, in theology, divine energy (*energetike kinesis*). Although Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:253AB) asserts that motion as such is not to be identified with evil, and church fathers distinguished *trope* (deviation, mutability) from motion directed toward good, Byz. ETHICS contrasted motion as a disquieting activity with immovability as a paradigm of good behavior. Thus, John MAUROPOUS stressed that the pious emperor is immovable while the barbarian and rebel are in ceaseless motion (J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 285–87). The ideal expressed by Byz. BODY LANGUAGE was statuesque repose. Barbaric "nomadism," the rapid movement of mounted warriors across the immeasurable spaces of the steppe, was connected by the Byz. with their ignorance, boorishness, and violence.

**Representation in Art.** Indications of movement, antithetical to the idea of majesty, either celestial or earthly, are designedly missing from much Byz. imagery. Similarly, portraits and many icons embody the virtues of fixity. Motion is required of the spectator's eye, not of the object of his vision in the *ekphrasis* tradition. Yet in scenes such as the Miracles of Christ the efficacy of the Savior is emphasized by the contrast between his dynamic attitude and the inertness of his patient audience. Despite the Aristotelian notion that

movement denotes life (see MOTION, THEORY OF), motion in human forms is generally confined to gesture or simple torsions of the body on its own axis. Rapid or energetic movement is usually left to ANGELS and animals; occasionally the figure of Symeon in scenes of the Presentation of Christ is shown, for emotive effect, rushing toward the object of his desire. Mobility is frequently limited to the less important figures in a scene, be they the children present at the Baptism of Christ or the Egyptians drowned during the Crossing of the Red Sea. —A.K., A.C.

**MOTION, THEORY OF.** The theory of motion developed in antiquity primarily by ARISTOTLE was modified by the Byz. in several ways. First, John PHILOPONOS rejected the Aristotelian theory that a moving missile was pushed by both the thrower and by the surrounding air that was forced into motion by the agent; instead he introduced the theory of impetus, or "kinetic power," which was transferred from the thrower to the projectile (S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* [London 1962] 74–76). Then, JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Dial.* 45.9–19, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 1:129f) suggested a detailed categorization of types of motion: in essence—birth and destruction; in size—growth and decrease; in quality—alteration; in space—circular and linear movement.

The theological concept of motion was developed in the struggle against PROKLOS, who considered the First Principle as immovable and the soul as self-moving, *autokinetos*. In contrast, the church fathers saw in the Trinity the source of all motion. There were two main theological concepts of motion: one, still connected with Neoplatonic emanationism, construed motion in terms of rest (*mone*), procession (*proodos*), and return (*epistrophe*); NICHOLAS OF METHONE (*Anaptyxis* 43.3–4), however, perceived return not as a circular energy (as Proklos) but going the same way as the *proodos*. He also emphasized the ethical element in *proodos-epistrophe*: the creature that is to return not to itself (as in Proklos) but to God has FREE WILL to act according to nature or to go against nature and to join Satan and his demons who have no access to *epistrophe*. Another view is presented by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, who replaced the Prokleian terminology with another triad—being, power, and energy (or action)—thus stress-



ing the category of rest to which both being and action belong (Armstrong, *Philosophy* 492–505). —A.K.

**MOUNTINITZA.** See BOUDONITZA.

**MOUNT OF OLIVES** (Ἑλαιών, ὄρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν). On this steep hill overlooking JERUSALEM from the east is located the cave associated with the ASCENSION teachings of Christ, where he “prayed with his disciples and handed down to them the mysteries of perfection” (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Demonstr. evang.* 6.18.23, ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke* 6:278.25–28); from the nearby hillock, with its “divine footprints,” it was believed that Christ rose into heaven (EGERIA, *Travels* 43.5). Constantine I built a basilica here, the apse of which incorporated the cave. By the late 4th C. a circular, colonnaded structure open to the sky marked this LOCUS SANCTUS where pilgrims could collect EULOGIA dust. In the vicinity were many lesser churches, monasteries, and nunneries. Golgotha and the Mount of Olives reportedly were the scene of the vision of the Cross in 351 on the eve of the victory of Constantius II over the usurper MAGNENTIUS in Pannonia.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 166f. L. Heidet, *DictBibl* 14:1779–93. —G.V., Z.U.M.

**MOUSAIOS** (Μουσαῖος), poet; born Egypt?, fl. 5th–6th C. Mousaios is described in some of his MSS as a grammarian (*grammatikos*). Nothing else is known of him, though he might be the Mousaios addressed in two letters from PROKOPIOS OF GAZA. An epyllion *Hero and Leander* is extant, which shows Mousaios to be a follower of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS and influenced by PROKLOS. Gelzer (*infra* [1967] 136) interprets the poem as a Christian Neoplatonist allegory, but this position is not universally accepted. Mousaios’s presumed use of the *Heroides* of OVID is of interest in the tracing of Byz. awareness of Latin literature. The attribution to Mousaios of the anonymous poem on Alphaeus and Arethusa (*AnthGr*, bk.9, no.362) is debatable.

ED. *Hero et Leander*, ed. E. Livrea, P. Eleuteris (Leipzig 1982). Ed. with Eng. tr. by T. Gelzer, C.H. Whitman, in C.A. Trypanis, *Callimachus: Aetia, Iambi, etc.* (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1975) 291–389.

LIT. D. Bo, *Musaei Lexicon* (Hildesheim 1966). T. Gelzer, “Bemerkungen zu Sprache und Text des Epikers Musaios,” *MusHelv* 24 (1967) 129–48; 25 (1968) 11–47. O. Schönbberger, “Zum Aufbau von Musaios’ ‘Hero und Leander,’” *RhM* 121 (1978) 255–59. E. Livrea, “Geschichte der Textüberlieferung des Musaios zwischen Byzanz und Renaissance,” *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 23–29. K. Kost, *Mousaios und Ovid* (Cologne 1975). —B.B.

**MOUSEION AND LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA.** The Mouseion was a center of scholarship and letters; its members received a stipend and many engaged in teaching. The Library, with its librarian and staff, was probably housed in separate premises. Both were founded and funded in the 3rd C. B.C. by Ptolemy II Philadelphos. They continued to enjoy official support throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Library was reputed to contain 400,000 volumes, that is, papyrus rolls (L.E. Löfgberg, *Eranos* 3 [1899] 166). Its history in the later Roman Empire is obscure. Probably the collection of the “great library” was moved by the 4th C. to a “daughter” branch in the temple of Serapis; at the end of the century it was visited and described by APHTHONIOS. It remains under dispute whether the Mouseion was destroyed in 391/2 when the temple of Serapis was razed to the ground (J. Schwartz in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* [New Haven, Conn., 1966] 97–111); at any rate, the Mouseion is not mentioned by any writer after Aphthonios. The final destruction of the Library may have been caused by ‘AMR ibn al-‘Āṣ, the Arab general, when he conquered Alexandria in 642. One must view as apocryphal, however, the story that ‘Amr, in reponse to John Philoponos’s plea that it be spared, observed that if the books agreed with the Qur’ān they were superfluous, and if they disagreed with it they were pernicious and had to be destroyed.

LIT. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1:305–35, 2:462–94. E.A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (London 1952) 344–429. P. Casanova, “L’incendie de la bibliothèque d’Alexandrie par les Arabes,” *CRAI* (1923) 163–71. G. Furlani, “Giovanni il Filopono e l’incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria,” *Bulletin de la société archéologique d’Alexandrie* n.s. 6 (1925) 58–77. J. Thiem, “Library of Alexandria Burnt: History of a Symbol,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40 (1979) 507–26. —A.K., R.B.

**MOUZALON** (Μουζάλων, fem. Μουζαλώνισσα), a family whose first member is known from an 11th-C. seal—Theodora Mouzalonissa, “archon-

tissa of Rhosia” (Ch. Loparev, *VizVrem* 1 [1894] 160). She has sometimes been considered the wife of Oleg Svjatoslavič, prince of TMUTOROKAN, but possibly her husband was a Byz. governor of RHOSIA on the Cimmerian Bosphoros. In the 12th C. the family produced NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON, patriarch of Constantinople, and Constantine, a patriarchal notary (Benešević, *Opisanje* 1:290.3–5). The Mouzalon family reached its zenith in the 13th C. when they were regarded as originating from Atramyttion (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:41.10): Theodore II Laskaris appointed his childhood friend, George Mouzalon, *megas stratopedarches*, his brother Andronikos *megas domestikos*, and another brother, Theodore, *protokynegos*; after Theodore II’s death George became regent for John IV Laskaris but was overthrown by Michael VIII Palaiologos; both George and Andronikos were murdered in 1258 (see MOUZALON, GEORGE). Only Theodore retained influence with Michael VIII and the post of *logothetes ton genikon*, but since he disagreed with the emperor on religious policy, he was flogged (by his own brother). Later he became Andronikos II’s adviser and favorite; his daughter married the emperor’s son Constantine. The Mouzalons regained their position in the army: Stephen Mouzalon was *megas droungarios* and led the negotiations with the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; George Mouzalon, *hetaireiarches*, commanded a troop of Alans but was defeated by the Turks at BAPHEUS in 1302.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 19430–48. Polemis, *Doukai* 148f. —A.K.

**MOUZALON, GEORGE**, regent of the empire of Nicaea (1258); born ca.1220, died Nymphaion 25 Aug. 1258. He and his brothers were the boyhood companions of THEODORE II LASKARIS. They were by all accounts of non-noble origin. As emperor, Theodore raised them to the highest offices of state, making George *megas domestikos* first, and then *protovestiaris*, *protosebastos*, and *megas stratopedarches*. Imperial favor earned them the hatred of the great court families, which intensified when they were given aristocratic brides. George married into the KANTAKOUZENOS family. Appointed regent by Theodore II for his young son JOHN IV, George faced the hopeless task of trying to placate the aristocracy led by MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS. Latin mercenaries under Michael’s command murdered George along with

his brothers during a commemoration service for the late Theodore at the monastery of Sosandra near Nymphaion.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 76–85. Polemis, *Doukai* 148f. —M.J.A.

**MOUZALON, NICHOLAS.** See NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON.

**MU'AWIYA** (Μαυίας) ibn Abū Sūfyan, caliph (661–80) and founder of the Umayyad Caliphate; born Mecca between 600 and 610, died Damascus Apr. 680. A brilliant administrator and general, Mu'awiya served as a secretary to the prophet Muḥammad and then participated in the conquest of Syria, notably the capture of Caesarea Maritima (640/1). As governor of Syria and Palestine, Mu'awiya retained the native bureaucracy: Greek continued as the language of record; Byz. images and inscriptions appeared on coins minted in Damascus; and Christians occupied leading offices, esp. those concerning finances. Yet he aggressively attacked Byz. by aiding rebels like SABORIOS and conducting direct assaults. He sent annual raids into Asia Minor and Armenia, leading some himself, and received permission from Caliph 'UTHMĀN to build a fleet, with which he captured Cyprus (649), Rhodes (654), and Kos (654), and in 655 defeated Constans II in the “Battle of the Masts” at Phoenix (mod. Finike in Turkey). Mu'awiya’s struggle with 'Alī for the caliphate forced him in 659 to sign a three-year truce with Constans requiring weekly payments of 1,000 solidi, one slave, and one horse (*Reg* 1, no.230).

After becoming caliph Mu'awiya’s renewed conquests—Kyzikos (670) and Smyrna (672)—culminated in a great siege of Constantinople (674–78). Byz. use of GREEK FIRE and attacks by the MARDAITES forced him to withdraw and negotiate a 30-year treaty stipulating annual Byz. payments of 3,000 solidi, 50 hostages, and 50 horses (*Reg* 1, no.239). As caliph, Mu'awiya was tolerant of Christians and rebuilt the ruined cathedral of Edessa (679).

LIT. H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier* [= *MéUnivJos* 1–3] (Beirut 1906–08). A. Stratos, “Siège ou blocus de Constantinople sous Constantin IV,” *JÖB* 33 (1983) 89–107. Idem, “The Naval Engagement at Phoenix,” in *Charanis Studies* 229–47. —P.A.H.

**MUHAMMAD** (Μουάμεδ, Μωάμετ, etc.), prophet of Islam; born Mecca, tribe of Quraysh, ca. 570, died Madīna, 8 June 632. Among the most controversial aspects of Muḥammad's life and thought is the extent to which he had contact with Christians and was influenced by them and by Christian (and Jewish) ideas. In *sūra* 30 of the QUR'ĀN, titled al-Rūm, Muḥammad showed concern for and expressed optimism about the survival and welfare of Byz. in its war with Persia. Muslim traditions allege that Muḥammad dispatched messengers to various contemporary sovereigns, including HERAKLEIOS, to call them to Islam. Muḥammad's first expedition against Byz. territory ended in the battle of Mu'ta (628), a serious Muslim defeat. The earliest reference to Muḥammad in a Byz. source is found in DOCTRINA JACOBI NUPER BAPTIZATI, ca. 634–35. The aims and reasons for Muḥammad's policy against Byz. late in his life are poorly documented and controversial. His conception of Christians as "people of the Book" enabled his successors to concede them protected status. Hostile and inaccurate traditions about Muḥammad exist in Byz. sources, even though some may draw on Christian Oriental and even Muslim texts.

LIT. W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford 1953). Idem, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford 1956). M.A. Cook, *Muhammad* (Oxford 1983). —W.E.K.

**MULES.** See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

**MUNDHIR, AL-.** See ALAMUNDARUS.

**MUNICH TREASURE**, dated to the 4th C. and found ca. 1973 at an undetermined site "in the eastern [Roman] empire." Now belonging to the Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank in Munich, it is composed of nine silver objects (eight bowls and one plate), five of which are LARGITIO DISHES made ca. 321/2 in three different centers and noteworthy as the only such collection yet found in the East. Three bowls have in their centers struck, coinlike portraits—one of LICINIUS and two of his son Licinius II, the caesar, inscribed with acclamation of the latter's fifth anniversary. Two of these bowls (one of the emperor and one of his son) have SILVER STAMPS thought to refer

to a mint workshop of Nikomedeia. The third such bowl, of the son, has a comparable stamp for the mint of Antioch. Two other bowls have incised inscriptions: one acclaiming the tenth anniversary as caesar of CRISPUS and CONSTANTINE II and the other bowl the fifth anniversary of Licinius II. The former bowl has a pointillé inscription referring to Naissus and the latter, one of Antioch. As Naissus had no mint, Baratte (*infra*) suggests that the bowl was manufactured in a state treasury. The close similarity of objects made in different centers for different emperors—and their ownership by one individual—indicates a tightly organized system of *largitio* manufacture and distribution. The owner is thought to have been an official who buried the objects at the time of the overthrow of Licinius by Constantine I in 324.

LIT. B. Overbeck, *Argentum Romanum* (Munich 1973). Baratte, "Ateliers" 202–12. —M.M.M.

**MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION** was inherited by the late Roman Empire from antiquity, but by the 4th C., imperial administration came to predominate, and civic self-government was restricted to small hereditary oligarchies, the CURIALES. Their organ was the *boule* (Lat. CURIA), the city council, which consisted of *curiales* and exercised certain rights of justice; administered city estates; and oversaw food supply, building activity, public games, education, and medical care. It was also responsible for paying imperial taxes. During the 5th and 6th C. all of these forms of urban administration fell gradually into the hands of the emperor's agents. In the 7th C. municipal administration declined as the CITY ceased to be the leading social institution; this change was reflected later by a novel of Leo VI abrogating the *boulai*. At the same time the local bishop became responsible for certain aspects of urban affairs. In the 11th and 12th C. some forms of self-government were reestablished in provincial towns. Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 92.1–58) mentions an annually elected magistrate who was constantly active in the marketplace and city council (*bouleuterion*), and Michael Choniates describes with some derision noisy ASSEMBLIES that discussed common affairs. Under the Palaiologoi certain cities, such as IOANNINA, Kroia, Phanarion, and MONEMVASIA, received imperial charters that guaranteed their privileges, including elements of

municipal administration. In Byz., however, the conduct of urban affairs was strictly limited not only by imperial administrative omnipotence but also by the power of local landowners and the church.

LIT. J. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 50–56. Lj. Maksimović, "Charakter der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur der spätbyzantinischen Stadt," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 173–78. —A.K.

**MURAD I** (Μουράτ, Ἀμουργάρης, etc.), Ottoman sultan (1362–89); son of ORHAN and his Greek wife Nilüfer Hatun; born 1326?, died Kosovo Polje 15 June 1389. Under Murad the Ottoman beylik evolved into an empire stretching from the Balkans to central Anatolia. As this transpired, the Palaiologoi one by one became Murad's tributary princes—partly to avert total conquest, partly to gain his aid in times of dynastic struggle. John V became Murad's vassal ca. 1372–73, following the Turkish conquest of Adrianople (1369) and the battle of the MARICA (1371). Murad's posture toward John vacillated opportunistically. In 1373 Murad and John V cooperated closely in crushing the joint rebellion of their sons SAVCI BEG and Andronikos IV. In 1376, however, Murad aided Andronikos in unseating John V and Manuel II, receiving in turn KALLIPOLIS (1377), which the Turks had lost in 1366. When John V and Manuel recovered power in 1379, it was likewise with Murad's aid, for which he received larger annual tribute. Murad's later relations with John V and Andronikos IV (installed as Murad's vassal in Selymbria 1382–85) were generally stable.

Throughout the period 1383–87, Murad's chief Byz. antagonist was Manuel, who was ruling in Thessalonike and refusing accommodation with the Turks. This hostility ended in 1387 when the Thessalonians surrendered to Hayreddin Pasha, and Manuel later made his submission to Murad. THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, Manuel's brother and *despotes* of Mistra, also became Murad's vassal in 1387. At that point, the sultan regarded all the leading Palaiologoi as coordinate members of his state and as sources of revenue and military manpower. Having this network of control, Murad never attempted direct conquest of Constantinople. The Palaiologoi preserved their alignment with Murad in his final years and did not participate in the uprising of the *knez* LAZAR. This

uprising led to the Battle of Kosovo POLJE, during which Murad was assassinated.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 248–60. Barker, *Manuel II* 17–67. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs," *TM* 1 (1965) 439–61. İnalcık, "Edirne." —S.W.R.

**MURAD II** (Μουράρης and other forms), Ottoman sultan (1421–51); eldest son of MEHMED I; born Amasya (AMASEIA) 1404, died Edirne (Adrianople) 3 Feb. 1451. In his reign Murad had important dealings with Emperors MANUEL II, JOHN VIII, and CONSTANTINE XI. Murad's relations with Manuel were chronically tense. In Aug. 1421 Manuel failed to restrain John from launching Düzme Mustafa in a revolt against Murad. Düzme Mustafa claimed to be a son of BAYEZID I and had been imprisoned in Constantinople since 1416. John expected in return territorial concessions, esp. Kallipolis. In Jan. 1422, however, Murad crushed Düzme Mustafa and then moved to chastise the Palaiologoi, opening attacks upon Thessalonike and Constantinople in June. After his 24 Aug. general assault on Constantinople failed, Murad soon lifted that siege. Meanwhile Manuel attempted to undermine Murad by supporting the claims of Murad's brother in Anatolia, Küçük Mustafa. Murad eliminated this Mustafa sometime in 1423 and retaliated by dispatching Turahan Beg to ravage the Morea (late May–June). The continuing siege of Thessalonike so reduced its citizens that the *despotes* Andronikos surrendered the city to Venice (formalized July 27, 1423), further enraging Murad. Early in 1424, Manuel finally concluded peace with Murad, conceding territory and promising tribute of 100,000 hyperpyra yearly.

Murad's relations with Byz. were more stable throughout the period 1424–46. John VIII formally abided by the 1424 pact. Murad's 1430 conquest of Thessalonike strengthened his hold over Macedonia and then Epiros, but thereafter he conducted his European campaigns in the northern Balkans. John's frequent maneuverings for Western help in the 1430s and his absence from 1437 to 40 to attend the FERRARA-FLORENCE Council provoked Murad's suspicions but occasioned no breach. The emperor, moreover, played no visible role in the Crusades that Murad faced in 1443–44; indeed, John dutifully congratulated Murad following his victory at VARNA. Murad's



posture stiffened after 1444, however, when the *despotes* of Mistra Constantine (XI) Palaiologos rendered Murad's vassal, duke Nerio II ACCIAJUOLI of Athens, tributary to himself. Murad replied in 1446 by invading the Morea, after which Constantine became tributary to Murad.

In the turmoil following John VIII's death (Oct. 1448), Murad supported the *despotes* Constantine's succession, and concluded a peace pact with him in March 1449. This pact governed their relations down to Murad's death in 1451.

LIT. H. İnalcık, *İA* 8:598–615. Barker, *Manuel II* 354–79. Babinger, *Mehmed* 3–63. —S.W.R.

**MURDER** (*φόνος*). Byz. law retained the criterion for murder of Roman law, which required evidence of intention to kill, determined by the weapon used (*Basil.* 60.39.5, 13, 17). Punishment for the intentional killer differed according to his social status: for the *entimoi* (persons of rank), banishment and confiscation of property; for the *euteleis* (commoners), death. The intentional killer of this law corresponded to the category of *hekousios phoneus* of Byz. legal texts, but Byz. law also introduced divisions within this category (Troianos, *Poinaios* 6–10). There were several mitigating factors in the application of the death penalty for intentional killers. The murderer could avoid prosecution for the crime by paying a settlement to the victim's family (*Basil.* 11.2.2; 60.53.1). Further, the church saved the lives of intentional killers through ASYLUM. A few cases of killing preserved in excerpted form in the *Peira* (66.24–28) show that the murderers who had not sought asylum received corporal punishment or the death sentence (commuted to hard labor in the mines), while those who were under the church's protection had their property divided between their family and the victim's family.

Better sources for the circumstances in which murders occurred are the confessions preserved in the writings of Demetrios CHOMATENOS and John APOKAUKOS from 13th-C. Epiros. These are cases of spontaneous attacks provoked by trespassing on property or insults to personal honor. Although they do not provide a full range of murder cases, they do give examples of everyday murder in rural communities and show that even the innocent needed protection from civil offi-

cials, who moved in and confiscated property at the first opportunity (see PHONIKON).

LIT. R.J. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum, and the Law in Byzantium," *Speculum* 63 (1988) 509–38. —R.J.M.

**MUSA** (Μωσῆς, Μουσῆς, etc.), more fully Musa Çelebi, younger son of BAYEZID I; died near Sofia 5 July 1413. Between 1410 and 1413 Musa attempted to establish himself as Ottoman sultan at the expense of his brothers SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI and MEHMED (I). In 1410–11, he eliminated Süleyman and gained control of Rumeli. After campaigning in Serbia, he waged war on Byz. to punish MANUEL II for having supported Süleyman and to recover losses suffered in the peace of 1403. Both Thessalonike and Constantinople were besieged, the latter probably from spring 1411 to summer 1412. In response, Manuel first tried to undermine Musa by supporting the claims and maneuvers of Süleyman's son, Orhan. This failed, and by summer 1412 Manuel had allied with Musa's brother Mehmed, who was based in Anatolia. Musa foiled Mehmed's first efforts to crush him, but on 5 July 1413 was defeated, captured, and then strangled at Mehmed's command south of Sofia. By this victory, Mehmed reunited Ottoman territories in Rumeli and Anatolia and ended the dynastic strife that had weakened the Ottomans vis-à-vis Byz. and others since 1402.

Byz. sources depict Musa as intensely anti-Christian and notoriously cruel. His siege of Constantinople evoked renewed outpourings of devotion to Mary, the city's patron; among these is Manuel II's dolorous *Hymn to the Theotokos*. According to the historian Doukas, Musa assaulted Constantinople out of religious zeal and a desire to wreak vengeance on the Palaiologoi for having incited TIMUR to liquidate Musa's father, Bayezid.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 281–88. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 297–99. M. Tekindağ, *İA* 8:661–66. P. Wittek, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *REI* 12 (1938) 1–34. —S.W.R.

**MUSIC**. Apart from the ACCLAMATIONS, no music survives from Byz. that is not directly connected with the liturgy. Secular music is frequently described by Christian authors and historiographers (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; MUSICIANS; and SINGERS), but its styles, genre, and form are unknown. Hence, modern scholars use the phrase

"Byz. music" to refer to the medieval sacred unaccompanied CHANT of Christian churches following the Eastern Orthodox rite and to a certain group of ceremonial songs in honor of the emperor, the imperial family, and high dignitaries of the Orthodox church. This music is undeniably of composite origin, drawing on the artistic and technical productions of antiquity as well as on Jewish music, and was inspired by the plainsong that evolved in Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.

MSS with symbols to indicate melodic movement (see NEUMATA and NOTATION) appeared only from the 9th C. onward, so our knowledge of the earlier period has to be gleaned from ΤΥΡΙΚΑ, patristic writings, and medieval historians. The evidence suggests that HYMNS and psalms were originally syllabic or near-syllabic in style, stemming as they did from congregational recitatives. Later, as monasticism developed—first in Palestine and then in Constantinople—and with rites and ceremonies taking place in magnificent new edifices (such as HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople), trained choirs of singers, each with its own leader (the *protopsaltes* for the right choir, the *lampadarios* for the left—offices common in Byz. churches but unknown at Hagia Sophia before 1453 [see SINGER]) and soloist (the DOMESTIKOS or *kanonarches*), assumed full musical responsibilities. Consequently, after ca.850 the tendency arose to elaborate and to ornament the music, leading to a radically new melismatic and ultimately kalophonic style (see TERETISMATA).

Byz. musical notation passed through several stages of evolution before the fully diastematic system (which indicated step by step the direction of the melody) emerged ca.1175. Earlier forms were memory aids, cuing the singer along a familiar melodic path; they remain undeciphered today. The mature, diastematic Round Notation, readily convertible into the modern system, represented a highly ingenious complex of interrelationships among a handful of symbols that enabled composers to convey a great variety of rhythmical, melodic, and dynamic nuances.

The OKTOECHOS provided the compositional framework for Byz. psalmody and hymnody. For all practical purposes, this system of modal organization was the same for Latins, Greeks, and Slavs in the Middle Ages. Each MODE is characterized by a deployment of a restricted set of melodic formulas peculiar to that mode, which constitutes

the substance of the hymn. While these formulas may be arranged in many different combinations and variations, most of the phrases of any given chant are nevertheless reducible to one or another of this small number of melodic fragments.

Psalmody and hymnody are represented in Byz. MSS by both florid and syllabic settings. Byz. syllabic psalm-tones display extremely primitive features, such as the rigidly organized four-element cadence, which is mechanically applied to the last four syllables of the verse, regardless of accent or quantity. The florid psalm verses, such as those for the Eucharist, which first appeared in 12th- and 13th-C. choir books, demonstrate a simple uniformity in motifs that transcends modal ordering and undoubtedly reflects early congregational recitative.

A special position, however, was accorded to nonbiblical hymnody, within which the generic term TROPARION came to signify a monostrophic stanza, or one of a series of stanzas, in poetic prose of irregular length and accentuation. The development of larger forms began in the 5th C. with the rise of the KONTAKION, which found its apogee in the work of ROMANOS THE MELODE. In the second half of the 7th C., the *kontakion* was supplanted by a new type of hymn, the KANON, initiated by ANDREW OF CRETE and developed by JOHN OF DAMASCUS and KOSMAS THE HYMNORAPHER.

Another kind of hymn, important both for its numbers and for the variety of its liturgical uses, was the STICHERON. Proper *stichera*, accompanying both the fixed psalms at the beginning and end of vespers and the psalmody of Lauds in the *orthros*, exist for all the feasts of the year, the Sundays and weekdays of Lent, and the recurrent cycle of eight weeks in the order of the modes, which begins with Easter. Their melodies, preserved in the STICHERARION, are moderately elaborate and varied, contrasting with the more rigidly syllabic tradition of the HEIRMOLOGION. Nevertheless, all forms and styles of Byz. music, as exhibited in the early sources, are strongly formulaic in design. Only in the final period of its development did composers abandon this procedure in favor of the highly ornate *kalophonic* style. The most celebrated of them, one entirely representative of the new school, was John KOUKOZELES, who organized the new chants into larger anthologies called *Akolouthiai* (see PAPA-

DIKE). This final phase of Byz. musical activity provided the main thrust that was to survive throughout the Ottoman period and still dominates current Orthodox musical practice.

There exist a few Byz. theoretical documents on music, which are usually philosophical, frequently speculative, and rarely concerned with specific problems. The more conservative ones simply reproduce late classical statements on harmony and symphony from the writings of Plato, Aristoxenos, and Ptolemy, without acknowledging contemporary practice; such are the *Quadriuvium* of George PACHYMERES and the three-volume *Harmonika* transmitted under the name of Manuel BRYENNIOS. Other treatises are simply catalogs of *neumata* and melodic formulas. The oldest of these, found in the 10th-C. MS Athos, Lavra Γ.67, lists rudiments of the tonal and modal systems together with the names and graphic representations of early musical signs. Of the discursive statements, the earliest, known as the *Hagiopolites* (12th C.), contains observations about the modes and the intonation formulas. It is followed by a *Papadike*, the dialogue attributed to JOHN OF DAMASCUS that begins *Ego men o paides*, the treatises of John LASKARIS, Manuel CHRYSAPHES, and GABRIEL HIEROMONACHOS.

LIT. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1961). Strunk, *Essays*. —D.E.C.

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS** (μουσικά ὄργανα). The number, kind, and function of musical instruments in Byz. is not fully understood. No instrumental music survives and the nature of accompaniment for songs—whether it followed the vocal line faithfully or indulged in heterophonic embroidery—is unknown. Written texts give lists of names, rather than descriptions of musical instruments, and it is difficult to establish the relation between the terms and the pictorial evidence preserved in MSS, ivories, and metalwork. John Chrysostom (PG 55:532f; 62:112.12–14) mentions various terms, all known from ancient sources: *kymbalon* (cymbal), *aulos* (flute), *tympanon* (drum), *salpinx* (trumpet), *psalterion* (harp), *kithara* (harp), *syrix* (pipe). In Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De cer.* 379.7, 381.11) are cited *cheirokeimbalon* (cymbal) and *pandoura* (lute); in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 172.9–20),

*anakara* (cymbals) as well as horns and trumpets made of silver; LIBYSTROS AND RHODAMNE (ed. J. Lambert, p.315.3168) adds *seistron* (metallic rattle) and *boukinon* (trumpet). The distinction between some of these terms is unclear.

Pictorial data are provided mostly by mythological scenes (flutes, harps, cymbals, etc.); by the illustrations of the Psalms (e.g., Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* 39, 49, 73f), in which David is often represented playing a harp or a lyre; and esp. (if it is indeed of Byz. origin) by the 12th-C. silver vase from Berezovo (V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* [Moscow 1975] 163–77), the medallions of which show musicians playing stringed instruments (both plucked and bowed), flutes, trumpets, cymbals, and a drum.

Musical instruments played little if any role in liturgy, but occupied an important place in palace ceremonial, noble entertainment (as described in *Digenes Akritas*), and as accompaniment to dances. At wedding celebrations, such as those described in the dialogue ANACHARSIS (260:965–67) and by Choniates (Nik.Chon. 494.7–8), string and wind instruments (including the *kithara*, *pektides* [angle harps], lyre, and *aulos*) and cymbals were played. The description in a 14th-C. ceremonial book of the Christmas Eve procession in Constantinople reveals the existence of a small imperial band (pseudo-Kod. 197.12–19). The MUSICIANS (*paigniotai*), who stood behind the clergy and were separated from the crowd by standard-bearers, consisted of trumpeters (*salpinktai*), horn players (*bykinatores*), cymbal players (*anakaristai*), and pipers (*souroulistai*). According to pseudo-Kodinos, musicians using “smaller instruments” were not part of the band. Horns, trumpets, and cymbals—played singly or in concert—were used in battles (*Strat.Maurik.* 2.17; Nik.Chon. 381.31–32), as were *tympana* (Leo Diac. 24.17, 36.6).

Both the repertory and construction technique of Byz. musical instruments were heavily based on ancient tradition, although some innovations were made under Eastern and/or Western influence, such as use of drums and bowed string instruments. One of the most imposing instruments was the ORGAN.

Actual examples of Byz. musical instruments are extremely rare. In Corinth the wooden body of a lyre (10th or 11th C.) has been discovered; the bowl would have been covered by a sound-

board (of leather or wood), on which strings would be fastened; neither has survived (Ph. Anogeianakes, *DChAE* 3<sup>4</sup> [1962/3] 115–25).

LIT. S. Karakases, *Hellenika mousika organa* (Athens 1970) 42–81. W. Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing and the Development of Bowed Instruments* (London 1969) 34–40. J. Braun, “Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated MSS,” *Early Music* 8 (1980) 312–27. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:239–44. —D.E.C., A.K.

**MUSICIANS** (μουσικοί). While vocal music and SINGERS were sponsored and encouraged in ecclesiastical circles, instrumental musicians in Byz. were accorded little recognition. Indeed, most references to instrumental music-making in the early period condemn the practice. Rhetorical outbursts by church fathers, such as John Chrysostom (“Where *aulos* players are, there Christ is not,” PG 62:389.52–53), were strengthened by strict ecclesiastical legislation. Legal tradition denied baptism to *aulos* and *kithara* players unless they renounced their trade (APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS 8:2.9; Epiphanius of Salamis, PG 42:832A), and a 4th-C. Alexandrian law set excommunication as the penalty for a cantor who learned to play the *kithara*. This vehemence against instrumental musicians is primarily explained by the association of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS with sexual license, luxurious banquets, and the immorality of the THEATER (J. McKinnon, *Current Musicology* 1 [1965] 69–82). Nothing more is known about the social status of musicians and no names of players have been preserved. Descriptions of musical performances at receptions and processions in the writings of Constantine VII and pseudo-Kodinos (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS) suggest that, in later periods, musicians were given certain official duties, though nothing about their training or the scope of their activities is known. In the dialogue ANACHARSIS (218–25), the art of instrumental performance is considered a feature of noble breeding. Finally, while the folk music tradition must have been vigorous, no source describes the musician’s role in it. The most interesting representations of Byz. musicians are on the medallions of the silver vase from Berezovo (in the Urals), now in the Hermitage (Inv. ω 3) (V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* [Moscow 1975] nos.117–33).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 91–97.

—D.E.C.

**MUTANABBĪ, AL-**, more fully Abū-al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī, Arab poet and warrior; born Kūfa 915, died Iraq 965. He joined the entourage of SAYF AL-DAWLA at Aleppo from 948 to 957, and accompanied the ḤAMDĀNID ruler on most expeditions, including the almost annual campaigns into Byz. territory between 950 and 957. Thereafter, court intrigue forced him to leave Aleppo, and his unfulfilled ambition to become governor of some province led him to the courts of Egypt and Persia. He was killed by marauders on his way to Baghdad.

His odes on Sayf al-Dawla’s war against Byz., besides their artistry, are valuable historical documents. Of his almost 300 known poems, about 20, some fairly long, are devoted to Sayf’s Byz. campaigns, and two or three refer to Byz. envoys or otherwise bear on Byz.-Arab relations. Though containing poetic hyperbole, his poems, with historical notes by various commentators, provide valuable and often specific details of campaigns and their sequence of events, itineraries, toponymy, names of Byz. personages, actual battles, and the reactions of combatants, as with the battle of Adata (al-Ḥadath), 30 Oct. 954. In addition, he often throws light on the strength and weakness of Ḥamdānid war efforts and public relations, and supplements the reports of historians and other literary sources on the Byz.-Arab encounter.

ED. *Diwān al-Mutanabbī* [Collected Poems], with ‘Ukbarī’s Commentary, ed. M. Saqqa et al., 4 vols. (Cairo 1936; rp. 1971). Fr. tr. of extracts in Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:304–48.

LIT. M. Canard, “Mutanabbī et la guerre byzantino-arabe,” in *Al Mutanabbī* (Beirut 1936) 1–16. R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l’Hégire (X<sup>e</sup> siècle de J.-C.): Abou Ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī* (Paris 1935). Sezgin, *GAS* 2:484–97. —A.Sh.

**MUṬAṢIM** (Μουτᾶσῆς in the story of FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION), caliph of the ‘ABBĀSIDS (833–42); born between 795 and 797, died 5 Jan. 842. He was the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Under his brother MA’MŪN, Muṭaṣim campaigned against Byz. in Asia Minor. After his accession in Aug. 833 he defeated the Khurramites, who fled to Theophilos with THEOPHOBOS. He sought peace with Byz., but Theophilos sacked Zapetra (reportedly Hārūn’s birthplace) in 837. In 838 Muṭaṣim led a great expedition into Asia Minor that defeated Theophilos at Dazimon on 22 July,



seized Ankyra, and on 12 Aug. captured AMORION (the birthplace of Theophilos's father, Michael II). Many captives were sold as slaves, but a group of murdered officers became celebrated in hagiography as the Forty-two Martyrs of Amorion.

LIT. J.B. Bury, "Mutasim's March through Cappadocia in A.D. 838," *JHS* 29 (1909) 120–29. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:124–90. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EJ* 3:785. —P.A.H.

**MUTILATION.** Like all bodily punishments, mutilation was economical to execute and in addition stigmatized the person punished without actually violating taboos against killing. It was so commonly used in late Roman criminal justice—which left the choice of PENALTY largely to the appropriate officials—that Justinian I was compelled to forbid its abuse (*Nov. Just.* 134.13), without entirely renouncing it. It became a crucial part of the penal system of the ECLOGA: in cases of major THEFT, counterfeiting, and the infliction of severe bodily harm, the culprit's hand was cut off; in cases of perjury, the tongue. For sacrilege the punishment was BLINDING; for BESTIALITY, castration; for ADULTERY, cutting off the nose. Many of these punishments more or less reflected the nature of the offense. In the 7th C. mutilation was widely used in political struggles to prevent a possible usurper from seizing the throne; the case of Justinian II shows, however, that this preventive measure was not always successful. In the case of saints, mutilation of the body, whether voluntary or inflicted by persecutors, might actually have served to sanctify it. In certain cases the wealthy were fined for crimes for which the poor were given corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was also applied as an administrative measure—for refusal to pay taxes or violation of trade regulations.

Mutilation is in obvious discord with Christian morality. Some scholars, however, considered its application as a humanitarian act allegedly substituting for the capital punishment of pagan Roman law.

LIT. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht* 18–22. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et le blason pénal du corps," *Sodalitas* 6 (Rome 1984) 405–26. —A.K.

**MYLASA AND MELANOUDION** (Μυλά(σ)σα, Μελανούδιον), theme of southwestern Asia Minor first attested in 1143 as the theme of Mylasa.

Under Manuel I, when it replaced the parts of KIBYRRHAIOTAI still under Byz. control, it received the name Mylasa and Melanoudion. It also comprised the region of MILETOS. The theme, commanded by a *doux*, is frequently mentioned in the documents of the LEMBIOTISSA MONASTERY; it survived until Byz. rule in the area ended in the late 13th C. In 1259, Theodore Kalothetos was *doux* of Mylasa as well as THRAKESION (Ahrweiler, *infra* 146f). The theme was well defended; it preserves the remains of numerous Byz. fortresses (W. Müller-Wiener, *IstMitt* 11 [1961] 8–24), notable among them the walls of Melanoudion, ancient Heracleia *ad Latmum*, which date to the 13th C., and the fortified monasteries of LATROS. The town of Mylasa, now Milas, contains no significant Byz. remains.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 127–30.

—C.F.

**MYRA** (Μύρα, now Demre), metropolis of LYCIA. Myra flourished in late antiquity: walls were constructed under Marcian (*AnthGr*, bk.15, no.2), and the whole city was rebuilt by Justinian I after the earthquake of 529. Although the civic monuments of Myra are poorly known, remains of its port, Andriake, indicate substantial growth in the 6th C. Myra was subject to often devastating Arab raids during the 7th–8th C. Building activity in city and port indicate recovery in the 11th C., interrupted by Turkish and Latin attacks, then yielding to desolation and Turkish conquest in the late 12th C. Myra's major monument, the Church of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA, was a cross-domed basilica built over the ruins of a Justinianic church, perhaps in the 8th C. During the 11th–12th C., when it was an important pilgrimage center, it was redecorated and enlarged. The fortress on the acropolis shows two periods, probably of the 7th–8th and 12th C. The region of Myra contains numerous stone churches (notably the monastery of Holy SION), chapels, and entire villages that indicate considerable prosperity in the 6th C. and general decline or abandonment thereafter.

LIT. J. Borchhardt, *Myra* (Berlin 1975). R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 117–51. —C.F.

**MYRELAION, MONASTERY OF** (Bodrum Camii), located west of the Forum Tauri in Constantinople (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF).

The origins of Myrelaion (Μυρέλαιον), allegedly named after an icon of the Virgin that exuded myrrh, are obscure. Before 920 it came into the possession of ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, who either built or acquired a mansion constructed over the remains of a vast 5th-C. rotunda (R. Naumann, *IstMitt* 16 [1966] 199–216). Romanos added a church (probably between 920 and 922) and converted the complex into a nunnery; he himself and several members of his family were buried there, contrary to the practice of previous emperors, who were buried at the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES. Endowed with estates in Asia Minor and Greece, the Myrelaion convent housed several illustrious inmates, including the wife and daughter of Isaac I. By 1315 it had evidently been converted into a male monastery (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, no.10.106–07). It is last mentioned in Byz. sources in 1400.

Constructed entirely of brick, the Myrelaion church is a cross-in-square structure built over a lower story so as to bring it to the same level as the mansion. In the Palaiologan period the substructure of the church was used for burials. Myrelaion was transformed into a mosque, probably under Bayezid II (1481–1512), and took its name, Bodrum Camii ("cellar mosque"), from the substructure of the church. Badly restored in 1964–65, Myrelaion was recently refurbished for use as a mosque.

LIT. C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton 1981). D. Talbot Rice, "Excavations at Bodrum Camii," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 151–74. Janin, *Églises CP* 351–54. —C.M., A.M.T.

**MYREPSOS.** See PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS.

**MYREPSOS, NICHOLAS**, probably the author of a late Byz. compilation of pharmaceutical recipes, collected into a work called the *Dynameron* and attributed to "Nicholas." Nicholas Myrepsos (Μυρεψός, lit. "preparer of unguents") has been traditionally identified with the Nicholas who was chief physician (AKTOUARIOS) at the court of JOHN III VATATZES in 1241 (Akrop. 63.13–15). Modeled after the much more modest *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of Salerno (just under 150 recipes), the *Dynameron* has 2,656 recipes, arranged in 48 classes based on pharmaceutical properties; of particular

interest are the 87 *kollyria*, "eye salves" (E. Savage-Smith, *DOP* 38 [1984] 183f), 51 enemas, 98 ointments, 12 recipes for narcotics, and 15 recipes for powders and salves to repel insects. As in the *Properties of Foods* by Symeon SETH, one observes Arabic influence in the *Dynameron*: musk, camphor, and senna are mentioned frequently. This text became the major source of Byz. pharmacy and PHARMACOLOGY available in western Europe; Nicholas of Reggio translated it into Latin (14th C.). A copy of the *Dynameron*, together with botanical and astrological texts, was completed in Aug. 1339 by the priest Kosmas Kamelos, exarch of the metropolitan of Athens, for the physician Demetrios Chloras (Paris, B.N. gr. 2243). Its miniatures include a doctor holding a vial, his patient on crutches, a pharmacist and an assistant mixing drugs (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.251, fig.451).

ED. Lat. tr. only—*Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadraginta octo digestum*, ed. L. Fuchs (Basel 1549).

LIT. P.G. Kritikos and S.N. Papadaki, "Contribution à l'histoire de la pharmacie chez les Byzantins," *Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie e.V.* n.s. 32 (1969) 19f, 58f. F. Held, *Nikolaos Salernitanus und Nikolaos Myrepsos* (Leipzig 1916). *PLP*, no.19865. —J.S., A.C.

**MYRIOBIBLION.** See BIBLIOTHECA.

**MYRIOKEPHALON** (Μυριοκέφαλον), site in Phrygia east of CHOMA that gave its name to a battle of 17 Sept. 1176 between Byz. and the Seljuks. After strengthening the frontier by re-fortifying DORYLAION and Soublaion (see CHOMA), Manuel I Komnenos decided to break the power of KILIC ARSLAN I. He set out with a huge army in the summer of 1176, marching past Laodikeia, Chonai, Choma, and the ruined fortress of Myriocephalon. The sultan, whose offer of peace had been rejected, occupied the long and narrow pass of Tzibritze on the route of the Byz. army. Meanwhile he sent irregular troops to harass the Byz. forces and scorched the earth before them. When Manuel and the army entered the pass on 17 Sept., they were overwhelmed by the Turks, who descended from the heights and inflicted such catastrophic losses that Manuel contemplated abandoning the army in secret flight. Since Turkish losses were also considerable, the sultan made peace, demanding only that Manuel's new fortifications be dismantled. The battle was de-

scribed in detail by Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 178–191), who blamed the emperor for the defeat, and by Manuel himself in a letter to the English king Henry II. Manuel's account tried to soften the effect of the disaster, which had shaken the West and allowed Frederick Barbarossa to assume an insolent position toward the weak "king of the Greeks."

In the last years of his reign, however, Manuel I managed to improve the situation: he did not dismantle Dorylaion (as he had promised after the battle), and he successfully repelled Turkish attacks such as that against the city of Klaudioupolis (P. Wirth, *BZ* 50 [1957] 68–73). Nonetheless, the battle had decisive effects: Byz. plans to gain supremacy over the Seljuks were abandoned; the frontier was seriously weakened (Dorylaion and KOTYAIION, its major bastions, were in Turkish hands by 1182); and the whole area was exposed to raids and nomadic occupations that made it Turkish by the end of the century. The battle is incorrectly named, for it was fought not at Myriokephalon but in the pass of Tzibritze, whose location has been established north of Lake Eğirdir in Pisidia.

LIT. E. Eickhoff, "Der Ort der Schlacht von Myriokephalon," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol. 2 (Ankara 1982) 679–87. A. Vasiliev, "Manuel Comnenus and Henry Plantagenet," *BZ* 29 (1929–30) 238–44. —C.F.

**MYRROPHOROI** (μυροφόροι, lit. "unguent-bearers"), a term sometimes applied to the half-dozen women who placed themselves at the service of Christ (cf. *Synax.CP* 789.7–18) but more usually confined to the women who brought spices to Christ's tomb on Easter morning. According to Matthew 28:1–9, Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James, came to look at Jesus' grave. The resurrected Christ met them and greeted them saying *Chairete*, and they clasped his feet, falling prostrate before him. In art, the Myrrophoroi are depicted most often at the empty tomb. In Early Christian art, the tomb is usually shown as a round structure recalling the rotunda of the Anastasis at the Holy SEPULCHRE, and there may be two women (Mt 28:1–7; SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY) or three (Mk 16:1–10; Baptistery at DURA EUROPOS). Thereafter, except in rare instances illustrating John 20:1–2, there are but two. The round tomb is replaced after the 8th C. by a cave: the angel sits on a stony block before

it, often with soldiers at his feet and grave clothes visible in the entryway, while the women huddle at the left. Sometimes one woman turns to flee, suggesting the vivid emotions found in the description by Nicholas MESARITES of a mosaic in the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The Myrrophoroi appear in certain other scenes: sitting mourning on the ground beside Christ's sarcophagus, prostrate before the risen Christ, or—very rarely—in the scene of Christ's encounter with MARY MAGDALENE in the garden. (See also APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION.)

LIT. Millet, *Recherches* 517–54.

—A.W.C.

**MYRTAÏTES** (μυρταίτης), an enigmatic office or title mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-KODINOS: the *myrtaïtes* occupied a low rank on the hierarchical ladder, between the *sebastos* and *prokathemenoi* of towns, whereas the *me-gas myrtaïtes* followed the *domestikos* of the Western themes; their functions are not defined. The *myrtaïtes* is rarely mentioned in other sources: the *myrtaïtes* George Doukopoulos probably signed an act of donation of 1311 (*Docheiar.*, p.117); in 1328 Maria, wife of the *myrtaïtes* George Prokopios, concluded an agreement with the monks of Hilarandar (*Chil.*, no.117); MAZARIS twice refers to wise statements of a certain *myrtaïtes* Andronikos (ed. A. Smithies [1975] pp. 10.14, 26.3) who died before 1414.

LIT. Guillard, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 148f.

—A.K.

**MYSTAGOGIA.** See COMMENTARIES.

**MYSTERION** (μυστήριον), term used to designate any of a number of secret cults of Greco-Roman antiquity, such as the Eleusinian mysteries, MITHRAISM, and veneration of Isis. Enormously varied, *mysteria* included three major features: worship of the divine Mother Earth (as Demeter at Eleusis), the tendency to replace rigid dogma with the "religion of sentiment," and the search for salvation. Even though rooted in primitive and oriental cults, later mystery religions formed an atmosphere in which early Christianity developed. The notable similarities between Christianity and the mysteries were early recognized and indignantly rejected by early Christian authors: Tertullian accused *mysteria* of imitating Christianity. A more

sophisticated position was taken by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who summoned believers to join the new mysteries of the Logos. Despite the difference between pagan secret cults and the Christian mysteries of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Salvation, the terminology of mysteries, as used by the church fathers, esp. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, served to describe the ineffability of God and the salutary interventions of God in history. This terminology was applied to LITURGY ("frightful mystery"), SACRAMENTS, and revelation, and permeated Christian symbolism with its images of the mysteries of the cross (esp. exalted in the apocryphal Acts of the apostle Andrew), of BAPTISM, of the symbolic presentation of Christ as HELIOS and the Church as Selene, the moon.

LIT. H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zurich 1945) 21–224. M.J. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity* (St. Louis 1946).

—A.K.

**MYSTICISM** in Byz. is a notion of immediate experience or intuitive knowledge of the divine that surpasses rational, logical perception and knowledge as well as "normal" religious consciousness. Apart from the title *Mystical Theology* and formulas derived therefrom in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, the term *mystikos*, in contrast to the Western tradition, is not used as a technical term in the East. In ORIGEN (*In Johannem* 1,30.29), the Cappadocians, and later church fathers, however, it occurs in the context of apophatic theology, and its attainment is seen as an intellectual or "ecstatic" act. The reference point of the Byz. mystic was intellectual "vision" attained through pure prayer by mature individuals (*monachos*, *monotropos*) who have surpassed the two stages of practice and contemplation (*theoria physike*). This is exemplified in EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS whose influence on monastic spirituality, particularly in the tradition of Sinai, persisted in spite of his condemnation as an Origenist and his intellectualism, which contrasted with the Areopagite's "mystical theology," involving ecstatic union granted through grace. These facts are firmly rooted in the synthesis of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, which integrated the Evagrian "movement out of the world and out of the self" (*ekdemia*) with the ecstatic experience of the Areopagite.

In the 11th C., with SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN,

a new element comes to the fore in the history of Byz. mysticism. Following DIADOCHOS OF PHOTIKE and JOHN KLIMAX, Symeon developed the doctrine that divine activity can be spiritually and sensually perceived; without experience and feeling, the mental and spiritual life dies. What had been casually treated by his predecessors became for Symeon the basis of his spirituality. This spirituality prevailed on Athos in the 14th C. owing to the influence of GREGORY SINAITES and led in HESYCHASM to the belief that "vision" or "mysticism" can be learned by everyone; it also resulted (in contrast to tradition) in a high esteem for the visionary elements, esp. of certain experiences of light, attainable through concentration and breathing techniques. From the time of Symeon onward, particularly in texts on the hesychastic "method of prayer," meditation receives scant attention, but in the sacramental mysticism of Nicholas KABASILAS it finds its appropriate place once again.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 114–38. V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London 1957). J.M. Rist, "Mysticism and Transcendence in Later Neoplatonism," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 213–25. Beck, *Jahrtausend* 192–203. J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1944). J. Vanneste, *Le mystère de Dieu: Essai sur la structure rationnelle de la doctrine mystique du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite* (Paris 1959). H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. Paris 1978). —K.-H.U.

**MYSTIKOS** (μυστικός, lit. "secret, private"), high-ranking functionary. The office is known from the second half of the 9th C., when Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES was *mystikos* of Basil I (G. Kolias, *Léon Choïrosphactès* [Athens 1939] 127.96). Dölger (*Diplomatik* 64) considered the *mystikos* as a secretary for the emperor's private correspondence, whereas Oikonomides (*Listes* 324) viewed the *mystikos* as a judicial official; in any case, the *mystikos* was very close to the emperor and could also carry out the duties of *protasekretis*, judge, and chief of the imperial KOITON. Known *mystikoi* include several well-educated people such as the future patriarch NICHOLAS [I] MYSTIKOS and Theodore DAPHNOPATES. The office existed until the 15th C.

The term served as a basis for the formation of the names of additional offices: in 1057 the *protomystikos* John Xeros was assigned to preside over a legal case (*Pantel.*, no.5.8); the terms *mystographos*



and *mystolektes* are often found on seals. The *mystographos*, who follows the *mystikos* in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial, may have been the assistant of the *mystikos*; he also fulfilled notarial and judicial duties. First mentioned in an inscription of 911/12 (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.302), this office seems to have disappeared after 1100. Among *mystographoi* there were also scholars such as John MAUROPOUS. *Mystolektai*, known primarily from seals of the 11th–12th C., served also as courtiers (*primikerios* and *koitonites*), notaries, and judges.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: Le mystique ho mystikos," *REB* 26 (1968) 279–96. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:50–76. P. Magdalino, "The Not-So-Secret Functions of the Mystikos," *REB* 42 (1984) 229–40. —A.K.

**MYTILENE.** See LESBOS.

**MYTILENE TREASURE**, dated to the 7th C. and found in 1951 at Krategos, on the island of

Lesbos, 8 km south of Mytilene. Now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, the treasure is an example of domestic silver PLATE made up as a set, unlike the First and Second CYPRUS TREASURES and the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, which were formed over several generations of owners. The Mytilene Treasure is composed of 17 silver objects (four plates, two TRULLAE, a ewer, a lampstand, a lamp, eight spoons), 21 pieces of gold jewelry, a bronze stamp with two monograms, 32 gold coins of Phokas and Herakleios, and bronze coins of 565–610. Except for the spoons, the vessels all bear SILVER STAMPS of 605–630. Although occasionally described as LITURGICAL VESSELS, the large naked APHRODITE on one *trulla* handle is sufficient to indicate a profane use for the whole treasure, given the homogeneity of craftsmanship and date.

LIT. A.K. Vavritsas, "Anaskaphe Krategou Mytilenes," *PraktArchEt* (1954) 317–29. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 32, 40–43, 48–50. —M.M.M.

N

**NABLUS.** See NEAPOLIS.

**NAG HAMMADI**, site near the Nile north of Luxor where a collection of Coptic MSS produced in the 4th C. was discovered in 1945. The MSS are now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The collection consists of 52 tractates in 12 papyrus codices plus part of a thirteenth. The book covers were stiffened with papyrus letters and documents, some dated, and these indicate that the collection was buried ca.400. All tractates were translated from Greek into Coptic. Gnostic thought, Hermetic and popular philosophy, and orthodox Christian devotion are represented in the collection.

The collection constitutes the most important single source for the study of Gnosticism without the filter of Christian heresiologists. The burial of the MSS close to an important monastic center (Pbow, the monastery of PACHOMIOS) may also illuminate the mixture of orthodox and heterodox belief in early monasticism. Wisse (*infra*) has argued that the common thread in the tractates is a belief in ASCETICISM as the highest expression of religious faith.

ED. *Nag Hammadi Studies* (Leiden 1971–). *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*<sup>3</sup> (San Francisco–Leiden 1988).

LIT. J.M. Robinson, "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Stories of the Discoverers and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi*, vol. 1 (Quebec 1981) 21–58. F. Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt," in *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas*, ed. B. Aland (Göttingen 1978) 431–40. C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi X," *JbAChr* 25 (1982) 65–101. —J.A.T.

**NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS** (now Sinnicolau Mare, Rumania, close to the Tisza and Maros rivers), a place where in 1799 a treasure of 23 gold vessels (jugs, bowls, etc.) ornamented with reliefs was found; the objects are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Both the original provenance (Avar, Bulgarian, Hungarian?) and the date (700–900?: Z. Kadar, *Folia Archaeologica* 13 [1961]

117–28) of this domestic PLATE are debated; the pieces probably came from different workshops. Traces of the Greek world are few: scenes probably from Greek mythology (e.g., Zeus carrying off Ganymede) on two jugs; Christian symbols (the cross) on several bowls; Greek inscriptions; and a Turkic inscription in Greek letters. Byz. techniques such as granulation, filigree, and niello are absent.

LIT. Gy. László, I. Rácz, *The Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós* (Budapest 1984). A. Alföldi, "Études sur le trésor de Nagyszentmiklós," *CahArch* 5 (1951) 123–49; 6 (1952) 43–53; 7 (1954) 61–67. K. Horedt, "Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Probleme und Ergebnisse," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich–Berlin 1987) 11–26. —A.K., A.C.

**NAISSUS** (Νάισος, Serb. Niš), Roman city on the river Nišava, near modern Niš in southeastern Yugoslavia. In describing Naissus, Priskos of Panion considered it a *polis* of Illyria, while under Justinian I the city belonged to *Dacia mediterranea*. Constantine I often stayed in Naissus and adorned it with many buildings. In the mid-4th C. it was an important center in the imperial power struggle: in 350 the *magister peditum* Vetranio was proclaimed emperor in Naissus, and in 361 Julian briefly stopped there before his march on Constantinople. In 441 the Huns destroyed the city. Justinian I allegedly restored Naissus, but it was seized and ravaged by the Avars. According to numismatic evidence, the city fell to the Avars ca.613/14 (V. Popović, *CRAI* [1980] 248). At Jagodina mala, near Niš, a necropolis of the 4th–5th C., containing hundreds of tombs with sarcophagi and inscriptions, and a basilica have been found.

In the medieval period, the city is called Nais(s)os or Nisos (e.g., in Niketas Choniates). In donations of Basil II, it is termed a Bulgarian bishopric. In 1072 CONSTANTINE BODIN made the city the center of his anti-Byz. struggle. Located on important routes leading to Hungary and to Serbia, Naisos was "rich and populous" in the 12th C. (Kinn.

204.17); al-Idrīsī describes it as a city rich in agricultural products. Anna Komnene refers to the city as the capital of a theme, while Kinnamos states that it was the center of the *doukaton* of Naisos and BRANIČEVO (Kinn. 124.21). Manuel I Komnenos brought the arm of the martyr Prokopios to the city from Sirmium. Under Manuel, Naisos was the operational center in wars against the Hungarians and esp. the Serbs. Stefan Nemanja planned to make the city, now called Niš, his capital, and in 1202 his son Vukan ruled in the region of Niš.

After 1204 Niš was on the frontier between Bulgaria and Serbia and changed hands several times. It was acquired by the Serbs after their victory at VELBUŽD in 1330. From the end of the 14th C. Niš became the object of Turkish attacks—they occupied and plundered it in 1386 and in 1428. In Jan. 1444 HUNYADI routed the Turks at the walls of Niš, but his victory was negated by his subsequent defeat at Varna.

LIT. J. Kalić, "Niš u srednjem veku," *Istorijski časopis* 31 (1984) 5–40. M. Fluss, *RE* 16 (1935) 1589–99. *Tabula imperii Romani. Naissus* (Ljubljana 1976) 89f. Lj. Zotović, "Izvestaj sa iskopovanja kasnoantičke nekropole u Nišu," *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1961) 171–75. V. Laurent, "Une métropole serbe éphémère sur le rôle du Patriarcat oecuménique: Nisos-Niš au temps d'Isaac II Ange," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 43–56. L. Mirković, "Starohrišćanska grobnica u Nišu," *Starinar* n.s. 5/6 (1954–55) 53–72. —A.K.

**NAJRĀN**, major caravan city in western Arabia that mediated trade between South Arabia and the Mediterranean. The christianization of Najrān in the 5th C. drew it spiritually into the orbit of Byz., and Monophysite Christianity finally prevailed in the city; a Monophysite bishop is attested in the early 6th C. Around 520 the Ḥimyarite king Yūsuf persecuted the city, but a Byz.-Axumite military expedition avenged ARETHAS and the other martyrs of Najrān and made South Arabia a Christian country for some 50 years. The city's *martyrion* was an important place of pilgrimage. The rise of Islam signaled the decline of Najrān. Around 630 a deputation of Najrānites came to Muḥammad at Medina and concluded a treaty, which left them free to practice their Christianity but made them pay tribute. Later, the caliph 'Umar ordered the Najrānites to evacuate their city; most of them settled in Syria and Iraq.

LIT. L. Massignon, *Opera Minora* (Beirut 1963) 1:550–72. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 30 (1979) 24–94. —I.A.Sh.

**NAKOLEIA** (Νακώλεια, mod. Seyit Gazi), an ancient and medieval city in the highlands of PHRYGIA. The river Parthenios (mod. Seyit Su) made the area fertile, and it is plausible that in the 3rd C. there were imperial estates nearby (C.H.E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, vol. 1 [Princeton, N.J., 1971] 185). The city played an important political role in the 4th C.: in 366 Valens defeated the usurper PROKOPIOS at Nakoleia and forced him to take refuge in the woods (the area was later deforested); in 399 Nakoleia was the center of the revolt of TRIBIGILD. In 782 the *kastron* of Nakoleia was temporarily seized by the Arabs (Theoph. 456.5–22).

Constantine, bishop of Nakoleia, was one of the initiators of Iconoclasm in the reign of Leo III. Soon thereafter, Nakoleia was evidently elevated to the rank of archbishopric—it has this status in the notitia of Nicholas I Mystikos (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.82). A metropolitan of Nakoleia is listed among the participants in the council of 1066 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.896) but is in last place among the metropolitans. As a metropolis without suffragans, Nakoleia existed through the 14th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.19.86).

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 16 (1935) 1600–04. Gero, *Leo III* 85, n.5. —A.K.

**NAMAAN** (Νααμάνης, Ar. al-Nu'mān), 6th-C. GHASSĀNID king, the son and successor of ALAMUNDARUS; not to be confused with the last Lakhmid king, al-Nu'mān (580–602). In 582, after the exile of Alamundarus, four of his sons, the eldest of whom was Namaan, revolted and ravaged imperial territory. Emp. Maurice attempted to install a brother of Alamundarus in the phylarchate, but the candidate died almost immediately. Maurice tried to persuade Namaan to renounce Monophysitism and resume the war against the Persians, offering to recall his father from exile in return. Upon Namaan's refusal to change his doctrinal position, Maurice ordered his arrest and had him join his father in Sicilian exile. When news of Namaan's misfortune reached the Arab *foederati*, they divided into 15 groups, each under

a PHYLARCH, and some even joined the Persians. Thus, religious sectarianism finally brought about the downfall of the Ghassānids and destroyed the effectiveness of the defense system in the East.

LIT. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 256–59. —I.A.Sh.

**NAMES, FAMILY.** See PROSOPOGRAPHY.

**NAMES, PERSONAL.** A rough division can be made into three categories: family names (patronymics), given or baptismal names, and monastic names. In the late Roman period the ancient custom of accepting a kinship name (*nomen gentile*), such as Aelius or Flavius, survived. However, this tradition was sharply criticized by Christian writers: John Chrysostom (*Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*, ed. A.M. Malingrey [Paris 1972] 146.648–53) urged Christians to give their children the names of saints, rather than of ancestors. I. Kajanto (in *L'onomastique latine* [Paris 1977] 419–28) has demonstrated that after the 4th C. the *nomen gentile* disappeared from inscriptions (with the exception of some areas in Africa). Family names are absent in Theophanes the Confessor and are exceptionally rare on seals of the 8th–10th C. (A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 52f). A few names of aristocratic LINEAGES (e.g., SKLEROS, DOUKAS) are known from the 9th C., but as a typical phenomenon they appear only after 1000. The inheritance of family names was never strictly established and children could bear not only their mother's patronymic, but also that of their maternal grandmother; in some noble families brothers might each bear a different family name.

From the period of the 11th–12th C. we know primarily the family names of the ruling lineages. They can be divided into two groups: the military aristocracy and the civil nobility. The family name of military aristocrats often originated from relatively obscure toponyms (villages, fortresses) in Asia Minor and Syria (BOTANEIATES, ARBANTENOS, DALASSENOS, DOKEIANOS, etc.), whereas among the civil nobility we encounter names derived from trade professions (PANTECHNES), quarters of Constantinople (AKROPOLITES, MAKREMBOLITES), provincial towns (CHONIATES), and monasteries (Manouelites). Also typical of this group are names emphasizing positive qualities, such as Aoinos ("drinking no wine"), Kaloethes

("of good character"), or Eirenikos ("peaceful"), as if the nobility of second rank tried to compensate itself. Peasant names are preserved mostly in PRAKTIKA of the 14th C. from Macedonia (A. Laiou, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 71–95). Sometimes commoners assumed pompous names, such as Komnenos or Synadenos, probably reflecting their (former?) links of dependency. Usually, however, their names differed from those of noble lineages: some have a Slavic or Vlach origin, some are derived from crafts (Chalkeus, "smith"; Raptēs, "tailor"; etc.).

It is not always possible to draw a line between the given and family name, since some given names (both foreign and native) were transformed into family names (e.g., Roger, ROGERIOS). In the earlier period the distinction between the given name and the *nomen gentile* appeared blurred. In any case, in the 4th C. old names were frequent—among the most popular names in Ammianus Marcellinus are Claudius, Florentius, Severus, Ioulianus, Marcellus, Maurus, Maximus, and Sallustius; only one name, EUSEBIOS, can be interpreted as Christian. The situation changed by the time of Prokopios of Caesarea, in whom the most frequent names are JOHN, THEODORE, PAUL, Theodosios, PETER, LEONTIOS, and Alexander. In the late Roman period, given names were primarily of biblical origin or indicated piety or other virtues—esp. Eusebios, but also Akakios, Euphemia, or Theodore. In subsequent centuries, however, few biblical and "virtuous" names of the late Roman period remained popular; John and Theodore were the most striking exceptions, while Eusebios, Paul, and Peter lost their popularity. The names of other apostles (Luke, Andrew, Matthew, Thomas, etc.), were never frequently used.

On the other hand, the group of "imperial" names grew more and more fashionable: BASIL and LEO—imperial by etymology—as well as CONSTANTINE and later ROMANOS, ALEXIOS, and MANUEL. The names GEORGE and DEMETRIOS were probably used on a more "democratic" level; in any case, in vols. 2–3 of the acts of *Lavra* (13th–15th C.) John, George, and Demetrios are the most frequent names. Among feminine names (the number of registered cases is much lower, and therefore conclusions even more difficult) MARIA became the most popular, probably after the 9th C. The formation of new names contin-



ued—the feminine name KALE became fashionable in the late centuries; also several feminine names ending with the letter *omega* (Ioanno, Leonto, etc.) were introduced. Among masculine names, later formations such as Xenos, Peros, Stamates, Stanos, Panagiotes, and Straboioannes never became very popular.

Pachymeres (ed. Bekker 2:276f) describes a procedure for selecting the name for a newborn baby. Andronikos II already had several sons when a daughter was born to him. A group of experienced and pious women were delegated to choose the most appropriate and protective name. They set out the icons of the twelve apostles and lit candles of equal size in front of each. Since the candle of the apostle Simon burned longer than others, the girl was christened SIMONIS, a very rare name.

Certain families favored specific given names: the KONTOSTEPHANOI liked Stephen, Alexios was esp. popular with the KOMNENOI, Michael with the BOURTZES family, etc. It is unclear, however, whether the baptismal name was transferred from grandfather to grandson or from uncle to nephew, or whether there was no strict rule of transmission.

Assumption of the monastic habit was accompanied by the alteration of names. Usually the monastic name began with the same letter as the baptismal name, for example, Andronikos II Palaiologos assumed the monastic name Antony. However, this principle was not mandatory: Constantine PSELLOS became the monk Michael. It is quite plausible to suggest that many names were used almost exclusively as monks' names, at least in the later centuries; thus in *Lavra*, vols. 1–3, Bartolomaios, Gabriel, Gerasimos, Dionysios, Isaias, Theodoulos, Iakobos, Ioannikios, Leontios, Makarios, Meletios, Nikodemos, Niphon, and Sabas are names limited to monks. Some early emperors changed their names at the time of their coronation to a more imperial name (e.g., Artemios became ANASTASIOS II). It was also customary for foreign princesses to take new Greek and Orthodox names when they married Byz. emperors; examples are BERTHA OF SULZBACH and Adelaide of Brunswick (wife of Andronikos III), both of whom became IRENE.

LIT. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme einer byzantinischen Prosopographie des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts," *BBA* 51 (1983) 121–29. E. Trapp, "Probleme der Prosopographie der

Palaiologenzeit," *JÖB* 27 (1978) 181–201. E. Patlagean, "Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IXe-Xe siècles," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 23–43. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 185–96. H. Hunger, "Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in iambischen Synaxarversen," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 1–26. —A.K.

**NAOS** (ναός, lit. "temple"), a church, strictly speaking the core of a Byz. church; it was commonly domed. From the symbolic point of view, the naos was the earthly embodiment of the Christian universe. Functionally, the naos was the area where the congregation assembled for services and where sermons were delivered from the AMBO. Though descended from the nave of 4th- through 6th-C. basilicas, the naos is distinguished from it by its form, function, symbolism, and CHURCH PROGRAM OF DECORATION. The naos is frequently preceded by a NARTHEX and separated from the BEMA by a TEMPLON screen. It was often flanked by subsidiary spaces such as aisles, ambulatories, or lateral CHAPELS.

LIT. K.E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol," *DOP* 37 (1983) 91–121. K. Kallinikos, *Ho christianikos naos kai ta teloumena en auto*<sup>3</sup> (Athens 1969). Mathews, *Early Churches* 117–25. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. —S.C.

**NAPLES** (Νεάπολις), from antiquity a city and port in CAMPANIA. It apparently remained prosperous in the 4th and 5th C. (J. d'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* [Cambridge 1970] 116–64). Constantine I repaired both the forum and aqueduct; Valentinian III built a new system of fortifications in 440, when the city center evidently shifted to the northeast, away from the sea. In the mid-5th C. Bp. Nostrianus built a bath bearing his name that was still standing in the 9th C. In the same period Bp. Vincentius added a dining hall (*accubitus*) to the episcopal palace. On the other hand, imports to Naples from the Near East and Africa declined during the later 5th and 6th C.

Naples suffered during the Gothic war of Justinian I. In Nov. 536 Belisarios captured and sacked the city; subsequently it was besieged by Totila and surrendered in 543. After Narses' victory over Teia (end of 552), Naples and its region came under the control of Constantinople. The city was threatened by the Lombards, who appeared at its walls in 581 but could not capture

it. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.* 27.49), Naples, as well as Gaeta and Amalfi, escaped occupation by the Lombards. During this period, control of some of the city's secular buildings passed, at least temporarily, into the hands of the bishop: in 598 Pope GREGORY I (ep.9.76) wrote to the bishop of Naples ordering him to return control of the city gates and aqueduct (which was still functioning) to secular officials.

In the 7th–8th C. the administration of Naples underwent a militarization, the *iudex Campaniae* being replaced by the *dux*. Naples enjoyed autonomy without formally renouncing allegiance to Constantinople. The Neapolitan mint replaced the image of the emperor on its coins with that of the local saint Januarius, and in 763 the city acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome. The seals of 8th-C. archbishops of Naples have Latin, not Greek legends (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 918–19).

In 838 Naples concluded an alliance with the Arabs and assisted them in capturing Messina in 842/3. The Normans did not conquer Naples until 1139; the city played an important role in the Norman state, eventually becoming capital of the kingdom of Sicily.

Naples has several catacombs, the largest of which is S. Gennaro (St. Januarius) on Capodimonte, featuring a representative series of 3rd- through 10th-C. frescoes and mosaics rivaling those of Rome. The baptistery of the old Cathedral of S. Restituta, S. Giovanni in Fonte, is decorated with important mosaics that most scholars attribute to Bp. Soter (362–408).

LIT. *Storia di Napoli* 2.1–2 (Naples 1969). C. De Seta, *Storia della città di Napoli* (Rome-Bari 1973) 38–66. S. Borsari, "I domini bizantini a Napoli," *ParPass* 25–27 (1952) 358–69. A. Garzya, "Napoli e Bisanzio," *Colloqui* (Jan. 1976) 1–8. H. Achelis, *Die Bischofschronik von Neapel* (Leipzig 1930). P. Arthur, "Naples: Notes on the Economy of a Dark Age City," in *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 4.4 [BAR Int. Ser. 246] (Oxford 1985) 247–59. U.M. Fasola, *Le catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte* (Rome 1975). J.-L. Maier, *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques* (Fribourg 1964). —A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

**NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE.** Originally composed in Armenian ca.700, this text is known in its entirety only in a Greek translation made before the 11th C., the *Diegesis*. It describes from a pro-Chalcedonian viewpoint the relations

between the Armenian and Greek churches: the Council of NICAEA, the rejection of the Council of CHALCEDON by the Council of DUIN in 555, attempts at reunion in the 6th and 7th C., and their final failure. The 9th-C. Georgian *katholikos* Arsen used it in a work on the Armeno-Georgian schism. It was known to later Armenian writers, but the original (which does not represent the "official" Armenian position) has been lost.

ED. G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Louvain 1952). —R.T.

**NARRATIONES**, more fully *narrationes animae utiles* (διηγήσεις ψυχωφελείς), conventional designation of a subgenre of hagiographical literature. They originated in the eremitic milieu of the Egyptian desert, primarily among Coptic-speaking monks. J. Wortley (in *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* [Cambridge 1988] 313) estimates that 700–800 tales were produced between ca.375 and 650. Then there was a gap until the mid-10th C. when PAUL OF MONEMVASIA wrote a series of edifying stories. Some anonymous novelettes can also be included in this group, such as the story of Sergios, a *demotes* (member of a *demos*) in Alexandria (ed. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie* [Paris 1987] 125–37). The last stories of this genre were produced ca.1000.

LIT. G. Schirò, "Un significato sconosciuto di demotes," *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 7 (1965) 1006–16. —A.K., A.M.T.

**NARSAI OF EDESSA**, or Narses, Nestorian theologian; born region of Ma'alta, near Mosul, ca.399, died Nisibis? between 502 and 507. He was later called "the tongue of the Orient" and "the harp of the Holy Spirit." Narsai studied and taught in Edessa, but after the death of IBAS of Edessa (in 457) the climate in the city changed, and eventually (in 471?) he was driven out by hostility to his Nestorian views. He then took refuge in NISIBIS, where he taught in the "academy" at the invitation of its bishop BARSAMA. A Syriac catalog by 'ABDISHO' BAR BERIKĀ attributes to Narsai exegetic works on the Old Testament, a liturgical treatise, and 360 sermons in verses (*memre*). The authenticity of his exegetic and liturgical works is questionable, but of his *memre* more than 80 are known in Syriac (not all yet published). These sermons

treat biblical, liturgical, moral, and theological problems; one of them was devoted to great teachers—Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorios. The theology of Narsai is not original, being based primarily on THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA—his role was to compile and clarify the essence of Nestorian tenets. His work probably influenced KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and Nestorian writers of the 9th and 10th C.

ED. *Homélies de Narsai sur la création*, ed. P. Gignoux [PO 34] (Turnhout-Paris 1968) 415–716, with Fr. tr. *Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension*, ed. F.G. McLeod [PO 40] (Turnhout 1979) 3–193, with Eng. tr. *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, tr. R.H. Connolly (Cambridge 1909; rp. Nendeln [Liechtenstein] 1967). *Homiliae et carmina*, ed. A. Mingana (Mosul 1905).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (Louvain 1965) 57–121. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*<sup>2</sup> (Rome 1965) 115–18. —A.K., B.B.

**NARSES** (Ναρσῆς), general; born Persarmenia 480 (AGNELLUS, ch.95, but see Stein, *Histoire* 2:356) or 490 (A. Lippold, *infra* 870), died Rome 574. After early life at court, Narses, a eunuch, participated in the suppression of the NIKA REVOLT. As imperial commissioner to Alexandria, he removed and exiled Gaianos and restored his rival Theodosios as patriarch in 535. Justinian I promoted him to *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in 538 and sent him to Italy with a large army to vanquish the OSTROGOTHS. Rivalries with BELISARIOS permitted the Ostrogoths to retake Milan and resulted in the recall of Narses to Constantinople. In 545 he campaigned against the ANTAE in Thrace. Six years later he received supreme command of all Byz. forces in Italy. He brought to Italy another large army, which included Herulians he had recruited, fatally crushed TOTILA at BUSTA GAL-LORUM in 552, and pursued the retreating Ostrogoths and their new king TEIA south to Mons Lactarius, where he decisively defeated them and systematically reduced remaining Ostrogothic strongholds. In 553–54 Narses repulsed a Frankish-Alemannic invasion of Italy by the chieftains Leutharis and Butilinus. Narses occupied northern Italy, organized its defenses, and concluded operations against external foes by 562. In 566 he suppressed a Herulian rebellion. In 567 he was removed from military command, yet he probably remained in Italy until his death. Narses was diplomatically skillful, operationally and tac-

tically efficient, and, in religious sympathies, probably Monophysite.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:356–60, 599–616. A. Lippold, *RE* supp. 12 (1970) 870–89. —W.E.K.

**NARSES**, general; died Constantinople 605/6. After serving as commander at Constantina in 588, Narses was appointed by Emp. Maurice to lead the expedition to aid the restoration of CHOSROES II in 591 after the deposition of the previous Byz. commander, KOMENTIOLOS. Narses defeated the Persian rebel Bahram and remained *magister militum* of the East until Germanos replaced him in 600. Narses was military commander in Byz. Mesopotamia when Phokas overthrew Maurice. Narses revolted against Phokas in late 603, seized Edessa, and wrote to Chosroes II, encouraging him to open hostilities against Phokas. The relationship of Narses to the false THEODOSIOS, son of Maurice, is uncertain. It appears that there was no unanimity of support for Narses at Edessa: Severos, bishop of Edessa, opposed this rebellion and was therefore killed by mob action. Narses' revolt seriously embarrassed Phokas, who first sent Germanos against both Narses and the Persian forces of Chosroes II. After an initial Persian victory over Germanos, who perished, Phokas sent the eunuch Leontios against Narses, but he failed to quell the rebellion; Persian successes, however, caused Narses to flee to Hierapolis. Phokas replaced Leontios with his nephew Domentziolos, *kouropalates* and *magister militum* of the East, who successfully negotiated Narses' surrender on sworn promise of personal safety. Domentziolos handed Narses over to Phokas, who had him disgraced in the Hippodrome and burned alive.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 140f. Olster, "Politics of Usurpation," 188–90. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:59f. —W.E.K.

**NARSES**. See also NERSES.

**NARTHEX** (νάρθηξ), a vestibulelike space preceding the NAOS in a Byz. church. Functionally and formally distinct, the interior walls of the narthex were commonly embellished with a special decorative program. This often emphasized the funerary function of these spaces. From the 4th through 6th C. the narthex was a large oblong

hall in which the preparation of the liturgical entrances into the naos took place. After the 9th C. the narthex became proportionally reduced in size, but the number of its functions, including baptism and commemoration of the dead, increased. In the 13th and 14th C. the narthex was often the site of church councils. Not every Byz. church had a narthex, but it appears to have been a common feature. Occasionally a narthex was added to an existing church; in a limited number of cases a second narthex was added in front of the first, as in monastic churches from the 11th C. on (e.g., the south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople; the main church of the NEA MONE on Chios; the main church of HOSIOS LOUKAS). In such cases, in contrast to the exonarthex the inner narthex is referred to as the endonarthex or esonarthex.

LIT. C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973). Mathews, *Early Churches* 138–52. N.B. Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 143–48. S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *ZRV* 13 (1971) 333–44. —S.C.

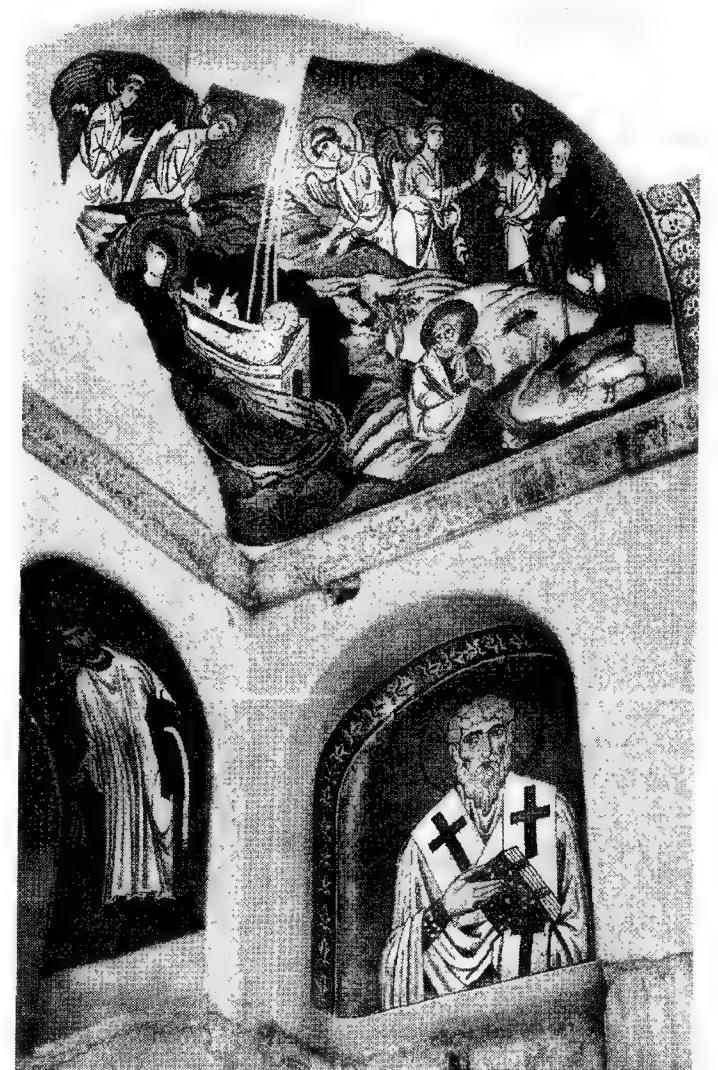
**NASAR** (Νάσαρ), *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet under BASIL I; his name was Basil according to the vita of ELIAS THE YOUNGER (p.36.481f). In 880 (Vasiliev) or 879 (Guilland) the emperor sent Nasar with an enormous fleet to repel Arab ships pillaging in the KEPHALENIA and Zakynthos region; Arab sources calculated his fleet at 140 battleships, whereas the vita of Elias puts the figure at 45. When many of his rowers deserted, Nasar was forced to halt at Methone; however, severe measures taken by Basil I restored discipline. Nasar attacked the enemy and won a night battle (probably along the western shore of Greece), and then moved to Sicily; he captured so many Muslim boats with precious merchandise that the price of olive oil in Constantinople fell sharply. Nasar supported successful operations of Prokopios and Leo Apostypes in southern Italy and routed an Arab squadron at Cape Stelai. His success contributed much to the restoration of Byz. authority in southern Italy, although Sicily was lost after the fall of SYRACUSE in 878. A brilliant Greek victory over the Arabs is mentioned in a letter of Pope JOHN VIII dated 30 Oct. 880.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:171f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:96–99. —A.K.

**NATIVITY** (ἡ γέννησις), the birth of Jesus, or Christmas, 25 Dec., one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, seen first in the West at the beginning of the 4th C. By the 4th–5th C. it was celebrated everywhere except by the Armenians. In the East Jesus' birth was originally commemorated at EPIPHANY, but the Nativity was celebrated in Antioch and environs by 376, in Constantinople by 380, and in Asia Minor by the end of the 4th C., though Palestine adopted it definitively only in the 6th C. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 368–71).

The Nativity is one of the most splendid feasts of the church calendar. It is solemnized by the

NATIVITY. The Nativity of Christ; mosaic, late 11th C. Southeast squinch in the church at Daphni. Below the scene is a lunette with the bust of St. Gregory, bishop of Akragas. Under the arch to the left is the figure of the holy deacon St. Euplos.





two Sundays preceding the feast and the following Sunday and has a 40-day preparatory fast; a five-day forefeast, the longest in the Byz. calendar; a *paramone* VIGIL as at Easter and Epiphany; a following SYNAXIS 26 Dec.; and an afterfeast of six days. The 10th-C. Nativity festivities in Hagia Sophia, which included the *pannychis* vigil, are outlined in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:134–36, 145–70).

The Nativity was also one of the most heavily charged days of the imperial ceremonial (*De cer.* 128–36), filled with receptions, visits of dignitaries and factions, promotions, the veneration of relics, honors rendered with CANDLES at various sanctuaries, all done in solemn procession, the final one to Hagia Sophia, where the emperor joined the patriarch in the narthex and made the LITTLE ENTRANCE with him. The day's ceremonies continued with various visits in the company of the patriarch.

Byz. sermons for the Nativity stress that it celebrates not a past event but the ever-present mystery of salvation first manifested in Jesus' birth. Jesus must be born in each Christian, each one must receive him in communion as the manger received him in Bethlehem.

**Representation in Art.** Initially including just child, manger, ox, and ass (the beasts variously interpreted but always present), the image of Christ's birth developed by the 6th C. into a presentation of his Incarnation as an epiphany uniting human and divine. Two compositions emerged, both associated with the Holy Land. One, drawing on imperial imagery, showed the enthroned Virgin and Child between acclaiming Magi or shepherds and Magi (Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE). The other, more narrative (SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY), showed the star (not the star of the Magi but of Num 24:17), Joseph and the midwife Salome as witnesses (see PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES), the reclining Virgin, and the Child in a masonry manger before a cave, recalling the block altar and cave setting at BETHLEHEM. Slowly, the narrative version incorporated the imperial elements. By the 8th C., Salome was displaced by the motif of the infant's bath, traditional in pagan and imperial nativity scenes (P. Nordhagen, *BZ* 54 [1961] 333–37), and at CASTELSEPRIO, the acclaiming shepherds were added to the scene at the cave. The cave scene became standard after the 9th C., with the addition of choirs of angels

and the ADORATION OF THE MAGI, in accord with their liturgical celebration on Christmas Day.

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 79–162. M. Dubarle, *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ* (Paris 1967). J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Les représentations de la Nativité du Christ dans l'art de l'Orient chrétien," in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. P. Cockshaw et al., vol. 1 (Ghent 1979) 11–21. K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 36–39. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

**NATURAL PHENOMENA** (sing. *σημείον, θεοσημείον*), such as ECLIPSES of the sun and moon, the appearance of COMETS and brilliant STARS, EARTHQUAKES, floods, etc., were recorded by Byz. historians and chroniclers, who considered them important events and therefore provided significant details about their occurrence and the effect they had on people. Generally such phenomena were attributed to divine providence. Comets, eclipses, dust storms, etc., were believed to be portents of impending catastrophes or of political and dynastic change—the death of a ruler, a rebellion, military defeat, and the like. On such occasions the faithful were called to repentance in order to appease the divine wrath (cf. John MAUROPOUS, *or.* 185, ed. Lagarde 165–78). Alongside the popular beliefs and the superstitions connected with them, there were also attempts to provide a scientific explanation, such as in the *Peri diosemeion* by JOHN LYDOS (*De ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth [Leipzig 1897]) and the *Synopsis ton physikon* of Symeon SETH (ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:16–89). Still greater popularity was enjoyed by the various practical handbooks (such as *Seismologia*, on earthquakes, or BRONTOLOGIA, on thunderstorms), which dealt with the prognostic element in natural phenomena.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:269–71. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:218–26. S. Lampakes, "Hyperphysikes dynamis, physika phainomena kai deisidaimonies sten Historia tou Georgiou Pachymere," *Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 77–100. —Ap.K.

**NATURE** (*φύσις*). The terminology of the ancient Greeks survived in Byz. in the term *physis*, which is everything in the world that belongs to the realm of matter insofar as it is provided for man, and not something created by man (through his *technē*, or culture, customs, and laws). Therefore, it also includes everything that actually exists, the totality of objects and the state of affairs to which any judgment must exactly conform.

The term not only designates everything that exists, that grows or takes place in the "natural world" apart from human intervention, but it can also be used to designate the process of production itself.

The early church rejected the Stoic view that nature is the creative cause and principle of the world. This implies that nature has been reduced to a theological concept, inasmuch as it is nothing other than creature or the result of God's CREATION. Nonetheless, if when speaking about nature one focuses on its power to generate, then this can easily become a *natura naturans* in which the reference to God is no longer essential, but redundant; nature is an unseen force that can be grasped by the mind only. It is conceived, as in Aristotle's *Physics*, as the dynamic principle of reality, a concept encountered, for example, in Michael PSELLOS (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.57). The synthesis of Plato and Aristotle, together with the view of nature as the demiurge, led for JOHN ITALOS only to difficulties (*Quaestiones quodlibetales*, pars. 65–66, 93, ed. Joannou, pp. 99–101, 149f) that he judged to be the result of a failure to distinguish between *natura naturans* (*physis heautes poietike*) and *natura naturata* (*physis as apoteloumenon* [*eidos*]). If one conceives nature as immaterial, "then one speaks not of nature, but of the soul," namely, of the World-soul or the third hypostasis of Plotinos, which cannot be accepted by Christianity as a principle of COSMOLOGY. On account of the difficulties resulting from the concept of nature he outlined, Italos asserted that only the concept of nature presented by the church fathers remained (i.e., nature is conceived as SUBSTANCE and species). But if nature is defined as *dynamis*, it means the Platonic program of mathematical description of the world, that is, its actual scientific description (John Italos, *ibid.*, 42, p.53). In a specific sense the term *physis* was applied to the divine "nature," the "common denominator" of the Godhead encompassing three hypostases: accordingly Christ, after the Incarnation, was construed as possessing both divine and human natures—the concept denied by the Monophysites. (For nature in the sense of the material world surrounding man, see ENVIRONMENT.)

LIT. D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York 1968). C. Cupane, "'Natura formatrix': Umwege eines rhetorischen Topos," in *Byzantios* 37–52. —K.-H.U.

**NAUKLEROS** (*ναύκληρος*, Lat. *navicularius*). By the 4th C., transport of passengers and goods by sea was arranged through *navicularii*, or state-employed shipowners, who financed the construction, manning, repair, and operation of merchant vessels. Men of means sufficient to bear these costs were attracted by the privileges and tax/toll exemptions granted to *navicularii*, since freight itself paid only a low percentage of the profit. Apart from private commerce, *navicularii* saw to such state requirements as the shipping of grain to Rome and Constantinople or the delivery of foodstuffs and supplies for the army. They belonged to a state guild and received government reimbursement for ship or cargo losses honestly incurred.

By contrast, the Byz. *naukleros* appears in 7th-C. sources as an independent ship's captain, or sometimes simply a merchant, who commissioned ships, hired crews, and was responsible for shipping tolls (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 61); he had no state-imposed obligations. Legal texts note that the *naukleros* contracted cargo and passengers (for which he received freight and carrying charges) and was liable to merchants and passengers for damage, risk, or losses (W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea Law* [Oxford 1909] cxxx–cxxxvii).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 827–30. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 241f. R.S. Lopez, "The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century," *DOP* 13 (1959) 79–85. —E.M.

**NAUMACHIKA** (*Ναυμαχικά*). Five treatises on naval warfare in Milan, Ambros. B 199 sup., form the corpus of *Naumachika*, comprising book 19 on naval warfare and a few excerpts from book 20 of the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI; instructions on fording rivers from the *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* bk.12B, ch.21); a 6th-C. treatise on naval tactics attributed to Syrianos Magistros; and a short outline of naval terminology and tactics dedicated in a prefatory poem to the *parakoimomenos* BASIL THE NOTHOS. The dedication to Basil, commemorating his successful expedition against Samosata (C.M. Mazzucchi, *Aevum* 52 [1978] 304–06), fixes the date of the compilation of the *Naumachika* as 959. The paraphrase of Leo and Syrianos by Nikephoros OURANOS in his *Taktika* rounds out Byz. writing on naval warfare.

The *Naumachika* show that the tactics of the Byz. NAVY were elementary and not much differ-

ent from classical practice. The Byz. put their heavy ships in the center of the line and lighter ships on the wings, advancing in a crescent-shaped formation. They aimed both to break through the enemy line in the center (*diekplous*) and envelop it from the outside (*periplous*), using GREEK FIRE, archers, and ballistic weapons to disable enemy crews before boarding their ships.

ED. A. Dain, *Naumachica* (Paris 1943).

LIT. A. Dain, "Les stratèges byzantins," *TM* 2 (1967) 342, 350, 365f. E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin 1966) 158–70. F. Lammert, "Die älteste erhaltene Schrift über Seetaktik und ihre Beziehung zum Anonymus Byzantinus des 6. Jahrhunderts, zu Vegetius und zu Aineias' Strategika," *Klio* 33 (1940) 271–88. V. Christides, "Two Parallel Naval Guides of the Tenth Century: Qudāma's Document and Leo VI's *Naumachica*: A Study on Byzantine and Moslem Naval Preparedness," *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 51–103. —E.M.

**NAUM OF OHRID**, Bulgarian priest, scholar, and saint; born ca.830, died Sveti Naum 23 Dec. 910; feastdays 20 June, 17 July (Bulgaria), 27 July (Russia). A close companion of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in their mission to Moravia, Naum was ordained priest in Rome by Pope Hadrian II in 868. When Constantine the Philosopher died in Feb. 869, Naum returned to Moravia with Methodios. After Methodios's death and the collapse of the Byz. mission, Naum was imprisoned, but finally made his way, along with KLIMENT OF OHRID and Angelarius, to Bulgaria in 886. Naum directed a group of translators and writers in Preslav. In 893 he succeeded Kliment as teacher and evangelist in Macedonia, first at Devol, then ca.900 in Ohrid, and finally ca.905 in the monastery that he founded on the southeastern shore of Lake Ohrid, now Sveti Naum. He became a monk on his deathbed. It is difficult to identify Naum's personal share in the early Slavonic translations and original works produced in Preslav and in Macedonia. The authenticity of a *kanon* on the apostle Andrew is indicated by an acrostic. A 10th-C. Slavonic Life of Naum and a somewhat later Greek Life as well as a Greek *akolouthia* by Constantine KABASILAS (13th C.) survive.

SOURCES. "Žitija sv. Nauma Ochridskogo i služba emu," ed. P. Lavrov in *IzvORJaS* 12 (1907) no.4, 1–51.

LIT. M. Kusseff, "St. Nahum," *SIEERev* 29 (1950) 139–50. S. Kožucharov, "Pesennoto tvorčestvo na starobŭlgarskija knižovnik Naum Ochridski," *Literaturna Istoriija* 12 (1984) 3–19. E. Trapp, "Die Viten des hl. Naum von

Ohrid," *BS* 35 (1974) 161–85. S. Bŭrlieva, "Prostrannoto grŭčko Žitie na Naum Ochridski," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 129–44. Z. Hauptová, "Staroslověnské legendy o Naumovi," *Slovo* 36 (1986) 77–84. —R.B.

**NAUPAKTOS** (Ναύπακτος, Venetian Lepanto), city on the western part of the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth, commanding the entrance into the gulf. In the 4th C. it was the most important harbor between Corinth and Oxaia (W.A. Oldfather, *RE* 16 [1935] 1994); in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Naupaktos and Evanthia/Oiantheia are the only cities named in western Lokris. It was a bishopric suffragan to Corinth, then probably to Athens, and after 900 an independent metropolis. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 5.12, ed. Pertusi, p.89) lists it as a *polis* of the theme of Hellas, Skylitzes (Skyl. 411.57) as a site in the theme of Nikopolis. Naupaktos was the seat of a *strategos* ca.1025; its *strategos* George died during a revolt and all his property was seized by the inhabitants; Constantine VIII punished the rebels and blinded the metropolitan (Skyl. 372.73–80). In 1040 Naupaktos was the only city of the theme that survived the attack of DELJAN and his army. There is little information on its economy: in the 12th C. Benjamin of Tudela found a community of 100 Jews there; a seal of an *exartistes* ("rigger," man in charge of a wharf?) of Naupaktos of the 9th C. is known.

After 1204 Naupaktos formed part of the despotate of EPIROS, but in 1294 it was given to PHILIP I OF TARANTO, beginning the city's long period of Western domination. In 1361 Naupaktos fell into the hands of the Catalans, and the city passed from one Western power to another for several decades until the Venetians conquered it in 1407; thereafter they used Naupaktos to safeguard their trade through the gulf against the growing power of the Turks. They strongly fortified the city, but it surrendered to Bayezid II in 1499.

The present walls of the acropolis, of the lower city, and of a small harbor are works of the Venetians, built on ancient and Byz. foundations. A possibly five-aisled basilica has been excavated in the lower city, and another can be surmised from the various marble fragments discovered in the acropolis. Additional Byz. sculpture and inscriptions have been found throughout the city, but, aside from these, little of Byz. Naupaktos survives.

LIT. *TIB* 3:210f. G. Athanasiades-Nobas, "He Naupaktos hos limen tou Byzantiou kata ton I' aiona," 9 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 289–95. —T.E.G.

**NAUPLIA** (Ναύπλια, also Nauplion, medieval Anapli, in Western texts Napoli in Romania), city in the ARGOLID, port of Argos. Through most of its history it shared the fate of Argos; under the later Roman Empire it had no independent status. The acropolis was fortified, and its main gate to the lower town, built into later walls, still survives. The city rose to prominence by the 11th C., undoubtedly as a result of its maritime position; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 386.60) reports that ca.1033 a *strategos* resided there (Bon, *Péloponnèse* 78, n.2; cf. D.A. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 17 [1941] 250f). Prosperity at Nauplia is suggested by the large number of churches built in the vicinity in the 12th C., although regulations drafted by Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplion, for Hagia Mone at AREIA show that ca.1143 the area around the city was threatened by pirates. Nauplia was one of the cities in which the Venetians were given special trading privileges in 1198. The fortifications of Nauplia allowed it, like Argos, to hold out against the Franks until 1212. Nauplia fell under the nominal control of the duchy of Athens, and came under Venetian rule in 1388.

Nauplia shared a bishopric with Argos, as is stated in both the vita of PETER OF ARGOS (ed. Ch. Papaoikonomos, par.9, p.64.1–9) and a letter of Theodore of Nicaea to Basil of Corinth (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 7:43.16–18, p.315).

Nerio ACCIAJUOLI bequeathed a monastery to the local bishop at Nauplia and a sum of money for the construction of a hospital, but these buildings are otherwise unknown. Habitation at Nauplia during the medieval period was probably concentrated in the upper city, with a port and harbor facilities in the lower area. The spacious western fortifications, built on ancient foundations, probably represent the Byz. city; to the east is an area added by the Crusaders, while the easternmost part of the fortifications as well as the wall around the lower town were erected by the Venetians. The remains of a probably Byz. church have been excavated on the citadel, and the Church of Hagia Sophia just under the walls may date to the Frankish period.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 486f, 492, 676f. M. Lambrynidis, *He Nauplia apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri ton*

*kath'hemas* (Athens 1898). G. Gerola, "Le fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania," *Annuario della Regia Scuola archaeologica di Atene* 13–14 (1930–33) 347–410. W. Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *AA* (1961) 158–214. —T.E.G.

**NAVARRRESE COMPANY**, army of professional mercenaries from Navarre and Gascony that controlled part of Greece from 1378/9 to 1402. Originally in the service of Don Luis of Evreux, brother of Charles II (the Bad) of Navarre (1349–87), the band occupied DYRRACHION in 1376 to support Don Luis's claim to Albania. After Don Luis's death (1376), the Navarrese sold their services to a variety of claimants to power in Greece. Two companies briefly entered the service of the HOSPITALERS in 1378 and went to Morea. One of these units, led by John de Urtubia, took THEBES and Livadia from the CATALANS in 1378 or 1379 (G. Dennis, *OrChrP* 26 [1960] 42–50) but failed to conquer Athens. The Navarrese invasion seriously weakened the Catalans, however, so that Athens fell ten years later (1388) to the ACCIAJUOLI.

Most of the Navarrese entered the service of Jacques de Baux, claimant to Achaia (1373–83), to press his claims to the Morea. They succeeded in conquering the western Peloponnesos, from Vostitsa (Aigion) to Kalamata. After Jacques's death, the Navarrese effectively controlled the principality of ACHAIA under the vicars-general Mahiot de Coquerel as imperial bailie (1381–1386/7) and Pierre Lebourd (Peter Bordo) de St. Superan as imperial vicar (1387–96); from 1396 to 1402 the latter bore the title of prince of Achaia. The Navarrese fought principally against the ACCIAJUOLI and THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS for control of the Peloponnesos. In 1401 Pierre de St. Superan joined the Turks for raids against Korone and Methone. The history of the Navarrese in Greece ends with the death of Pierre de St. Superan (1402).

LIT. *HC* 3:147–60, 215f. A. Luttrell, "Appunti sulle compagnie navarresi in Grecia: 1376–1404," *RSBS* 3 (1983) 113–27. Setton, *Catalan Domination* 125–48. Longnon, *Empire latin* 334–36, 339–47. A. Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (Barcelona 1886). Bon, *Morée franque* 1:254–75. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr* I 329–69. —A.M.T.

**NAVICULARIUS**. See NAUKLEROS.



**NAVIGATION** was restricted by **CLIMATE** and Byz. control of the sea; naval technology remained limited. Since the Byz. **SHIP** was usually small with a shallow keel, designed essentially for coastal cruising, the Byz. remained cautious mariners, "touching dry land with the oars" (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, ed. Gautier, 2:139.28–29). Sailing speeds reached 6 to 8 knots. The introduction of the triangular lateen sail by the 7th C. provided easier handling in bad weather and greater flexibility in catching the wind, but steering by compass, developed in the 13th C., and the stern rudder, important innovations in deep-sea sailing, came into widespread use after the decline of the Byz. navy. **ASTROLABES** were discussed in theoretical treatises, but their practical application is unattested.

As in antiquity, sailing was normally restricted to the good weather months between April and October. The prevailing northerly winds made sailing north to south fairly rapid and easy, but approaching Constantinople from the south was often difficult and time consuming. A series of way stations (*hormeteria*, *topoi skalomatos*) dotted the Byz. littoral for fleets in need of provisions or awaiting favorable conditions (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–25). Sailors steered point to point, by landmarks, beacons, and ports, or by sun and stars when out of sight of land. Naval commanders required knowledge of the winds, seasons, and stars to navigate the fleet (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 19.2). *De cerimoniis* (467.9–12) lists books on the seasons and weather compiled for sailors (R.H. Dolley, *Mariner's Mirror* 37 [1951] 5–16) and supplies a table of distances between Constantinople and Crete (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 295–300), but local pilots were also used; in 960 Nikephoros Phokas relied on sailors from the island of Karpathos to guide his invasion fleet over the open seas to Crete from his last way station in Asia Minor (Attal. 224.14–22). Other guides to navigation were the **PERIPLUS** and **PORTULAN**.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance: A propos du "thème des Caravisiens"* (Paris 1966) 26–29. —E.M.

**NAVY** (πλώϊμον). In the 6th C., Byz. **WARSHIPS** gained control of the sea by recapturing Carthage and destroying the **VANDAL** fleet; the navy became a police force operating from Constantinople and Mediterranean bases. In the mid-7th C., however, the incursion of Slavic pirates and the develop-

ment of Arab seapower by MU'AWIYA forced a naval reorganization; the fleet of the **KARABISIANOI** was created to defend the Byz. littoral and the approaches to Constantinople. Following its dissolution under Leo III, regional fleets whose costs were borne independently by the naval **STRATEIA** were organized in the exclusively maritime themes of **KIBYRRHAIOTAI** (by 732), **AEGEAN SEA** (by 843), and **SAMOS** (by 899). The imperial fleet (*basilikon ploimon*) was based at Constantinople under the **DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU** to protect the Byz. capital; it also undertook expeditions to which the thematic fleets contributed ships and men. The navy achieved its greatest successes in the 10th C., esp. in the destruction of the fleet of the Rus' in 941 and in the reconquest of Crete (961) and Cyprus (965).

The navy declined during the 11th C. The thematic fleets disappeared; by the 12th C. naval command, financing, and recruitment had been centralized at Constantinople (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 146f), where a small flotilla still patrolled. Under John II Komnenos, taxes raised for maintaining the navy were diverted into the imperial treasury; from then on, fleets of varying sizes were constructed on an *ad hoc* basis, and alliances (see, e.g., **NYMPHAION**, **TREATY OF**) were sought with Venice and other naval powers to obtain ships and manpower for expeditions. Although the Komnenian and Nicaean navies enjoyed several successes, the Venetians and Genoese steadily took control of the Aegean until even the Byz. themselves acknowledged the superior seamanship of the Italians. The last major Byz. fleet was built by Michael VIII Palaiologos but disbanded by his successor Andronikos II Palaiologos. Later, however, Andronikos III's small navy, under the command of the *megas doux* Alexios **ΑΠΟΚΑΥΚΟΣ**, enjoyed success against the Genoese, and John VI Kantakouzenos built a small flotilla, but complete control of the seas had passed to the Italians and Turks by the end of the 14th C.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966). L. Bréhier, "La marine de Byzance du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantion* 19 (1949) 1–16. F.H. van Doorninck, "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 330–641," in *A History of Seafaring*, ed. G.F. Bass (New York–London 1972) 133–58. E. Malamut, "Les insulaires des 10<sup>e</sup>–12<sup>e</sup> siècles: marins ou soldats?" *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 63–72. —E.M.

**NAXOS** (Νάξος, also *Naxia*), island in the central Aegean Sea, in late antiquity part of the province

of the Islands (*Insulae*). Its later fate is poorly known: texts of the 10th C. mention Naxos as a station on the way from Constantinople to Crete (e.g., *AASS* Nov. 4:227E); according to John **KAMINIATES** (59.67), it paid *phoroi* to "the inhabitants of Crete." Naxos may have been capital of an ephemeral theme of Dodekanese in the later 12th C. In 1205–07 Marco Sanudo seized Naxos and the adjoining islands, creating the duchy of Naxos (or duchy of the Archipelago) that was considered as held from the Latin Empire. In 1248 suzerainty over Naxos was ceded to **WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN**; the Byz. reconquest of the Aegean islands in 1263–76 under the command of Alexios **PHILANTHROPENOS** failed at Naxos, and after 1278 the *dux* became a vassal of Charles I of Anjou. The duchy remained independent until the Turkish conquest in 1566 (with short periods of Venetian tutelage: 1494–1500 and 1511–17). The Latin occupation of Naxos led to the introduction of feudal law based on the assizes of **ROMANIA**; nevertheless, as late as the 16th C., the indigenous population continued to use Byz. laws of marriage and ownership, while the impact of Italian law was limited to terminology.

The bishop of Naxos was originally a suffragan of **RHODES** (*Notitiae CP* 1:429). In 1083 the see was united with that of **PAROS** (as *Paronaxia*: *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.929) and shortly thereafter was raised to metropolitan status (*Notitiae CP* 11.84).

Remains of early Christian basilicas are found throughout the island, representing a wide variety of architectural styles, and there are even more churches of the 9th–14th C. (Pallas, *Monuments* 207–15; B.K. Lamprinouakes, *PraktArchEt* [1982] 253–59); many have full fresco programs, with esp. fine examples dated from the 13th C. Non-representational decoration in some churches has led to their identification as **Iconoclastic** (A.G. Basilake, *DChAE* 4 3 [1962–3] 49–74; but see D.I. Pallas, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 306).

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 161–77. Jacoby, *Féodalité* 271–93. A.E. Kasdagli, "Peasant and Lord in 15th-C. Naxos," *ByzF* 1 (1987) 347–55. M. Chatzidakis, N. Drandakes et al., *Naxos* (Athens 1989). G. Demetrokalles, *Symbolai eis ten meleten ton Byzantinon mnemeion tes Naxou*, vol. 1 (Athens 1972).

—T.E.G.

**NAZARETH** (Ναζαρέθ), village in Galilee in which the Virgin reportedly received the **ANNUNCIATION** from the angel Gabriel, and where Jesus spent his childhood. The area remained completely

Jewish at least up to the reign of Constantine I, when it was noted that the town had no Christian population and no church (EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, *Panarion*, 30.11.9–10). Excavations at Nazareth have uncovered the remains of a basilica dedicated to the Virgin (later the Annunciation) and dated to the beginning of the 5th C. Below the basilica were fragments of a synagogue. **EGERIA** saw at Nazareth only "a big cave in which Mary had lived" incorporating an altar, and a garden "in which the Lord used to dwell." The **PIACENZA PILGRIM** indicates that in his time the house of Mary was a basilica. He describes the area as exceptionally fertile.

Nazareth was conquered by the Arabs in 636, but al-Mas'ūdī mentions a church held in great veneration. This building is described at length by later pilgrims, such as **DANIIL IGUMEN** and John **PHOKAS**: within the church was an entrance to a cave incorporating a cell where the Virgin was said to have lived with the Child. At the site of the Annunciation a black stone cross was set in white marble. Under the Crusaders Nazareth remained a small town, but church building continued. Some architectural fragments of the 12th-C. Church of the Annunciation have survived, including five well-preserved capitals. In 1187 Saladin seized Nazareth. Legend has it that the house of Mary was miraculously transferred from Nazareth to Fiume on 10 May 1291, and in 1295 to the town of Loreto in Italy.

The term *Nazaraïos* or *Naziraios*, meaning "Nazarene" or "man of Nazareth" (cf. Mt 2:23), was applied to Christians in general, and specifically to Christ and monks, esp. hesychasts (cf. **SOUDA**, 3:434).

LIT. B. Bagatti, *Gli scavi di Nazaret*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem 1967–84). P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises* (Paris 1910). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 165. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (University Park, Pa.—London 1986). —G.V., A.K.

**NAZIANZOS** (Ναζιανζός, now probably Nenezi), a minor station (*stathmos*) on the highway that led across Anatolia to Palestine; according to Sokrates (Sokr., *HE* 4:11.9), "a shabby polis" near Caesarea. It became a bishopric ca.325. After its bishop Gregory died in 374, his son, **GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS**, administered the see. The bishopric was suffragan of Caesarea, then **TYANA**, eventually **MOKISSOS**. Romanos IV transformed Nazianzos

into a metropolis. It fell to the Turks after the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. Remains of the site are insignificant.

LIT. TIB 2:244f. W. Ruge, *RE* 16 (1935) 2099–2101. P. Gallay in *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, vol. 1 (Paris 1964) viii–xiv. —C.F.

**NEA ANCHIALOS**, modern name for Thessalian or Phthiotic Thebes (Θῆβαι Φθιώτιδες), a city in central Greece on the Pagasitic Gulf south of Volos. In late antiquity it was the third city of the province of Thessaly and its major port. The ancient city centered on the upper acropolis, while the early Christian city lay in the plain near the sea on the site of ancient Pyrasos. The city prospered from the 4th to the 7th C. when it was the dominant town on the Pagasitic Gulf. It was destroyed by a great fire at the end of the 7th C.; there is evidence of some rebuilding immediately after the fire and again in the 9th C., but the city never fully recovered and its place was later taken by HALMYROS. The bishop of Thessalian Thebes, amply attested in the epigraphic and documentary evidence, is last mentioned in the 8th/9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 3.672). The latest evidence of Nea Anchialos is a coin hoard of the early 9th C.

Nea Anchialos is best known because of the many churches excavated there (nine basilicas have been found). Basilica A, dedicated to St. Demetrios, was the episcopal church, a three-aisled basilica similar to the ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH in Thessalonike, with an atrium possibly flanked by towers; it was built sometime in the late 5th or early 6th C. Basilica B, the so-called Elpidios Basilica, has a similar chronology; Basilica G, called the "church of the *archiereus* (bishop) Peter" on the basis of an inscription of the mid-6th C. discovered at the site, has elaborate floor mosaics and is part of a vast ecclesiastical complex; its earliest phase dates to the late 4th or early 5th C. Basilica D, dated to the 7th C., was a cemetery church located outside the city walls. Excavation of the harbor revealed places for anchorage (P. Lazarides, *PraktArchEt* [1973] 33). A burial epitaph for a Jew, written in Greek letters, has been found (E. Deilake, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 548).

LIT. G.A. Soteriou, *Hai Christianikai Thebai tes Thessalias* (Athens 1931). P. Lazarides, "Anaskaphe Neas Anchialou," *PraktArchEt* (1982) 95–104. TIB 1:271f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 150–56. —T.E.G.

**NEA EKKLESIA** (lit. "new church"), built in the GREAT PALACE by Basil I and completed in 880. Situated a short distance east of the Chrysotriklinos, the Nea was covered by five domes, probably one in the center and one each over the four corners. It was dedicated to Christ, the archangel Michael (and Gabriel?), the prophet Elijah, the Virgin, and St. Nicholas, which implies four chapels in addition to the main altar. The decoration was particularly sumptuous: the chancel screen, *synthronon*, and altar table were revetted with silver, the floor was of opus sectile, the domes were roofed with bronze tiles. The atrium was adorned with two fountains of precious marble (*TheophCont* 325–29). The church had its own clergy and played an important part in palatine ceremonies. Converted into a monastery by the 12th C., the Nea was robbed of many of its ornaments by Isaac II. During the Latin occupation it served as a palatine chapel. It survived the Turkish conquest and was probably destroyed in 1490.

The New Church was described in detail by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or someone from his milieu in the VITA BASILII. Beginning with F. Combefis, scholars had believed that the *ekphrasis* of an unnamed church in the 10th homily of Photios referred to the Nea until Jenkins and Mango (*infra*) demonstrated that the 10th homily could not have been produced later than 864 and was related to the consecration of another church, that of the Virgin of the Pharos. E. Bolognesi (*StMed* 28 [1987] 381–98), however, reasigned Photios's *ekphrasis* to the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria. The problem needs further investigation.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 130–35. R.J.H. Jenkins, C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 125–40. Janin, *Églises CP* 361–64. P. Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 51–64. —C.M.

**NEAI PATRAI**. See NEOPATRAS.

**NEA MONE** (Νέα Μονή, "new monastery"), the name of several Byz. monasteries. Two of the most important were on Chios and in Thessalonike.

**NEA MONE ON CHIOS**, dedicated to the Virgin, was founded shortly before 1042 by the local hermits Niketas and John (and, according to tradition, Joseph). Constantine IX, the monastery's

principal benefactor, conferred abundant privileges and lands on Nea Mone. His chrysobulls and *sigillia*, as well as the charters of later emperors (the last of Andronikos II in 1289), are important for the study of large landownership, *exkousseia*, status of peasants, and the taxation of Jews, primarily in the 11th C. Outside of Chios, the monastery owned property in Asia Minor and Thessaly. Nea Mone was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and was granted the right to invite any bishop for the ordination of priests and deacons.

According to tradition (confirmed by architectural analysis), the present church was built during the reign of Constantine IX. Within walls built in recessed-brick technique, the naos is laid out as a small square below a tall segmented dome (now restored) on an octagonal drum. Outer and inner narthexes and a low bema form distinct parts of the structure. All except the first are internally sheathed with local red marble and mosaics that, like the overall design, are said to be of Constantinopolitan origin. Mouriki (*infra*) suggests that the mosaic decoration was begun after 1049 and finished before Constantine's death. Less restored than those of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI, the mosaics atypically include an orant Virgin in the apse and eight GREAT FEASTS in the deep squinches of the drum. The inner narthex cupola contains the oldest known example of the Virgin guarded by military saints and martyrs. The monastery's defense tower and cistern are also of the 11th C. The refectory contains a TABLE inlaid with marble of probably the same period.

SOURCES. *MM* 5:1–13, 440–49. M. Gedeon, "Byzantina chrysoboulla kai pittakia," *EkAl* 4 (1883–84) 403–06, 411–13, 428–31, 444–48.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens 1982). D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens 1985). P.A. Jakovenko, *Issledovanija v oblasti vizantijskich gramot: Gramoty Novogo monastyrya na ostrove Chiose* (Juriev [Tartu] 1917). —A.C., A.K.

**NEA MONE IN THESSALONIKE** was founded between 1360 and 1370 by Makarios CHOUMNOS on the site of the earlier imperial palace, south of the Arch of Galerios. G.I. Theocharides has identified it with the church now dedicated to St. Elias (*Makedonika* 5 [1961–63] 1–14). Originally dedicated to the Theotokos, it housed 15 monks, two novices, and two postulants at the time of its foundation. Sometime before 1374 Makarios was

summoned to Constantinople to serve as *hegoumenos* of the STOUDIOS MONASTERY. He was succeeded at Nea Mone by his disciple, the hieromonk Gabriel, who would later become *hegoumenos* of the CHORA MONASTERY, metropolitan of Chalcidon and then Thessalonike. Gabriel supervised the completion of the construction of the church. Nea Mone was granted the status of an imperial and patriarchal monastery and was thus exempt from the jurisdiction of the local metropolitan. According to IGNATIY OF SMOLENSK, who visited in 1405, Nea Mone was one of the most flourishing monasteries in Thessalonike. At this time its monks were also involved in bitter disputes over property with the AKAPNIOU MONASTERY in Thessalonike. Nea Mone is known to have survived until at least 1432. Although the monastery's archive is preserved at the Great LAVRA of Athos, there is no proof that Nea Mone became a METOCHION of the Lavra, as Theocharides asserted.

SOURCE. V. Laurent, "Ecrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos († ca. 1382), fondateur de la 'Nea Moni' à Thessalonique," *Hellenika* 14 (1955) 40–85.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: La Nea Moni de Thessalonique," *REB* 13 (1955) 109–30. G.I. Theocharides, "He Nea Mone Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 3 (1953–55) 334–52. Idem, "Dyo nea engrapha aphoronta eis ten Nean Monen Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 4 (1955–60) 315–51. Janin, *Églises centres* 398f. —A.M.T.

**NEA PETRA MONASTERY**. See MAKRINITISSA MONASTERY.

**NEA PHOKAIA**. See PHOKAIA.

**NEAPOLIS** (Νεάπολις, biblical Sichem, Nablus in Israel), city in the province of Palestina I under CAESAREA MARITIMA and bishopric under the patriarch of Jerusalem, noted for its Church of the Theotokos built on top of Mt. Garizim, site of an ancient Samaritan shrine. At the request of Bp. Terebinthios, this large octagonal church was erected by Emp. Zeno after the Samaritan uprising of 484 and garrisoned. A *tetrapyrion* circuit wall was added by Justinian I after another uprising in 529, when he also provided for the restoration of five shrines. A cruciform church surrounding Jacob's well at Neapolis was sketched by the pilgrim Arculf (see ADOMNAN) in 670.

LIT. A.W. Schneider, "Römische und byzantinische Bauten auf dem Garizim," *ZDPV* 68 (1946–51) 217–34. J.W.



Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*<sup>2</sup> (College Park, Md., 1971) 89–94. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 157, 165f. —M.M.M.

**NEBO, MOUNT**, mountainous region in Jordan (called Abarim in Dt 32:49) overlooking the Dead Sea's north shore, a place of PILGRIMAGE. Early Christians identified its ridge, called Siyagha ("monastery") in Aramaic, as the place where Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death (Dt 34:1–6). In 384 EGERIA saw only a small church "with a place for a tomb" (*Egerie, Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1982] ch.12.1, p.172), no doubt the 4th-C. triple-apsed memorial chapel (*cella trichora*) excavated by Saller (Saller-Schneider, *infra*). About 470 PETER THE IBERIAN (*Life*, ed. Raabe, 82f) visited a large church surrounded by cells, which is probably the three-aisled basilica and monastery complex—one of the largest in the region—likewise exposed by Saller. Circa 600 a Theotokos chapel and baptistery were added. Mosaic pavements display geometric, floral, and animal motifs, and a panel before the apse of the Theotokos chapel has a unique mosaic plan of the Jewish Temple. In 1976 Piccirillo (*infra*) discovered an earlier pavement, dated 531, beneath the basilica's *diakonikon*, this one with pastoral and hunting scenes.

The town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat), about 4 km southeast of Siyagha, had four 6th- and 7th-C. churches with spectacular mosaic pavements; surviving portions depict scenes of daily life, allegories, and donor portraits. One shows Earth personified as a woman.

LIT. S.J. Saller, H. Schneider, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1941–50). M. Piccirillo, "Campagna archeologica nella basilica di Mosè profeta sul monte Nebo-Siyagha," *Liber annuus* 26 (1976) 281–318. S.J. Saller, B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem 1949). —K.G.H.

**NEBOULOS** (Νέβουλος), military commander of Slavic or perhaps Bulgar origin (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:210). In 693 Justinian II formed a special force of 30,000 troops from the Slavs settled in OPSIKION in 688. As its ARCHON he appointed Neboulos, chosen "from the nobles" (Nikeph. 36.24), and campaigned with this army against the Arabs at Sebastopolis "by the sea" (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 18 [1909] 154–56). After initial success Justinian was defeated when Neboulos,

bribed by the Arab commander, deserted with most of his troops. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 366.21–23), Justinian retaliated by massacring the remaining Slavs and their families. The Arabs settled Neboulos and his men in Syria.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:34–38.

—P.A.H.

**NECKLACE** (περιδεραιον). As opposed to the TORQUE, which was worn by men, women's necklaces consisted of several kinds of chains, from simple loops to complex braids, either undecorated or with additional elements. PENDANTS might be added, similar to those used in earrings. Gold coins or medallions were often reused in necklaces, but until the 7th C. the commonest type seems to consist of beads of cut gemstones, glass paste, or pearls, interspersed with single loops of chain. Contemporaneous, and gradually becoming more common, were more complex chains, esp. types with openwork gold disks or links (Brown, *infra* [1984], pls. 1–6, 12–18). The construction of the jeweled collars—worn, for example, by the female saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo and by Theodora's companions in S. Vitale, RAVENNA—is difficult to identify: although necklaces with *cloisons* (thin strips of gold) containing single large gems were made in the Hellenistic period, the form seems to disappear until the 11th or 12th C. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 443.78–80) accused Isaac II of making necklaces and torques with jewels taken from crosses and Gospel books.

LIT. K.R. Brown, "The Mosaics of San Vitale: Evidence for the Attribution of Some Early Byzantine Jewelry to Court Workshops," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 57–62. Eadem, *The Gold Breast Chain from the Early Byzantine Period in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (Mainz 1984).

—S.D.C., A.C.

**NEGEV** (Ναγέβ), area of PALESTINE III (Salutaris) extending south of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of 'Aqabah. Its territory included PETRA (the capital); the cities of Mampsis, Birošaba, and Elusa; and the settlements of NESSANA, Sobata (Shivta), and Oboda. Despite the scarcity of narrative sources, the economy and culture of Negev in late antiquity has been well studied on the basis of archaeological remains, inscriptions, and the NESSANA PAPYRI. Agriculture flourished in Negev in

the 4th–7th C., thanks to irrigation. The land produced grapes, wheat, barley, olives, dates, and almonds. There were three types of landowners: the church, individual farmers, and LIMITANEI. The region also benefited from the trade route that led north from Aela on the Gulf.

From ca.300 active fortification of the sites helped to protect them from Bedouin attack. Christianity penetrated the Negev by the 4th C., but Elusa is the only bishopric attested by external sources—its bishops participated in some councils of the 5th and 6th C. The region was thoroughly christianized, however, in part under the influence of the neighboring SINAI peninsula. Numerous churches of the 5th–9th C. have been excavated in Mampsis, Nessana, Oboda, and Sobata. The earlier churches have a single apse, while churches with three apses are a later development; some were decorated with floor mosaics and reliefs.

The area began to decline, at least at Mampsis, ca.500. Building activity in Oboda had stopped by the beginning of the 7th C. In 636 the Arabs conquered Negev. Urban life continued in some places until ca.700, then died out, and the desert replaced orchards and vineyards.

LIT. K.G. Gutwein, *Third Palestine* (Washington, D.C., 1981). A. Negev, *Tempel, Kirchen und Zisternen* (Stuttgart 1983) 159–245. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani della Giudea e del Neghev* (Jerusalem 1983) 185–208. P. Mayer-son, "The Ancient Agricultural Regime of Nessana and Central Negev," *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, vol. 1 (London 1962) 211–63. A. Segal, *The Byzantine City of Shivta (Esbeita), Negev Desert, Israel* (Oxford 1983).

—M.M.M.

**NEGROPONTE**, Italian name for EUBOEA, probably originating from Euripos via a distorted form of Egripos. In 1204 the Venetians gained control of the ports of Karystos and CHALKIS, while the rest of the island was first given to a Frankish baron, James II of Avesnes. After his death Negroponte was partitioned, in 1209, among three Veronese lords, who in turn acknowledged Venetian suzerainty. Venetian power grew on the island, but the rough terrain allowed considerable independence for the minor Frankish nobility, while Venice used Negroponte as a base for its operations in the Aegean. Pirates from Negroponte ravaged much of the east coast of Greece in the 13th to 14th C. From 1332 onward, the Turks began to attack isolated areas on Negro-

ponte, and in July 1470 the island fell. Under Latin domination the church of Negroponte was an important outpost of papal power. The name Negroponte was indiscriminately applied to the entire island, to its capital Chalkis, to the Frankish lordship, and to the Venetian administrative unit.

LIT. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1971). Jacoby, *Féodalité* 95–113. A. Sabbides, "He Eubolia kata ta tele tou IB'—arches tou IG' ai. m.Ch.," *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 24 (1981–82) 313–23. —T.E.G.

**NEIGHBOR** (γείτων, πλησιάζων), a person or JURISTIC PERSON owning or holding property in close spatial proximity to another property, or a member of the same fiscal unit, as opposed to a stranger (*xenos*). In Byz. it was a well-established principle that neighbors enjoyed specific privileges such as the right of PROTIMESIS by reason of *anakoinosis*, "enclave" (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.30.11) or *plesiasmos*, "coming near" (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.43.12), as well as JURA IN RE ALIENA. On the other hand, neighbors as members of the same fiscal unit (METROKOMIA, VILLAGE COMMUNITY) shared collective tax liabilities (EPIBOLE, ALLELENGYON). One of the most common ways of identifying properties in the PRAKTIKA was by naming the owners of neighboring properties (e.g., *choraphion plesion tou Basileiou*).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 62, n.1; 71; 90–93. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 162. —M.B.

**NEILOS KERAMEUS** (Κεραμεύς), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar./Apr. 1380–1 Feb. 1388); baptismal name Neophytos; born Thessalonike, died Constantinople 1 Feb. 1388. An ardent Palamite, Neilos took the monastic habit at the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY in Constantinople in 1354; his spiritual master was the *hegoumenos* Markos (*PLP*, no.17017), for whom he drafted a monastic rule. After Mark's death, Neilos succeeded him briefly as superior before being made patriarch. He apparently continued to serve as *hegoumenos* throughout his patriarchate. Shortly before Neilos's death, he bequeathed the monastery to the future patriarch MATTHEW I.

Around 1380 Neilos and the synod drafted an important document defining imperial rights in ecclesiastical affairs (V. Laurent, *REB* 13 [1955] 5–18). In 1383 he divided the double monastery

of Patr. ATHANASIOS I (MM 2:80–83). A collection of 43 of his homilies (heavily influenced by John Chrysostom) remains unedited. He also wrote *enkomia* of Gregory PALAMAS and Anthimos of Crete.

ED. *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die chrysostomische Tradition*, ed. H. Hennepf (Leiden 1963) 107–48. PG 151:655–78. K.J. Dyobouniotes, “Ho Athenon Anthimos kai proedros Kretes ho homologetes,” *EEBS* 9 (1932) 56–79. MM 2:1–108. For list of works, see Hennepf, op. cit. 4–6.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 2696–843. *PLP*, no. 11648. —A.M.T.

**NEILOS OF ANKYRA**, also called Neilos the Ascetic, theologian and saint; died ca.430; feast-day 12 Nov. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 217.4–6) and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (PG 146:1256A), he served as eparch of Constantinople under Theodosios I and then left for Sinai together with his son Theodoulos. These data are now considered as legendary; they are based on a romance, entitled *Diegemata* (*Narrations*), which describes the adventures of Neilos and Theodoulos on the Sinai peninsula. Various works have survived under the name of Neilos (*CPG* 3:6043–84), both in Greek and other languages (Syriac, Armenian, Latin, etc.). Distinction between the different Neiloi is difficult, but it is usually accepted that there were two of them—one the author of the ostensibly autobiographical *Narrations*, and another who wrote letters, treatises on monastic life, commentaries on the *Song of Songs* (R. Browning, *REB* 24 [1966] 107–14), etc. A number of “heretical” writings, notably those of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, have been preserved under his name.

Two of the works ascribed to Neilos are the most important and the most controversial: the *Narrations* and a corpus of 1,061 letters. The *Narrations* contains rich ethnological data about barbarian tribes that lived between Arabia and Egypt and knew no craft, trade, or agriculture, sustaining themselves only by the sword (ch.3.1, ed. Conca, p.12.3–5). J. Henninger (*Anthropos* 50 [1955] 81–148) considered Neilos’s ethnological observations untrustworthy, whereas V. Christides (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 39–50) argued that his data on Bedouin stoneworship and sacrifices of camels and humans are accurate. The corpus of letters has suffered from editorial corruption, perhaps in the 6th C. when it was well known;

many of the titles of the letters addressed to illustrious officials have now been unmasked as anachronistic additions. Al. Cameron (*GRBS* 17 [1976] 181–96) considers the bulk of the correspondence genuine, even though edited by an admirer of Neilos, while Ringshausen (*infra*) sees in the correspondence the work of a different author. The major themes of his letters are the imitation of Christ as the way to perfection, practical advice for seekers of spiritual guidance, and allegorical interpretations of biblical texts; discussions of Christology and refutations of ARIANISM also appear. Letter 4.61, to Olympiodoros the eparch, praises the value of depicting biblical scenes on church walls to instruct the illiterate but criticizes the use of hunting scenes (H.G. Thümmel, *BZ* 71 [1978] 10–21).

ED. PG 79. *Gli scritti siriaci di Nilo il solitario*, ed. P. Bettolo, with Ital. tr. (Louvain-le-Neuve 1983). P. van den Ven, “Un opusculé inédit attribué à S. Nil,” in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, vol. 2 (Liège 1908) 73–81. *Narratio*, ed. F. Conca (Leipzig 1983).

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:496–504. H. Ringshausen, *Zur Verfasserschaft und Chronologie der dem Nilus Ancyranus zugeschriebenen Werke* (Frankfurt 1967). K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen* (Leipzig 1917). F. Degenhart, *Neue Beiträge zur Nilusforschung* (Münster-Aschendorff 1918).

—B.B., A.K.

**NEILOS OF ROSSANO**, also known as Neilos the Younger, saint; born ROSSANO in Calabria ca.910, died GROTTAFERRATA 26 Sept. 1004. An orphan from an illustrious family, after a chaotic youth Neilos abandoned secular life (and his child) for the ascetical life of Italy’s “New Thebaid.” He came under the guidance of PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER in the region of Merkourion. He secured the monastic habit despite governmental prohibitions, which may evidence the antimonastic attitude of ROMANOS I after the novel of 934. In the early 950s Neilos returned to the neighborhood of Rossano, where he founded the monastery of St. Adrian. Around 980, fleeing admirers and Muslim raiders, he moved north to MONTECASSINO, where he and his followers lived about 15 years at the daughter house of Valletuce. Then, disenchanted by laxity, Neilos and many of his monks moved to Serperi, near Gaeta. Shortly before his death he founded the monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata.

Neilos’s career marks the high point of Italo-

Greek monasticism. He was a talented scribe. His hymns are elegant. A disciple commemorated him in a vita that is remarkable for its style and substance, describing not only Neilos’s rigorous asceticism but also Italo-Greek monasticism in general. By vividly contrasting Neilos with Byz. notables, the Montecassino monks who greeted him as “another Benedict,” the decadent Lombard princess Aloara, and Emperor OTTO III, the vita reveals not only the saint’s charismatic power but also the power of Byz. culture.

ED. D.S. Gassisi, ed., “Innografi italo-greci: Poesie di S. Nilo Iuniore e di Paolo Monaco, abbatte di Grottaferrata,” *OrChr* 5 (1905) 26–81.

SOURCES. AASS Sept. 7:262–320. *Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Neilou tou Neou*, ed. G. Giovanelli (Grottaferrata 1972). With It. tr. in idem, *S. Nilo di Rossano, Fondatore e patrono di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata 1966).

LIT. *BHG* 1370. E. Morini, “Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell’Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 358–74. O. Rousseau, “La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont-Cassin,” *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall’VIII al XVI secolo* 3 [= Italia Sacra 22] (Padua 1972) 1111–37. Garzya, *Storia*, pt. IV (1969), 77–84. E. Follieri, “Due codici greci già cassinesi oggi alla Biblioteca Vaticana: Gli Ottob. Gr. 250 e 251,” in *Paleographica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, vol. 1 (Rome 1979) 215–19. J.M. Sansterre, “Les coryphées des Apôtres, Rome et la papauté dans les Vies des saints Nil et Barthélemy de Grottaferrata,” *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 516–43. —J.M.H.

**NEILOS THE ASCETIC**. See NEILOS OF ANKYRA.

**NEKTARIOS**, bishop of Constantinople (June 381–27 Sept. 397); born Tarsos. He was a member of the senate when Gregory of Nazianzos retired from the see of Constantinople; DIODOROS OF TARSOS included Nektarios in the list of candidates presented to Theodosios I, who selected Nektarios despite the fact that he had not yet been baptized and stood at the very bottom of the candidate list (Sozom. *HE* 7.8.1–6). Nektarios was a politician rather than a church leader and worked in close contact with Theodosios. He presided over the Council of 381 in Constantinople that condemned the Arians (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), but thereafter Nektarios endeavored to achieve reconciliation. He tried to increase the authority of Constantinople without entering into a conflict with Rome and Alexan-

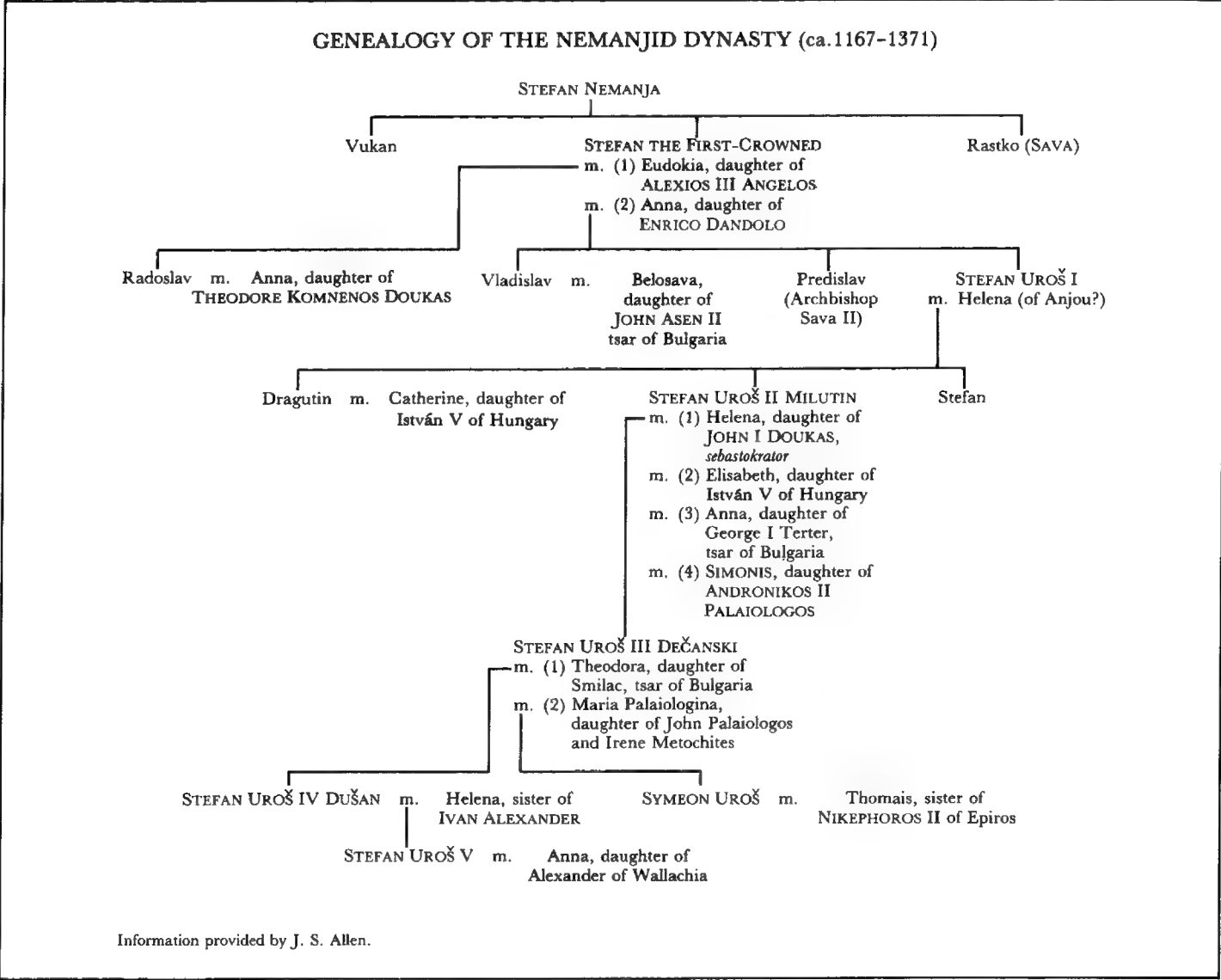
dria: even though the Eastern bishops refused to participate in a council planned by Pope Damasus in 382, Nektarios appeased the pope by subscribing to Western theological tenets. In 394 the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch peacefully attended a local synod in Constantinople. Nektarios probably extended the jurisdiction of Constantinople over Thrace; bishops of Asia Minor and even distant Bostra began to seek his arbitration in their litigations. Nektarios reformed the system of PENANCE, abolishing the office of a permanent confessor and permitting a believer to partake of the sacraments from a priest of his/her choice.

A homily on St. Theodore is preserved under the name of Nektarios (PG 39:1821–40). PALLADIOS OF GALATIA (*Laus. Hist.*, ch. 38, ed. Butler, 117.5–6) characterized him as “the most dialectical [in disputes] against all the heresies.” An *enkomion* of Nektarios by an unknown *grammatikos*, Leo of Sicily, is preserved in an unpublished 14th-C. MS (*BHG* 2284).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 1–12. Dagron, *Naissance* 453–63. —A.K.

**NEMANJID DYNASTY**, Serbian royal family (ca.1165/68–1371). Its founder was STEFAN NEMANJA. The ten successive rulers increased in stature from *župan* of RAŠKA to emperor of the Serbs and Greeks, in the person of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. The branch of Nemanja’s son Vukan ruled in ZETA. During the 200 years of Nemanjid rule, the borders of Serbia expanded into Byz. territory as far south as the Gulf of Corinth. Through marriage, the Nemanjids became related to dynasties in Constantinople, the despotate of Epiros, the Bulgarian Empire, the kingdom of Hungary, and the kingdom of Naples and to the doges of Venice. The opening of silver mines in the 13th C. secured economic prosperity, which provided the financial base for military success. The Serbian church became an independent archbishopric, first headed by Nemanja’s youngest son SAVA OF SERBIA. All the Nemanjids built ecclesiastical foundations, churches, and monasteries such as Djurdjevi Stupovi, Žiča, STUDENICA, HILANDAR, MILEŠEVA, Morača, SOPOČANI, Gradac, ARILJE, GRAČANICA, Dečani, PEĆ, Holy Archangels near Prizren, and Matejić. The genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty, styled after the Tree of Jesse, is painted





Rulers of the Nemanjid Dynasty

Ruler	Reign Dates
STEFAN NEMANJA	ca.1165/68–1196
STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED	župan 1196–1217 king 1217–ca.1228
Stefan Radoslav	ca.1228–ca.1234
Stefan Vladislav	ca.1234–1243
STEFAN UROŠ I	1243–1276
Stefan Dragutin	1276–1282
STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN	1282–1321
STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI	1321–1331
STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN	king 1331–1345 tsar 1345–1355
STEFAN UROŠ V	1355–1371

in the churches at Gračanica, Dečani, Peć, and Matejić. (See table for a list of Nemanjid rulers; see also genealogical table.)

LIT. *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vols. 1–2 (Belgrade 1981–82). S. Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* (Skopje 1934). –J.S.A.

**NEMESIOS** (Νεμέσιος), late 4th-C. bishop of Emesa in Syria, a successor of EUSEBIOS OF EMESA. His treatise on ANTHROPOLOGY, entitled *On the Nature of Man*, in which he attempts to fuse a Platonizing doctrine of the soul with Christian revelation, was much exploited by JOHN OF DAMASCUS in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (bk.2, chs. 12–29) and by MELETIOS THE MONK in his synopsis of Christian and pagan ideas on the

human constitution. The treatise was translated into Armenian and Latin; Thomas AQUINAS was a notable Western user. The content is more philosophical and scientific than theological, albeit the exegetical methods of the Antiochene School come through, and there is an obtruded mention of contemporary controversy over hypostatic union. Nemesios's use of classical Greek science is highly eclectic, adopting or rejecting Plato and Aristotle according to the needs of the moment; many other sources are adduced, notably scientific writers from Epicurus to Galen.

The tract of Nemesios is an exalted praise of the human being as a perfect creature between the corporeal and incorporeal worlds, a microcosm (*mikros kosmos*, "little universe"). The human being possesses both the incorporeal soul—the major part of which is reason and which is preexistent (like Plato's idea) and eternal—and the body, consisting of perishable matter. Its most beautiful member is the eye. Optimistically, Nemesios stresses free will, creativity, wisdom, and the ability to foresee the future, and admonishes man not to fear death, since only sinful death is evil.

ED. *De natura hominis*, ed. M. Morani (Leipzig 1987). *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, ed. W. Telfer, with Eng. tr. (London 1955) 201–466.

LIT. A. Siclari, *L'antropologia di Nemesio di Emesa* (Padua 1974), with add. in *Aevum* 47 (1973) 477–97. A. Kallis, *Der Mensch im Kosmos: Das Weltbild Nemesios' von Emesa* (Münster 1978). R.W. Sharples, "Nemesius of Emesa and Some Theories of Divine Providence," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 141–56. –B.B.

**NEO-CHALCEDONISM**, a conventional scholarly term to designate a theological movement of the 6th C. The goal of the Neo-Chalcedonians was to overcome the problems posed by the Christological formula accepted at the Council of CHALCEDON in 451; this dyophysite formula, which stressed the existence of two natures in Christ, did not sufficiently clarify the character of the union between the divine and the human in the incarnate Logos. Whereas NESTORIANISM shifted eastward, to Persia and the Syrian borderlands, the Monophysites maintained an active presence within the empire and kept accusing the strict Chalcedonians, predominantly those of Constantinople, of Nestorian tenets. Some theologians, such as Nephaios (C. Moeller, *RHE* 40 [1944–45] 73–140), JOHN OF CAESAREA, and LEONTIOS

OF JERUSALEM, tried to find a compromise between Chalcedonians and moderate ("verbal") Monophysites; although they accepted the 12 anathemas of CYRIL of Alexandria and the statement that "one of the Trinity has suffered," they tried not to separate the human principle from the divine *physis* of Christ but emphasized the *synthesis* ("combination," the term also used by the "verbal" Monophysites) and hypostatic (but not "natural") unity of the two principles.

Political considerations (the search for reconciliation) brought into the Neo-Chalcedonian camp both ecclesiastical leaders, such as the patriarchs of Antioch Anastasios (559–69) and Gregory (569–93) (P. Allen, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 13–16), and emperors, such as Justinian I. The official acceptance of their views at the Council of Constantinople in 553 was followed by an "anti-Nestorian" reaction—the condemnation of the THREE CHAPTERS. A compromise with the Monophysites, however, was not achieved.

LIT. S. Helmar, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* (Bonn 1962). Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.56, pp.156–61. C. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 1 (Würzburg 1951) 666–96. P. Gray, "Neo-Chalcedonianism and the Tradition: From Patristic to Byzantine Theology," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 61–70. –A.K.

**NEOKAISAREIA** (Νεοκαισάρεια, Turk. Niksar), city of Pontos in the Lykos Valley on one of the main northern routes across Anatolia. Famed for its first bishop, Gregory the Thaumaturge, Neokaisareia became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Pontus Polemoniacus. Although struck by earthquakes in 344 and 449, Neokaisareia's powerful fortress remained suitable as a refuge when Chosroes I attacked SEBASTEIA in 575. Thereafter its history is obscure until the 11th C., when it was attacked by the Turks, who first sacked it in 1068 and captured it after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The GABRADES restored Byz. power in the 1080s, but by the end of the century Neokaisareia fell to DANIŞMEND. The Turkish epic DANIŞMENDNÂME preserves the memory of these struggles. The imprisonment of BOHEMUND here provoked the unsuccessful Crusade of 1101. After failing to take Neokaisareia in 1140, John II Komnenos brought back many inhabitants of the region and settled them in securely Byz. lands. Neokaisareia contains a mas-

sive and well-preserved fortress, some of whose walls are certainly Byz.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 107–10.

—C.F.

**NEOKASTRA** (Νεόκαστρα), one of the themes in the empire of Nicaea. Its origins are obscure: Niketas Choniates applies this term, meaning “new castles,” to a group of *phrouria* (CHLIARA, PERGAMON, and ATRAMYTTION) in northwestern Asia Minor that stood under command of a *harmostes* sent from Constantinople; they paid taxes to the imperial treasury (Nik.Chon. 150.53–56). On the other hand, the chrysobull of Alexios III of 1198 and the PARTITIO ROMANIAE list the “provincia” of Neochastron/Neocastri separately from Atramyttion, Chliara, and Pergamon. George Akropolites (Akrop. 28.3–8) describes Neokastra as a theme along with Kelbianon, Chliara, Pergamon, Magidia, and Opsikion. He includes in Neokastra the village of Kalamos (in the north?), but Ahrweiler’s thesis (*infra*) that it encompassed also Magnesia and Sardis is only hypothetical (Pachym. [ed. Bekker, 2:220f] contrasts Neokastra and Sardis). Neokastra was administered by a *doux*; one of these administrators, Libadarios, supported Andronikos II against Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1296. Ahrweiler suggests that Constantine Nestongos was the last known *doux* of Neokastra ca. 1304.

LIT. Ahrweiler, “Smyrne” 133–37, 163–65. Angold, *Byz. Government* 246. C. Foss, “The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks,” *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 186–89. —A.K.

**NEOPATRAS** (Νεόπατρας, also Neai Patrai, anc. and mod. Hypate), Thessalian city in the Spercheios Valley, east of LAMIA. The name *Hypate* was used by Prokopios and Hierokles; Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 2.42–43, ed. Pertusi, p.88) knew it as Hypate “which is now called Neai Patrai.” In the 12th C. Basil of Ohrid (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:393.1–2) stated that Symeon, bishop of Neopatras, was transferred to Laodikeia “in the days of Leo VI and Photios (*sic*),” but we do not know whether the new name was used in 9th-C. documents or only applied by Basil. The seal of Euthymios MALAKES designates the bishopric as “Patrai Helladikai” as distinguished from Patrai Katotero (i.e., of the Peloponnesos: Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.763).

The city was perhaps abandoned at the time of

the Slavic invasions and until 1204 is known only as an ecclesiastical center—by the 10th C. it was already a metropolis with one suffragan, increased to 12 in the 12th C. It played a greater role after 1204, first under Latin control, then within the despotate of Epiros. After the battle of PELAGONIA Neopatras fell to Byz., but by the end of the 13th C. it was under the authority of independent Thessalian *doukes*. Circa 1309 John II of Neopatras married Irene, the illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, and styled himself “the lord of the lands of Athens and Neai Patrai and the *doux* of KASTORIA” (Nicol, *Epiros II* 74f). The CATALANS seized Neopatras in 1319 and retained the city when almost all their possessions had been lost. In 1394 the Ottomans captured Neopatras.

Remains of the largely 13th-C. castle with keep are south of the modern town, on the site of the ancient acropolis. In the town are remains of a three-aisled basilica and in the Church of St. Nicholas *spolia* of Byz. buildings with an inscription of *proedros* Demetrios KATAKALON, the *ktetor* of the Church of Hagia Sophia (P. Lazarides, *ArchDelt* 16 [1960] B 164–66).

LIT. *TIB* 1:223f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 143–45, 199–201. Ferjančić, *Teslija* 141–51. Fine, *Late Balkans* 398f, 430.

—T.E.G.

**NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS** (Νεόφυτος Ἐγκλειστος), Cypriot monastic writer and saint; born Leukara, Cyprus, 1134, died after 1214; feastday 24 Jan. At age 18, he left his poor family and was tonsured at the monastery of John Chrysostom on Mt. Koutzoubendes; there he worked five years in the vineyard, received some education, and became subsacristan (*parekklesiarches*). Then he left the monastery and traveled through Palestine. After his return to Cyprus, when he was about to journey to Latros, Neophytos was arrested, robbed of two nomismata (the price of the fare), and barely escaped imprisonment. He endeavored to become a solitary hermit but had difficulty getting permission: in 1159, when he withdrew to a cave near Paphos, the local bishop ordered him to receive disciples. Although Neophytos spent some time as a recluse (ENKLEISTOS), he was closely connected with the monastery of Enkleistra, which he had founded and provided with a *typikon* (second version in 1214). He wrote various books on ecclesiastical subjects (panegyrics, catecheses,

homilies, commentary on the Song of Songs, etc.) but was also interested in contemporary events. He described the plight of the Cypriots under the rule of RICHARD I LIONHEART and produced vivid autobiographical pictures both in his *typikon* and in smaller works, such as the *Divine Sign* (*Theosemeia*). In the latter he narrated an accident: an enormous stone rolled upon him, and his rescue required long and painful efforts by his community.

ED. Survey of Neophytos’s works—I. Tsiknopoulos, “To syngraphikon ergon tou hagiou Neophytou,” *KyprSp* 22 (1958) 67–214. See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 550.

LIT. L. Petit, “Vie et ouvrages de Néophyte le Reclus,” *EO* 2 (1898–99) 257–68. H. Delehaye, “Saints de Chypre,” *AB* 26 (1907) 274–97. I. Tsiknopoulos, “He thaumaste prosopikotes tou Neophytou presbyterou monachou kai enkleistou,” *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 311–413. —A.K.

**NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS, ENKLEISTRA OF**, near Paphos, CYPRUS. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS carved the tomb, cell, and oratory of his Enkleistra (hermitage) in the side of a cliff in 1159/60. The Enkleistra became a monastery after Neophytos’s sanctity attracted disciples. The original, simple white-ground fresco decoration of the cell and sanctuary was covered with highly refined paintings by Theodore APSEUDES in 1183, under the patronage of Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos. Except for the Annunciation, all Christological scenes come from the PASSION cycle. Monastic saints holding scrolls with didactic phrases occupy much of the sanctuary. The unusual monastic and eschatological tenor of the decoration as well as the two portraits of Neophytos that appear in this phase perhaps indicate that the founder of the monastery rather than the PATRON determined the program. The nave of the Enkleistra was enlarged and decorated with additional saintly ascetics and scenes from the Passion at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th C.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, “The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall-Paintings,” *DOP* 20 (1966) 119–206. Winfield, “Reports” 264. A.W. Epstein, “Formulae for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and their Founders,” *ChHist* 50 (1981) 385–400. —A.J.W.

**NEOPLATONISM**, a modern term for the philosophy of PLOTINOS and of the philosophical schools that he inspired, which flourished principally at Athens and Alexandria through the 6th C. Like his immediate predecessors (“middle” Pla-

tonists), Plotinos sought in the dialogues of PLATO a systematic philosophy. Taking advantage of Aristotelian and Stoic ideas, he reached conclusions of some originality and cogency. The material world he saw as a unified whole, organized and sustained by soul (*psyche*), which acts as the transmitter to matter of form inspired by models found in another radically different type of reality corresponding to Plato’s realm of Forms (or Ideas). This is a reality from which soul itself derives; it is outside space, time, and body and is the object of thought and the very activity of a transcendent divine INTELLECT or mind (*nous*). This intellect and its object of thought, as multiple, presuppose in turn a first principle, the “One,” which as prior to (“beyond”) being (the Forms) and intellect transcends the knowable and the speakable; at the same time it must also be that from which all else, in descending hierarchical order (*nous, psyche, material world*), must derive its existence, each level existing from and in orientation (*epistrophe*) to the level above it.

The lowest level, matter, although ultimately derived from the One, as that which receives form, must remain impassible and is therefore absolute evil, according to Plotinos. It also gives rise to moral evil in souls that become engrossed in the material world and forget their original nature and mission as a progression outward from the realm of divine intellect as expression of the perfection and power of the One. Man’s happiness depends on orientation toward and a return (ascent) to the One; PHILOSOPHY is the method required for achieving this “assimilation to God” (Plato, *Theaetetus* 176b). This flight from the world is balanced, however, by a desire to communicate perfection and reform the lesser, a desire that can show itself in political as well as personal life.

Plotinos’s pupil PORPHYRY did much to publicize this philosophy and also to antagonize Christian leaders (on the difficult relations between Neoplatonism and Christianity, see PHILOSOPHY). Porphyry’s pupil IAMBlichos founded a school in Syria that influenced Emp. Julian and stimulated a revival of Platonism at Athens, the principal figures of which were Syrianos, PROKLOS, DAMASKIOS, and SIMPLIKIOS. Proklos’s pupil AMMONIOS became head of the Neoplatonic school at Alexandria, with which were associated Asklepios, John PHILOPONOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and



**STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA.** The Neoplatonic schools developed Plotinos's philosophy in various ways, integrating much of Aristotle's logic, physics, and ethics in the curriculum, elaborating and modifying Plotinos's metaphysics and "harmonizing" it with the revelations of the CHALDEAN ORACLES (which included theurgical rites) of the Egyptians, Orphics, Homer, and Hesiod. In 529 Justinian I severely curtailed the activity of the ACADEMY OF ATHENS and provoked a temporary exile of seven philosophers at the court of Chosroes I in Persia. The school at Alexandria continued, however, possibly thanks to some cooperation with church authorities. Besides determining the form in which philosophy (and in particular LOGIC) was taught in the earlier part of the Byz. period, as exemplified by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Neoplatonism was later revived as a philosophy by Michael PSELLOS and by PLETHON.

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 195–325. R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972). *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. D.J. O'Meara (Norfolk, Va., 1982). J. Whittaker, *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought* (London 1984). J.M. Rist, *Platonism and Its Christian Heritage* (London 1985).

—D.O'M.

**NEREIDS**, sea NYMPHS, daughters of the sea god Nereus, one of whom was Thetis, mother of ACHILLES. They are often mentioned in late Roman epic: thus, QUINTUS OF SMYRNA (3:662) speaks of the "deathless Nereids" and frequently alludes to Thetis and other Nereids plunging into the depths of the sea. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS calls Ino "a Nereid who has charge of untumultuous calm" (*Dionysiaka* 10:124–25), alluding to the nymphs' function as helpers at sea. Elsewhere he describes a Nereid seated upon a dolphin and paddling with her wet hand (*Dionysiaka* 1:72–75) or a Nereid in long flowing robes who drives unbridled the bull of Zeus, which walks upon the waters (1:101–03). In Byz. hagiography the function of helping at sea was transferred from Nereids to plain dolphins, as, for example, in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER.

In modern Greek folklore, Nereids have assumed an important role, and their name is linked to the vernacular *nero*, "fresh water." In contrast to "bodiless" angels Nereids are imagined in corporeal form, working mischief upon men, women, and children. Byz. sources reveal neither the date

nor the manner of this transformation of Nereids into water demons.

LIT. Lawson, *Folklore* 130–46.

—A.K.

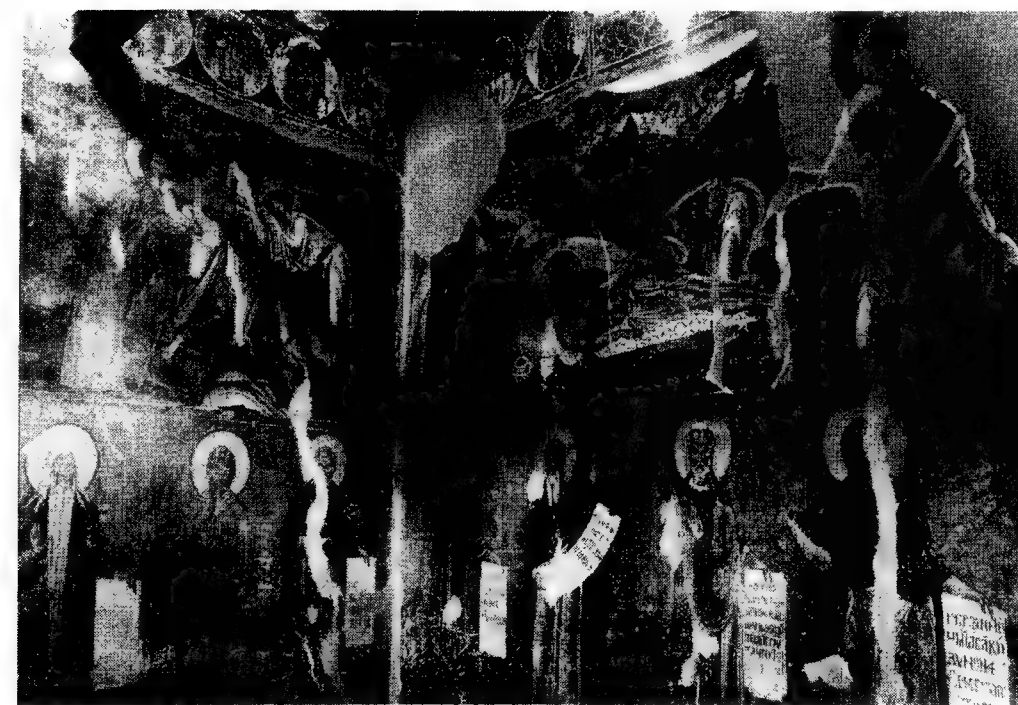
**NEREZI**, site in Macedonia of the Church of St. Panteleemon. According to an inscription over the entrance, the church was founded in 1164 by Alexios KOMNENOS, son of Theodora Porphyrogennete and scion of the ANGELOS family (Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 166–82). The building, constructed of irregularly cut stone and brick laid in thick mortar beds, has a domed cruciform core. Arches, vaults, and ornamental details are realized in brick. The corner bays to the west are separate chapels opening from the narthex; those to the east function as PASTOPHORIA. Frescoes of the original foundation were discovered on the walls of the church when it was cleaned in 1923. Included among the scenes from the cycle of the PASSION OF CHRIST is one of the earliest examples of the Threnos in monumental painting. In the narthex and narthex chapels are sequences of HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION. The expressive temperament of the frescoes, like those at KURBINOVO and KASTORIA, is characteristic of Macedonian MONUMENTAL PAINTING in the later 12th C.

LIT. P. Miljković-Pepel, *Nerezi* (Belgrade 1966).

—A.J.W.

**NERSĒS.** See also NARSĒS.

**NERSĒS I THE GREAT**, saint, great-great-grandson of GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, and hereditary patriarch of Armenia (353?–373?). Nersēs was a dominant figure in the history of the ARMENIAN CHURCH, though the precise dates of his pontificate are still debated. Consecrated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, as were most of his predecessors, Nersēs may have been known to his contemporary, St. BASIL THE GREAT, with whom he is occasionally confused in Armenian sources. The council called by him at Aštišat (ca.354) introduced a number of Byz. usages into the Armenian church. Nersēs is particularly renowned for his many charitable foundations possibly influenced by those of Eustathios of Sebaste. Nersēs probably headed the embassy sent to negotiate a peace



NEREZI. Church of St. Panteleemon. Frescoes on the west and north walls (above: Deposition from the Cross, Lamentation [*threnos*]; below: monastic saints).

between the Persians and Byz. in 358, but his opposition to the arianizing policy of Constantius II and of the Armenian kings led to a long exile from ca.359 and his eventual murder. The tradition that he was present at the First Council of Constantinople (381) is clearly apocryphal. The refusal of Caesarea to consecrate the successor of Nersēs presumably broke the link between it and the Armenian church.

LIT. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pts. V–VII.

—N.G.G.

**NERSĒS OF LAMBRON**, Armenian churchman, author, and translator; born 1153 at Lambron in the western Taurus, died Cilicia 1198. Son of the lord of Lambron and a member of the HET'UMID family, at age 22 he became Armenian archbishop of Tarsos. He was important in the ecclesiastical and political life of Armenian CILICIA, and promoted friendly relations with the Greeks and Crusader states. The *Oration* he delivered at the Synod of Hrom-klay (the patriarchal see) in 1179 reflects this irenic spirit. In 1190 Prince LEO II/I Rubenid sent him to meet Frederick I Barbarossa, but the emperor had drowned before Nersēs reached Seleukeia, and his heir, Henry VI, was reluctant to crown Leo. Alexios III Angelos, anxious to pre-

vent an Armenian entente with the Latins, promised the crown to Leo, and in 1197 Nersēs traveled to Constantinople for preliminary negotiations but was disillusioned by the Byz. A scholar and literary figure, he sought out texts as yet unavailable in Armenian, notably in the Greek and Latin monasteries on the Black Mountain. His translations include the Benedictine Rule, the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK, and a version of the Revelation of John. His more noteworthy original compositions include commentaries on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, 12 MINOR PROPHETS, the liturgy; an elegy on NERSĒS ŠNORHALI; letters; and homilies.

ED. See list in B.L. Zekiyan, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 123–28.

LIT. N. Akinean, *Nersēs Lambronac'i* (Vienna 1956). J. Mécérian, "La Vierge Marie dans la littérature médiévale de l'Arménie: Saint Gregoire de Narek, Saint Nersēs de Lampron," *Al-Machriq* 48 (1954) 346–79.

—R.T.

**NERSĒS ŠNORHALI** ("gracious") or Klayec'i ("from Hrom-klay," the patriarchal see in Armenian Cilicia); born Covk' (near mod. Elazig) 1102, died Hrom-klay 15 Aug. 1173. A member of the Pahlavuni family, he was a brother of the *katholikos* Gregory III (1113–66) and himself became *katholikos* (1166–73).

In 1165 Nersēs initiated discussions with the *protostrator* Alexios AXOUCH, concerning union of the Greek and Armenian churches. The exchange of views between Cilicia and Constantinople was continued on the Greek side by THEORIANOS, and after Nersēs's death by his nephew GREGORY TZAY on the Armenian side, but eventually came to nothing.

Nersēs is esp. renowned for his religious poetry. His longer works include *Lament on the Fall of Edessa* (to ZANGI in 1144), *Jesus the Son*, and *On Faith*. His *Encyclical Letter* is irenic toward the Greek church, and his letters are important for their exposition of the Armenian theological tradition.

ED. *Opera*, ed. and tr. J. Cappelletti, 2 vols. (Venice 1833). *Jésus Fils unique du Père*, tr. I. Kéchichian (Paris 1973). *La complainte d'Edesse*, tr. I. Kéchichian (Venice 1984).

LIT. H. Bartikian, "Les Arewordi (Fils du soleil) en Arménie et Mésopotamie et l'épître du Catholicos Nersēs le gracieux," *REArm* n.s. 5 (1968) 271–88. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 11–33, 73–121. B.L. Zekiyan, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 134–50. —R.T.

NESEBÜR. See MESEMBRIA.

NEŞRI, Ottoman poet and historian; teacher in Bursa; born in Karaman?, died Bursa? between 1512 and 1520. Neşri was the author of the *Kitāb-i cihan-nümā*, a universal history written in Turkish prose after Arabic and Persian models. Surviving is the sixth section, which deals primarily with Ottoman history from its origins to 1485. Here Neşri synthesized AŞIQAŞAZADE with a few other sources (now lost), adding minimally from his own knowledge and experiences. Consequently, his information about Byz. largely duplicates or parallels Aşiqpaşazade.

For Byz. studies, the value of Neşri is now mainly historiographic. His work was first transmitted to European scholars by Leunclavius, in his *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII* (Frankfurt 1591). Thereafter Neşri's materials were repeatedly used—in one form or another, and in conjunction with the post-Byz. Greek historians—to construct narratives about late Byz./early Ottoman history. Present understanding of the value of Neşri as a source dates to 1922, when P. Wittek demonstrated its relationship with Aşiqpaşazade and Leunclavius's texts.

ED. *Kitāb-i Cihan-Nümā*, ed. F. Unat, M. Köymen, 2 vols. (Ankara 1949, 1957).

LIT. P. Wittek, "Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Neşrî)," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921–22) 77–150. V. Ménage, *Neshrî's History of the Ottomans* (London 1964).

—S.W.R.

NESSANA (ʿAuja al-Hafir in Israel), settlement in the NEGEV situated on a trade route between Gaza and Sinai; it was fortified and garrisoned (421–22?) with "very loyal Theodosians" by Theodosios II (?). An inscription records that another building was constructed there under Justinian I and Theodora. Churches were built there in the 5th and 6th C., and the excavators believe that the fort of Nessana was converted to a monastery in 598–605. In 601/2 three more churches were built with the donations of various laymen whose names are inscribed on individual architectural elements. Excavators also found the NESSANA PAPYRI, literary papyri, and several archives dating from the 6th to late 7th C.

LIT. *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, 3 vols. (London-Princeton 1950–62). —M.M.M.

NESSANA PAPYRI, Greek, Latin, and Arabic documents and literary material found in 1935–37 at NESSANA in the Negev, constituting one of the few papyrus finds outside Egypt. Nessana was a Byz. military and ecclesiastical outpost, located on the trade and pilgrimage routes; the town remained prosperous until well after the Arab conquest. The papyri date from the early 6th to the late 7th C., although there is a gap ca.600–70. The documentary papyri come from the archives of the garrison, the noble families of church dignitaries, and the later Arab administration. They include contracts, accounts, receipts, requisitions, sales, loans, documents of family law, and ecclesiastical and private letters. The literary papyri comprise school texts including a bilingual Vergil glossary and Latin *Aeneid* codex, a legal text, and theological works including New Testament books, the "Abgar letter," hagiography, homilies, and catechetical writings. Presumably they were studied in the monastic school at Nessana. As a whole the Nessana papyri illustrate the flourishing of a Byz. Palestinian town and its decline in later Umayyad times.

ED. L. Casson, E.L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 2 (Princeton 1950). C.L. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3 (Princeton 1958).

LIT. *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, vol. 1 (London 1962). H.-J. Wolff, "Der byzantinische Urkundenstil Ägyptens im Lichte der Funde von Nessana und Dura," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 8 (1961) 115–54.

—L.S.B. MacC.

NESTONGOS (Νεστόγγος), a family of probably Bulgarian origin that entered Byz. service after 1018. Some seals of 11th- and 12-C. Nestongoi are known, including the nun Xene (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.3, no.2014). The family is also mentioned in the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. Although they were related to JOHN III VATATZES, two of them conspired against the emperor: Andronikos escaped to the Turks, but his brother Isaac was arrested, blinded, and mutilated. However, the Nestongoi retained prominence: Theodore II reportedly planned to make George Nestongos his son-in-law.

Under the Palaiologoi the Nestongoi held important posts and possessed much landed property. The family intermarried with the DOUKAI; many of its notable members bore the combined name of Doukas Nestongos, such as Alexios (governor of Thessalonike and *pinkernes* in 1267), Constantine (*parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones* and governor of Nyssa ca.1280–84), a *megas hetaireiarches* (first name unknown) and *primikeries tes aules* in 1304, Roger de Flor's enemy. Another Doukas Nestongos served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 93). Several other Nestongoi are known, from Michael (a relative of Michael VIII, *protosebastos* and great enemy of the ARSENITES) to Laskaris Nestongos (an official in 1385). Eudokia Nestongonissa, the wife or widow of a *megas papias*, appeared in 1315 as an aunt of Andronikos II. The hymnographer Nestegon, who composed an office on PALAMAS, may have belonged to the family.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 20195, 20197–20202. Polemis, *Doukai* 150–52. I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŭrchu srednovekovnata bŭlgarskata istorija i kultura* (Sofia 1981) 27–37. —E.T., A.K.

NESTOR, monk of the Kievan Caves monastery (from ca.1074); born ca.1050s, died early 12th C. He wrote vitae of BORIS AND GLEB ca.1080 and of FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA before 1089 (A. Poppe, *Slavia orientalis* 14 [1965] 287–305). Nestor cre-

ated literary images of the first holy men of Rus' by using traditional Byz. hagiographic techniques to narrate specifically Kievan stories. Although his two vitae differ somewhat in form and focus (Boris and Gleb are portrayed as martyrs, Feodosij as the ideal monk and superior), both are carefully conventional in structure, content, and language. Nestor draws widely from Byz. hagiography in Slavonic translation, including PATERIKA; Cyril of Skythopolis' vitae of SABAS and THEODOSIOS KOINOBIARCHES; and vitae of EUSTATHIOS Placidus, ROMANOS THE MELODE, and ANTONY THE GREAT. The traditional view that Nestor was also the initial compiler of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET lacks firm foundation in the chronicle's MS tradition (D. Ostrowski, *HUkSt* 5 [1981] 28f) and does not resolve the major stylistic and factual contradictions between the chronicle and Nestor's vitae (A.G. Kuz'min, *Načal'nye etapy drevnerusskogo letopisanija* [Moscow 1977] 133–54).

LIT. S.A. Bugoslavskij, "K voprosu o charaktere i ob'eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora," *IzvORJaS* 19 (1914), no.1:131–86; no.3:153–91. F. Siefkes, *Zur Form des Žitije Feodosija* (Hamburg-Berlin-Zurich 1970). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 11–40. A. Giambelluca Kossova, "Per una lettura analitica del Žitie Prepodobnago Feodosija Pečerskago di Nestore," *RicSlav* 27–28 (1980–81) 65–99.

—S.C.F., P.A.H.

NESTORIANISM (Νεστοριανισμός—THEODORE LECTOR, *HE* 111.1), theological doctrine developed in the first half of the 5th C. by NESTORIOS (who gave the name to the movement), supported by DIODOROS OF TARSOS and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Nestorianism was directed against the partisans of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia; the Nestorians also considered CYRIL of Alexandria as an Apollinarist, and probably the most dangerous one. While the Monophysites (see MONOPHYSITISM) emphasized the union of two natures in Christ, a union in which the human nature seemed to have been engulfed by the divine *physis*, the Nestorians underscored the human principle in Christology. Although they repeatedly asserted (and to some extent believed in) their adherence to "the Orthodoxy of Pope Leo the Great and Patr. Flavian," they preferred the term *synapheia* (conjunction) to the Orthodox *henosis* (unity) to designate the relationship between the two natures in Christ; they denied the hypostatic unity of Christ, accepting only the prosopic unity—two hypostases in one *prosopon*; they rejected the epi-



thet THEOTOKOS for the Virgin, replacing it with Christotokos, the mother of Christ.

Opponents accused the Nestorians of acknowledging the existence of two distinct Sons of God—a charge that they justifiably denied—but they evidently put more stress on Christ's humanity than did the Chalcedonians. Accordingly they paid greater attention to the problems of will and ethics in their soteriology, which resembled PELAGIANISM; man's active role in overcoming his sinfulness was so striking in Nestorian belief that their opponents ascribed to them the view that Christ did not lack the capacity to sin but liberated himself by the effort of his will.

Defeated and condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431, the Nestorian bishops rejected the alliance concluded by Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch in Apr. 433 and the election of ATTIKOS to the see of Constantinople; they established a separate church, which received its form and its name at the Synod of Seleukeia-Ctesiphon in 486 (W.F. Macomber, *OrChrP* 24 [1958] 142–54). The Nestorian church gained a firm foothold in Persia and in some regions of Syria and spread its influence to northern Arabia and eastward to India, Central Asia, and China; it probably was popular among merchant communities in the Persian and later the Arab world and beyond. Their main theological schools were active in Seleukeia and NISIBIS. The Nestorian synod of 612 formulated a doctrine incompatible with the tenets of Chalcedon, since it accepted two hypostases in Christ but a single *prosopon* and rejected the term Theotokos. The ideologists of Nestorianism developed the concept of seven sacraments but did not include marriage in this number; they did consider the “sign of the cross,” however, as a sacrament.

LIT. F. Loofs, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (New York 1914). E. Amann, *DTC* 11 (1931) 288–313. R. Macina, “L'homme à l'école de Dieu: d'Antioche à Nisibe, profile herméneutique, théologique et kérygmaticque du mouvement scoliaste nestorien,” *PrOC* 32 (1982) 86–124, 266–301; 33 (1983) 39–103. A. Ziegenaus, “Die Genesis des Nestorianismus,” *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 23 (1972) 335–53. T. Mousalimas, “The Consequences of Nestorius' Metaphysics,” *GOrThR* 32 (1987) 279–84. —A.K.

**NESTORIOS** (Νεστόριος), bishop of Constantinople (10 Apr. 428–22 June 431); born Germanikeia ca.381, died Egypt after 451. Nestorios en-

tered the monastery of St. Euprepios at Antioch and may have studied with THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. In Antioch he earned a reputation as an orator and was summoned by Emp. Theodosios II to Constantinople. There he acted as a rigorous moralist, preaching against games and theaters; in his criticisms he offended PULCHERIA. He showed himself to be a fierce opponent of Arians and Novatians but supported PELAGIAN bishops deposed in Italy. The major controversy incited by Nestorios resulted from his objection to the term THEOTOKOS for the Virgin: he pointed out the difficulty in accepting the idea that Mary gave birth to God, but he was opposed by CYRIL of Alexandria and Pope Celestine, who stressed soteriological concerns rather than exactness of philosophical definition (H.J. Vogt in *Konzil und Papst* [Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1975] 97). The Council of Ephesus in 431 condemned both sides, trying in vain to suppress the controversy, stimulating instead the movements of NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM. Nestorios was exiled to his monastery at Antioch, then to Petra, and finally to the Oasis in Upper Egypt. Before his death he accepted the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon.

Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 7.32) asserted that Nestorios only appeared to be eloquent and educated but that he did not understand “the ancients.” In general, Nestorios was a victim of his Monophysite and Orthodox adversaries and his works were destroyed within the empire; only a Syriac translation of his *Bazaar of Herakleides* and some fragments (in Greek, etc.) exist, although GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES knew many of his writings. Whether Nestorios was essentially Orthodox (M.V. Anastos, *DOP* 16 [1962] 117–39) or not (G. Jouassard, *RHE* 74 [1979] 346–48) is still under dispute.

ED. F. Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle 1905). G.R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *The Bazaar of Heraklides* (Oxford 1925).

LIT. L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (Milan 1974), with rev. P. Kannengiesser, *RHE* 73 (1978) 669–72. H.E.W. Turner, “Nestorios Reconsidered,” *StP* 13.2 (1975) 306–21. M. Jugie, “L'episcopat de Nestorios,” *EO* 14 (1911) 257–70. L. Abramowski, *Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius* (Louvain 1963). R.C. Chesnut, “The Two *prosopa* in Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heraklides*,” *JThSt* n.s. 29 (1978) 382–409. —T.E.G.

**NESTOR OF THESSALONIKE**, saint executed by Maximian in Thessalonike; feastday 26 or 27 (*Synax.CP* 167) Oct. According to a legend in-

cluded in the *passio* of St. DEMETRIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Nestor, a Christian youth, killed in single combat Lyaïos, Maximian's favorite, with the help of the “god of Demetrios,” thus infuriating the emperor and causing his and Demetrios's execution. Strangely enough, Nestor plays an active part in the early *passio* of Demetrios, whereas Demetrios himself is restricted to a passive role. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 167f) and the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (PG 117:129AB) include short notices on Nestor. Some *enkomia* (one by Joseph of Thessalonike [762–832]) on Nestor are preserved.

**Representation in Art.** Nestor's association with Demetrios (his feast is independent but celebrated on the same day) means that his portrait is sometimes included when only that of Demetrios is actually warranted (e.g., *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 6, fol.3v). A depiction of his beheading accompanies his notice in the *Menologion of Basil II* (p.141 of facs. ed.), while other episodes of his life, such as his murder of Lyaïos, are illustrated in Demetrios cycles. Nestor, a young man with somewhat unruly dark hair, is reckoned one of the military saints, and dressed accordingly.

LIT. BHG 2290–92. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 104–06. —A.K., N.P.S.

**NEUMATA** (νεύματα, sing. νεῦμα), graphic symbols (see NOTATION) representing one or more musical notes attached to sacred words. The use of signs to designate melodic movement for Byz. liturgical texts may be traced back at least to the 9th C. The ekphonic signs, those in LECTIONARIES, are used sparingly, usually at the beginnings and endings of sentences. They indicated the manner of recitation without specifying actual pitch or offering further details about the melodic contour.

Other neumatic signs evolved and developed in the 10th–15th C. Two stages may be distinguished: (1) *neumata* of the 10th–12th C., believed to originate in the prosodic signs or accents of the Alexandrian grammarians (recent scholarship has divided this stage into two types—the so-called Chartres notation using complex signs to stand for entire groups of notes and the so-called Coislin notation designating each melodic step by a separate sign); and (2) *neumata* of the 12th–15th C., in which each sign specifies the precise interval

between one note and its neighbor. The *neumata* that move in steps are called *somata* (“bodies”) and those that leap are called *pneumata* (“spirits”).

LIT. M. Haas, *Byzantinische und slavische Notationen* (Cologne 1973). C. Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel 1970). —D.E.C.

**NEW TESTAMENT** (Καὶνὴ Διαθήκη), the second part of the BIBLE, consisting of the GOSPELS, ACTS, the Epistles of PAUL and other apostles (James, Peter, John, and Judas [the so-called catholic epistles]), and the APOCALYPSE attributed to John. The New Testament canon was formed during the 2nd–4th C. and its contents were finally established by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in his 39th Easter letter of 367; dispute concerning the canon (esp. Apocalypse) nonetheless persisted. The text of the New Testament was preserved primarily in parchment codices, either together with the OLD TESTAMENT, as a separate book, in its separate parts (GOSPEL BOOK, etc.), or in the form of the LECTIONARY.

Church fathers understood the word *diatheke* to mean a covenant between God and his people. The old covenant established by MOSES culminated in the work of JOHN THE BAPTIST. Christ established a new covenant that passed from ISRAEL to the “new Israel,” the Christian community. Thus the New Testament, without annulling Mosaic law, reflected a higher level of relation between God and man. John Chrysostom (PG 51:284.2–5) compared the Old Testament with a mother's milk and elementary education, while the New Testament offered solid food and philosophy. In the words of Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:677CD), the Old Testament raised the body to the soul, thus impeding the mind's descent to the body; the New Testament led the body to God, purifying it by fire.

LIT. P. Feine, J. Behm, W.G. Kummel, *Einführung in das Neue Testament*<sup>14</sup> (Heidelberg 1965) 349–406. K. & B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Leiden 1987). K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1963). G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984). —J.I., A.K.

**NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.** New Testament imagery forms the basis of Byz. art as we know it. Within the New Testament, the Gospels predominate. The APOCALYPSE, accepted as

canonical only in the 14th C., never entered the liturgy, and its imagery was rarely exploited. The Epistles were illuminated at most with portraits of the various authors and an occasional scene from their lives. ACTS had a coherent tradition of illustration, but this survives in only three Byz. cycles. Imagery from the Gospels was enriched by the APOCRYPHA, not only the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, which narrated the early life of the Virgin, but also the 7th-C. homilies based on the *Transitus Mariae* (a group of texts on the DORMITION of the Virgin) describing the PASSION and ANASTASIS, the lives of those APOSTLES treated sparsely in Acts, and the apocalyptic texts associated with Peter and EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

The most distinctive creation of Byz. New Testament illustration was the depiction of the GREAT FEASTS, each one the image of an event designed to stand not only for the event itself but for the Church feast that—by celebrating it—made it perennially present. Fully developed by the 10th C., these images constituted a ready pool of stable, well-understood compositions available for use in countless contexts. The feasts are the staple of monumental painting; along with the single figure, they dominate icon painting; they appear on ivories and steatites used for private devotion; they adorn jewelry. They provide the most consistent body of material for illuminated MSS, accompanying the texts for each feast in liturgical books of all kinds, in homiletic compilations and in Gospel books, even though several of these images—notably the Anastasis for Easter—draw primarily on apocryphal texts. They signal the importance of the liturgy for the shaping of Byz. art.

**First Period (4th–6th C.).** Historically speaking, New Testament imagery is rooted in the pan-Mediterranean art of early Christianity and is inseparable from it. In DURA EUROPOS no less than in Rome, New Testament imagery was at first limited to laconic scenes, primarily of the MIRACLES OF CHRIST, that served along with Old Testament vignettes of salvation from death as signs of the saving power of the Christian faith. The triumph of the Church in the early 4th C. generated a wave of eschatological images analogous in their iconography to imperial triumphal art. These gave new focus to scriptural imagery, presenting Christ's life as a triumphant victory over death and a path to sovereignty. The ensuing century saw a radical expansion not only in subject

matter, which now embraced both Gospels and Acts, but in physical setting, as a public, monumental art began to emerge. The eschatological themes moved up into apses and domes ("Tomb" of GALLA PLACIDIA in RAVENNA; Rotunda of St. GEORGE and HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike). The Gospel episodes were gathered into coherent cycles. First among these was the INFANCY OF CHRIST, followed by his Miracles; the PASSION, still usually without the CRUCIFIXION, developed by the early 6th C. in response to an emerging emphasis on the sacrificial as well as the triumphal aspect of Christ's humanity.

**Second Period (6th–7th C.).** In the eastern Mediterranean, ample material survives to allow focused study of 6th–7th-C. Byz. art. By this time, New Testament imagery was quite fully developed. With few exceptions, the thematic material of all subsequent compositions had been established; lengthy Gospel cycles already appeared in MSS and monumental painting. Narrative was not the primary function even of the lengthy cycles, however. TYPOLOGY is overt—witness the prophets who accompany the scenes in the Sinope and ROSSANO GOSPELS; the scenes of the Infancy of Christ are amplified by apocryphal vignettes emphasizing the union of human and divine; at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, the cycles reflect both liturgical usage and Christological thought. The miniatures of the RABBULA GOSPELS, some simple and some richly interpretative, also reflect the multiplicity of levels on which this art is intended to function. Significant for the future in this respect are the compositions of Christ's EPIPHANIES found on the Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE. Incorporating elements of the pilgrimage sites, they connoted the sites themselves; they also conveyed theological messages; above all, they stood for the theophanies represented—to see one was to see the event's divine meaning revealed. In several cases, they inaugurated imagery that would eventually become standard for the depiction of the Great Feasts.

**Third Period (8th–12th C.).** The quantity of surviving Eastern Christian material dwindles during the Arab expansion and Iconoclasm, and an extensive artistic tradition reasserts itself only in the later 9th C. The intervening centuries, labeled the era of ICONOCLASM, produced a slow, fundamental realignment of Byz. that goes far beyond Iconoclasm itself. The Byz. culture that emerged was dominated intellectually by a small,

Constantinopolitan aristocracy; its art served the interests of the highly centralized church and state, whose patterns the provinces echoed. This centralization is reflected sharply in the 10th-C. codification of liturgical books and the attendant development of the powerful liturgical icons. A new, courtly composition of the LAST JUDGMENT emerged. Small, usually vaulted, private churches were in favor; the extensive Gospel cycles of the old, congregational churches, though retained in some cases, suited these interiors less well than condensed cycles; by the 11th C. one finds the "classic" system of condensed imagery: the hierarchic decoration based primarily on the feast icons. The plenitude of Early Christian Gospel and Acts imagery was, however, maintained in MSS that became a reservoir for the variations that constantly vitalized the classic system.

Throughout the arts, imagery focused ever more sharply on the life of Christ, esp. his human death in the Passion and its reenactment in the liturgy. The exegetic intellectuality of MSS like the PARIS GREGORY gave way to an expressive devotional imagery of strong personal appeal. This developed in conjunction with the affective amplification of HOLY WEEK ceremonies in the liturgies of private monasteries. To the Passion cycle were added emotive extrabiblical scenes (THRENOS, MAN OF SORROWS), and episodes in the Infancy of Christ were invested with poignant foreshadowings of his death. Mary acquired new prominence. This development must have taken place to a fair extent in MSS and above all in icon painting, which expanded in both numbers and iconography in the 12th C. Later 12th-C. monumental cycles also abandoned the classic repertoire of feast scenes in favor of more sacramental themes.

**Fourth Period (13th–15th C.).** Like Gothic art, the imagery of the Palaiologan period is visually detailed and intellectually intricate. Few of the images are actually new, though they are used in new contexts. Thus familiar scenes of the life of the Virgin now illustrate the AKATHISTOS HYMN for the first time. The Akathistos appears more often in monumental painting than in MSS; this is not surprising, as the illuminated MS nearly vanished as a vehicle for New Testament imagery in the 14th and 15th C. Monumental painting, by contrast, displays cycles of unprecedented length and detail. These, again, draw largely on extant images, but assemble and amplify them. Long, coherent cycles develop around secondary themes

like the ministry of JOHN THE BAPTIST, the trial of Christ, or the preparation for the Crucifixion; analogies such as that between Christ's descent into the humility of the cave at birth, into the depths of the sea at EPIPHANY, and into the darkness of Hell at death are visualized more vividly; and typological parallels like the Prefigurations of the Virgin are developed with unprecedented fullness. Perhaps most distinctive in Palaiologan imagery is its use of allegory, as in the image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege (see PEGE). Rare in Byz. art before the 14th C., allegory becomes a major Palaiologan contribution to post-Byz. iconography.

LIT. Millet, *Recherches*. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton 1968). Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. Weitzmann, *Studies* 247–70. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus—das Bild* (Munich 1965). —A.W.C.

**NICAIA** (*Níkaiα*, mod. Iznik), city in BITHYNIA. One of the greatest Byz. cities, capital of an empire in the 13th C., and seat of two ecumenical councils (see NICAIA, COUNCILS OF), Nicaea prospered from its location on major trade and military routes and its control of an extensive fertile territory. In late antiquity, it was a large, powerfully fortified city filled with civic and private buildings laid out on a regular plan. It was a major military base—site of the proclamation of Valens as emperor and of the revolt of PROKOPIOS—and seat of an imperial treasury where tax revenues were deposited. Earthquakes in 363 and 368 combined with the growth of Constantinople provoked decline; many civic buildings fell into ruin, to be rebuilt by Justinian I. During these centuries, the church of Nicaea flourished: Valens made it a metropolis independent of its ancient rival NIKOMEDEIA; conflicts between the two sees flared at the Council of Chalcedon, originally planned to meet in Nicaea.

After a period of obscurity, Nicaea frequently appears in the 8th C. and later as a powerful fortress: in 715, it was the refuge for Emp. ANASTASIOS II, and in 716 and 727 it resisted Arab attack; the city was a major bulwark on the highway that led to Constantinople. Damage from the siege of 727 was compounded by an earthquake in 740. Nicaea, base for the revolt of ARTABASDOS, became capital of OPSIKION in the 8th C. In the 10th C., Nicaea was a center of administration and trade, with a Jewish community and an im-



perial *xenodocheion*. Rebels sought to control it as a strong point near Constantinople: Bardas SKLEROS, ISAAC I KOMNENOS, NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES, and Nikephoros MELISSENOs all fought in and around Nicaea. When Melissenos joined Alexios I in the West in 1081, he left Nicaea to his Turkish allies, who soon assumed control. Nicaea was thus capital of the first Turkish state in Asia Minor until the First Crusade captured it in 1097 after a long siege, their first victory in Asia and the only time in history that Nicaea succumbed to direct assault rather than blockade. Alexios I took control of Nicaea from the reluctant Crusaders and defended it against the Turks. In 1147, Nicaea was the supply base for the abortive Second Crusade and in 1187 unsuccessfully revolted against Andronikos I.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Nicaea at first took an independent position, but recognized THEODORE I LASKARIS in 1206; he was crowned there in 1208. From that date until 1261 Nicaea served as capital of the empire (see BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: Empire of Nicaea), although JOHN III VATATZES resided in NYMPHAION and MAGNESIA; it was also the seat of the patriarch and home of many illustrious refugees, notably Niketas CHONIATES, Nicholas MESARITES, and Nikephoros BLEMMEDES. Laskarid Nicaea was the scene of frequent synods, embassies, and imperial weddings and funerals and became a center of education, notably under THEODORE II LASKARIS, who founded and endowed an imperial school. After the recapture of Constantinople, Nicaea declined in importance and prosperity. Neglect of the eastern frontier provoked a serious revolt in the region in 1262, and in 1265 the whole city panicked on rumor of a Mongol attack. In 1290 Andronikos II arrived on a tour of inspection and restored the walls, but the region remained defenseless against a new foe, OSMAN. Nicaea held out until 1331, when it fell to the Ottomans after a long blockade. When Gregory PALAMAS visited Nicaea in 1354, its Christian population was severely depleted.

The well-preserved walls of Nicaea, completed in 270, manifest numerous styles of construction representing constant rebuilding, notably in the 8th, 9th, 12th, and 13th C. Originally a single rampart 5 km long with 80 towers, built of rubble and brick, the walls were raised and strengthened before being transformed by John III, who added

an outer wall and a moat. The most noted of Nicaea's churches was the monastery of Hyakinthos, known in modern times as the Church of the Dormition. A rectangular structure with a cruciform nave surmounted by a dome on massive pillars and separated from the aisles by arcades, it manifests affinities with a group of cross-domed basilicas and appears to date to the late 6th C. The church was decorated with mosaics whose images, replaced by the Iconoclasts, were restored after 843. It was rebuilt and redecorated after the earthquake of 1065 and stood until 1924. The surviving basilica of Hagia Sophia in the center of the city, probably site of the council of 787, preserves traces of its elaborate marble decoration. Most renowned in the 13th C. was the Church of St. Tryphon, scene of a miracle in which lilies bloomed out of season on the annual festival of the saint, Nicaea's patron. The recently discovered ruins of the church are no longer in evidence. Surviving remains of two other 13th-C. churches have not been identified. Civic buildings have not been preserved, with the exception of the Roman theater, abandoned and used as a quarry and dump after the 7th C. The 13th-C. city is known in some detail, from the *enkomia* of Theodore Laskaris, delivered before John III ca. 1250, and of Theodore METOCHITES, addressed to Andronikos II in 1290. Although the speeches are filled with extravagant rhetoric, they give an image of the city in its regional context and show that churches, monasteries, charitable institutions, palaces, and houses shared the area within the walls with extensive open spaces.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea* (Berlin 1943). R. Janin, "Nicée. Étude historique et topographique," *EO* 24 (1925) 482-90. A.M. Schneider, W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin 1938). L. Robert, "La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie," *HStClPhil* 81 (1977) 1-39. E. Trapp, "Die Metropolen von Nikaia und Nikomedia in der Palaiologenzeit," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 183-92. T. Shmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin-Leipzig 1927). H. Grégoire, "Encore le monastère d'Hyacinthe à Nicée," *Byzantion* 5 (1930) 287-93. C. Foss, J. Tulchin, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1990). —C.F.

**NICAIA, COUNCILS OF.** Two ecumenical councils were convened in Nicaea.

**NICAIA I.** The first ecumenical council (20 May or 19 June—ca. 25 Aug. 325) was convened by Emp. CONSTANTINE I to deal with the controversy

over ARIANISM. No account of its proceedings survives except a list of 20 canons issued by the council, its creed, and a synodal letter excommunicating ARIUS. The exact number of bishops in attendance is unknown. Various authors give figures between 200 and 300, while church tradition fixes the number at 318 (E. Honigmann, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 429-49; idem, *Byzantion* 20 [1950] 63-71). The council's creed—probably a revision of the baptismal formula used in Jerusalem—was the first dogmatic definition of the church to have more than local authority. Rejecting Arius's ontological subordination of the Son to the Father, the council defined the incarnate Logos as consubstantial or *homoousios* with the Father. This definition's implication is vital: for if Christ were not fully divine, as Arianism proclaimed, then man could not hope to share in divine life or salvation. Even so, the nonscriptural *homoousios* clause adopted by the council was to cause doctrinal disunity down to 381. The council also dealt with the computation of EASTER by ordering its celebration on the Sunday after the full moon following the vernal equinox. Finally, among its disciplinary regulations, canon 6 is important for its recognition of the jurisdiction of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. This canon, in effect, marks the origin of the PATRIARCHATES.

SOURCES. Mansi 2:635-1082. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites*, ed. H.G. Opitz, 3:1.1 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934).

LIT. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Nicée et Constantinople* (Paris 1963). E. Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et la 'Foi' de Nicée*, 2 vols. (Paris 1972). C. Luibhéid, *The Council of Nicaea* (Galway 1982). —A.P.

**NICAIA II.** Under the patronage of Empress IRENE and the presidency of Patr. TARASIOS, this council (24 Sept.—13 Oct. 787) of 350 bishops, including two papal legates, brought to an end the first period of ICONOCLASM. Irene's plan to reverse her predecessor's policy, however, was momentarily thwarted when soldiers sympathetic to Iconoclasm dissolved its first meeting in Constantinople (31 July 786). Only in the following year (24 Sept.) did the council meet again, this time in Nicaea, where all sessions took place, except its eighth and last formal session held in Constantinople in the MAGNAURA palace. Its dogmatic decree condemned the "pseudo-council" of HIERIA (754) and formally defined the degree of veneration due to images. Its justification of the

cult was based, above all, on the reality of Christ's historic incarnation: the visible and paintable incarnate Christ permitted and, indeed, required pictorial representation. The council carefully distinguished between legitimate veneration due to ICONS (*proskynesis*) and absolute worship (*latreia*) due to God (Mansi 13:377D-E). The latter, if directed to images, was declared unlawful, a form of idolatry. Indeed, even in the case of *proskynesis*, the true object of honor was never the image, but that which was depicted. Unlike Pope HADRIAN I, who approved the council, CHARLEMAGNE, for ulterior political motives (though the faulty Latin translation of the *Acta* did not help), had it condemned at Frankfurt in 794. Final approval by the West was given in 880. The council is the seventh and last ecumenical council to be recognized as such by the Byz. church.

SOURCE. *Acta*—Mansi 12:951-1154, 13:759-820. Partial Eng. tr. D.J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos* (Buffalo 1986).

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73-87. P. Van den Ven, "La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787," *Byzantion* 25-27 (1955-57) 325-62. G. Dumeige, *Nicée II* (Paris 1978). P. Henry, "Initial Eastern Assessments of the Seventh Oecumenical Council," *JThSt* n.s. 25 (1974) 75-92. J. Darrouzès, "Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée (787)," *REB* 33 (1975) 5-76. *Nicée II, 787-1987, douze siècles d'images religieuses*, ed. F. Boespflug, N. Lossky (Paris 1987). M.-F. Auzépy, "La place des moines à Nicée II (787)," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 5-21. —A.P.

**NICAIA SCHOOL OF MANUSCRIPTS.** See DECORATIVE STYLE.

**NICANDER.** See NIKANDER.

**NICCOLÒ DA MARTONI**, a notary from Campania, the author of Latin memoirs recounting his trip to Jerusalem (June 1394–May 1395). His description is precise and full of personal observations, although his accounts of historical events are sometimes confused. Niccolò visited Cyprus, islands in the Aegean Sea, Alexandria, Mt. Sinai, Jerusalem, Athens, Corinth, Patras, Corfu, and other locales. He describes trade, the quality of wine, ancient monuments (e.g., the Acropolis of Athens), churches, relics, feasts, and legends.

ED. L. Le Grand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni," *ROL* 3 (1895) 566-669.

LIT. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:37-52. C. Enlart, "Notes sur le voyage de Nicolas de Martoni en Chypre," *ROL* 4 (1896) 623-32. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS** (Νικόλαος), personal name. Known in Greek antiquity, the etymology is evidently "victorious people" or "victorious with the people," but in the Roman period the word was used to designate a variety of date sent from Syria, allegedly by Nicholas of Damascus, to Emp. Augustus (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, bk.14:652a). The name was infrequently used in the secular milieu of the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:783), one of the few examples being the rhetorician NICHOLAS OF MYRA. It was more popular with the clergy, esp. in Lycia of the 5th and 6th C. (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 360f). Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.6.4) mentions a church of Priskos and Nicholas in Constantinople, but not a single man of this name. Nicholas does not appear in Malalas either, but Theophanes the Confessor has three: the saint of Myra, a former deacon, and a "heretical" hermit. After the 9th C. the frequency increased: Skylitzes has 13 Nicholases, Anna Komnene six, and in acts Nicholases are even more numerous. In *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Nicholases (42) are second only to JOHN and in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), they hold fourth place, ahead of MICHAEL and THEODORE. No emperor bore the name, but four patriarchs between the 10th and mid-12th C. were called Nicholas. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS I**, pope (from 24 Apr. 858) and saint; born between 819 and 822, died Rome 13 Nov. 867; feastday 13 Nov. He was born to a noble Roman family. As pontiff, Nicholas resolved to establish papal primacy over secular and ecclesiastical power in both the West and East. As his ideological vehicle Nicholas used the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* and effectively exploited political crises in Lorraine, France, Italy, and Byz. In 861 Nicholas managed to depose John of Ravenna (H. Fuhrmann, *ZSavKan* 75 [1958] 353–58). The conflict between the Byz. patriarchs IGNATIUS and PHOTIOS gave the pope an excuse to interfere in the internal struggles of the Byz. church. Nicholas sent Zacharias of Anagni and Radoald of Porto to Constantinople to investigate the matter; at the Council of 861 in Constantinople they sided with Photios but failed to secure the return of Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum to Roman jurisdiction. In 863 Nicholas changed his policy, accused Radoald and Zacharias of exceeding their authority, and proclaimed that Photios was uncanonically elected. In its turn, the Council of 867 at Constantinople

deposed the pope. Nicholas attempted to take advantage of the success of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in Moravia and invited them to Rome. Nicholas also tried to attract the support of BORIS I of Bulgaria; ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS was the pope's staunchest supporter, although it is questionable to what extent he dictated Nicholas's policy. Evaluations of Nicholas range from an enthusiastic panegyric (J. Roy) to the debunking of his policy as a complete failure (J. Haller).

LIT. F. Norwood, "The Political Pretensions of Pope Nicholas I," *ChHist* 15 (1946) 271–85. J. Roy, *St. Nicholas I* (London 1901), with Eng. tr. Y. Congar, "S. Nicolas Ier († 867): Ses positions ecclésiologiques," *RivStChlt* 21 (1967) 393–410. E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius bibliothecarius* (Berlin 1920). J. Haller, *Nikolaus I. und Pseudoisidor* (Stuttgart 1936). —A.K.

**NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (1 Mar. 901–1 Feb. 907, and May 912–May 925); born Italy 852, died 15 May 925. A friend of PHOTIOS, Nicholas fell into disfavor after Photios's dismissal in 886 and sought refuge in the monastery of St. Tryphon, near Chalcedon. LEO VI, his former schoolmate, brought him out of the monastery, appointed him MYSTIKOS, and eventually made him patriarch. Soon, however, Nicholas proved recalcitrant: he opposed the TETRAGAMY OF LEO and supported the rebel Andronikos DOUKAS. Replaced by EUTHYMOS as patriarch, Nicholas was exiled to his own monastery of GALAKRENAI, near Constantinople, but later returned to the patriarchal throne, probably before Leo's death on 11 May 912. Regent after ALEXANDER died in 913, he parted company with the Doukai and after some vacillation sided with ROMANOS I. Nicholas's restoration as patriarch incited a fierce struggle within the church between his supporters and those of the deposed Euthymios; reconciliation was finally achieved in 920, with the TOMOS OF UNION.

Nicholas's correspondence is a first-rate source for the history of ecclesiastical affairs and of Byz. relations with southern Italy, with Bulgaria under SYMEON OF BULGARIA, and with the Caucasus region. Nicholas also wrote several canonical works and a very conventional homily on the capture of Thessalonike by the Arabs in 904. Like Photios, Nicholas was a man of critical mind who dared to reject the authority of Old Testament quotations (ep.32.459–64) and to limit the Byz. principle that

the emperor is an unwritten law (ep.32.89–92,304–05). But he lacked originality in his theology and ethics, stressing the traditional view of the instability of the world and praising traditional values such as righteousness, moderation, and caution.

ED. *Letters*, ed. R. Jenkins, L. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973). *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. L. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1981).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2:598–624, 630–784. I. Konstantinides, *Nikolaos A' ho Mystikos* (Athens 1967). J. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas le Mystique et son rôle politique," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:91–100. Ja. Ljubarskij, "Zamečanija o Nikolae Mistike v svjazi s izdaniem ego sočinenij," *VizVrem* 47 (1987) 101–08. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 59–101. A. Kazhdan, "Bolgaro-vizantijskie otnošenija v 912–925 gg. po perepiske Nikolaja Mistika," *EtBalk* (1976) no.3, 92–107.

—A.K.

**NICHOLAS III** (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), pope (from 25 Nov. 1277); born Rome ca.1216 (according to R. Sternfeld, *Der Kardinal Johann Gaetan Orsini* [Berlin 1905] 315f), died Sorano 22 Aug. 1280. CHARLES I OF ANJOU was the major threat to the security of papal territory, and Nicholas dealt with him circumspectly. Accordingly, he pursued a cautious policy toward Emp. Michael VIII; thus he refused to excommunicate the allies of Charles in Thessaly and Epiros, but at the same time prevented Charles from attacking Constantinople. After receiving the embassy that the emperor had sent to Nicholas's predecessor John XXI (1276–77), the pope gave the envoys several letters addressed to Michael, his son Andronikos (II), and Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS. While praising the Byz. for accepting union at the Council of Lyons in 1274, Nicholas imposed new requirements; he insisted on a truce between Byz. and Charles. The orders dictated to the pope's *nuntii* were even harsher—Nicholas was very negative toward the Byz. position of maintaining the Greek rite. Runciman argues that Michael made an agreement with Peter III of Aragon (1276–1285) against Charles and bribed Nicholas to join this alliance. Anti-Union resistance in Byz. grew, but Michael dispatched a new mission to Rome to continue negotiations; when the envoys arrived, however, Nicholas was already dead.

LIT. A. Demski, *Papst Nikolaus III*. (Münster in Westfalen 1903). S. Runciman, "Pope Nicholas III and Byzantine Gold," in *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris 1959) 537–45; criticism by V. Laurent, *BZ* 53 [1960] 211.

—A.K.

**NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS**, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 1084–Apr./May 1111); died Constantinople. According to an unpublished *enkomion* by Nicholas MOUZALON, Nicholas Grammatikos was educated in Constantinople and lived in Pisidian Antioch (where he probably took the monastic habit). He left this city ca.1068 when it was endangered by Turkish raids (J. Darrouzès, *TM* 6 [1976] 163, n.4). In Constantinople he founded the monastery dedicated to John the Baptist and called *tou Lophou* (Janin, *Eglises CP* 418f). After several years Alexios I chose him to replace the deposed patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081–84). Nicholas inherited several difficult problems: he sided with the emperor in the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON and in the struggle against heretics, esp. the BOGOMILS, but he was more cautious in the conflict between provincial metropolitans and the central administration (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 53f, 65). Despite the vehement opposition of the clergy of Hagia Sophia, he supported NIKETAS OF ANKYRA against the emperor's right to promote metropolitans and he tried to restrict the influence of the CHARTOPHYLAX. Nicholas was also concerned about ecclesiastical discipline: he ordered the eviction of the VLACHS from Mt. Athos and dealt diligently with the regulation of FASTING (J. Koder, *JÖB* 19 [1970] 203–41).

The political situation prompted Nicholas to seek a union with Pope URBAN II. V. Grumel (*EO* 38 [1939] 104–17), however, ascribed to Nicholas a letter addressed to Symeon II of Jerusalem in ca.1089, in which the patriarch refuted the Latin views concerning the *filioque*, azymes, and primacy. On the contrary, J. Darrouzès (*REB* 23 [1965] 43–51) considers it a fake as well as the letter devoted primarily to disciplinary differences such as marriage of priests, fasting on Saturday, portable altars with relics, etc. (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 28 [1970] 221–37).

Some images previously identified as representing Theodore of Stoudios may depict Nicholas.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 938–98. Beck, *Kirche* 66of. A. Maraba-Chatzenikolaou, "Parastaseis tou patriarche Nikolaou III tou Grammatikou se mikrographies cheirographon," *DChAE* 10 (1980–81) 147–60. R. Janin, *DTC* 11 (1931) 614f.

—A.K., A.C.

**NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON**, patriarch of Constantinople (Dec. 1147–March/April 1151), born ca.1070, died 1152. A member of the MOUZALON



family, Nicholas probably began his career as *didaskalos* of the Gospels (BASILAKES, *Orationes* 79.16–19). Alexios I sent him to Cyprus as archbishop but in ca.1110 Nicholas abdicated. He spent 37 years in the Kosmidion monastery (see KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, MONASTERY OF SAINTS). Nicholas addressed to Alexios I a treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Zeses, *infra* 309–29) in which he refuted the concept of the FILIOQUE. Nicholas's election as patriarch aroused a fierce dispute about the canonical validity of occupying a second see after resigning a first. Basilakes (not an anonymous rhetorician—as Zeses asserts, p.238) and NICHOLAS OF METHONE defended Nicholas's election, whereas ZONARAS opposed it. Forced to retire from the see of Constantinople, Nicholas died soon thereafter. As patriarch Nicholas succeeded Kosmas II (1146–47), who was involved in (or accused of) BOGOMILISM, and tried to suppress popular influence on ecclesiastical culture, e.g., he ordered the burning of the vita of PARASKEVE OF EPIBATAI. Although in principle he supported the strict prohibition of marriages between close relatives, Nicholas was lenient with regard to aristocratic families (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1029). Besides theological works he wrote a poetic defense of his abdication from the see of Cyprus that contains vivid pictures of both his journey to Cyprus and the tragic situation on the island.

ED. S. Doanidou, "He paraiteisis Nikolaou tou Mouzalonos apo tes archiepiskopes Kyprou," *Hellenika* 7 (1934) 109–50 (cf. E. Pezopoulos, *EEBS* 11 [1935] 421f; P. Maas, *F. Dölger, BZ* 35 [1935] 2–14).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1027–35. Th.N. Zeses, "Ho patriarches Nikolaos IV Mouzalon," *EThSPTh* 23 (1978) 233–330. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS V** (Tommaso Parentucelli), pope (from 6 Mar. 1447); born Sarzana 15 Nov. 1397, died Rome 24 Mar. 1455. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks occurred during his pontificate, and some of his contemporaries (e.g., Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II) accused Nicholas of insensitivity toward the fate of the Eastern Christians and the mighty stronghold on the Bosphoros. The pope's position was determined by several factors: his involvement in a war in Italy, the indifference of European rulers, and a general perception of the Greeks as schismatics. The last Greek mission, headed by Manuel Angelos Palaiologos, arrived in Venice in

Nov. 1452. In response, Nicholas wrote to Constantine XI on 29 Jan. 1453 stating that aid was conditional on Byz. acceptance of UNION OF THE CHURCHES (W. Deeters, *QFltArch* 48 [1968] 365–68). The papacy did, however, make certain gestures: in May 1452 Nicholas dispatched ISIDORE OF KIEV to Constantinople with 200 men; on 28 Apr. 1453 the pope appointed Jacopo Veniero commander of a fleet intended to rescue the besieged Constantinople. The ships had not yet left Venice, however, when Constantinople fell. The negotiations about organizing an expedition against the Turks continued, but the majority of European princes ignored the summonses occasionally issued by the pope or the German emperor. A Renaissance pope, Nicholas collected many Greek MSS and supported Greek scholars who had immigrated to Italy.

LIT. K. Pleyer, *Die Politik Nikolaus V.* (Stuttgart 1927). C. Marinescu, "Le pape Nicholas V (1447–1455) et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin," 4 *CEB* (Sofia 1935) 331–42. R. Guiland, "Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452–1453)," *BS* 14 (1953) 226–44. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF ANDIDA** (in Pamphylia; Beck [*Kirche* 645] suggested Sandida), late 11th-C. theologian. He wrote a treatise on AZYMES probably as a result of a dispute he had had with the Latins on Rhodes (ca.1095–1099?). He also wrote a liturgical work, *Protheoria*, a shorter version of which is preserved under the name of Theodore of Andida. In the *Protheoria* Nicholas constantly referred to the liturgical usage of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which he tried to imitate in his diocese. Interpreting the liturgy symbolically, he wanted to see in it the representation not only of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ but also of all the acts of his life, both public and private. Nicholas also insisted on the polyvalence of liturgical ceremonies, each of which, according to Nicholas, could signify two or three different facts. A short verse summary of the *Protheoria* is attributed in several MSS to PSELLOS (P. Joannou, *BZ* 51 [1958] 3–9); Darrouzès, however, questions this attribution.

ED. PG 140:417–68. J. Darrouzès, "Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes," *REB* 32 (1974) 207–10.

LIT. R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1966) 181–213; rev. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 25 (1967) 286. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF KERKYRA**, writer, metropolitan of Kerkyra; fl. ca.1100. He was a participant in the council of 1117 concerning EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA. Nicholas wrote a lengthy commentary on MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, with a verse prologue. His letter of abdication (a genre developed by Patr. NICHOLAS IV) presents the author as an honest man in a rotten world whose only hope is life in a desert. In enigmatic lines (p.33.76–78) Nicholas contrasts himself, an objective writer, with "the daughter of the emperor," who praises everything; did he mean Anna KOMNENE? Nicholas describes human nature bitterly, dwelling particularly on the perfidy of a false friend (p.37.202–03). Lampros identified Nicholas with the anonymous bishop of Kerkyra to whom THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid addressed two letters; these, dated in 1105–08, describe military and domestic difficulties in the Balkans.

ED. S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* (Athens 1882) 23–41.

LIT. P. Gautier in *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonike 1986) 88–90. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF METHONE**, theologian, bishop of Methone (from ca.1150); born early 12th C., died between 1160 and 1166. His life remains obscure. As panegyrist of MANUEL I, Nicholas consistently developed the concept of unity of state and church; not only a victorious general in the east, north, west, and at sea (*Logoi dyo*, p.6.7–8), but a benefactor of the church as well (p.45.17–20), Manuel himself resembled vigilant saint (p.43.17–20). Nicholas dreamed that Manuel would unite the Western and Byz. churches (p.8.23–27). Unity within the church was Nicholas's focal concern. He criticized the BOGOMILS and strictly opposed the transfer of NICHOLAS IV from the see of Cyprus to Constantinople. Nicholas fought for the perception of the unity of God: he polemicized against the FILIOQUE, fearing it would lead to denigration of the Second Person of the Trinity, and he emphasized the equality of the Holy Spirit with regard to the divine essence. He rejected the innovations of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS. Stressing the unity of Christ in the act of the EUCHARIST, Nicholas reproached Soterichos for raising the dispute at a time of danger from barbarians (p.44.1–4.70–72). Nicholas opposed Neoplatonist philosophy; in his refutation of PROKLOS (J. Dräseke unjustifiably questioned

Nicholas's authorship of this work—*BZ* 6 [1897] 55–91), his method of argumentation was an appeal to the Fathers rather than logic. Optimistic despite all the dangers, Nicholas believed that "our time" could produce genuine piety and dedicated a vita to a contemporary saint, MELETIOS THE YOUNGER.

ED. *Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology*, ed. A.D. Angelou (Leiden 1984), with rev. A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 64 (1989) 196–99. *Logoi dyo*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos (Leipzig 1865). Idem, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke* (Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1:199–380. L. Benakis, "Neues zur Proklos-Tradition in Byzanz," in *Proclus et son influence*, ed. G. Boss, G. Seel (Zurich 1987) 247–59. See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 625.

LIT. A. Angelou, "Nicholas of Methone: The Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop," *Classical Tradition* 143–48. G. Podskalsky, "Nicholas von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 509–23. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF MYRA**, legendary saint; feastday 6 Dec. His cult is mentioned several times in the vita of NICHOLAS OF SION, who lived near Myra (chs. 8.9, 57.25–26, 76.1–2); the latter's death is conventionally dated to 10 Dec. 564, even though MSS give different and inconsistent dates. Many of Nicholas's miracles are the subject of separate stories: for example, *On the Three Stratelatai* (or *stratopedarchai*), which was cited already by the priest Eustratios of Constantinople at the end of the 6th C.; and *On the tax*, in which the administrative and fiscal terminology (*chrysobull*, *sympath-eia*, *protonotarios*, *chartoularios*) that is used indicates probably a date of composition in the 9th or 10th C. Sometimes legends about Nicholas's miracles are combined in groups, as the so-called *Three Miracles*. Some stories link Nicholas with Constantine I the Great, thus placing the saint's activity around 300: he appeared to Constantine in a vision and convinced him to release three *stratelatai* who had been falsely accused of treason and sentenced to death; he visited Constantine on behalf of Myra and received from the emperor a chrysobull exempting the city from taxation (A. Kazhdan in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:135–38). One of the *Three Miracles* reflects the raids of Cretan Arabs in the Aegean and should be dated to the 9th or even 10th C. (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 176–82).

Surprisingly, a saint who was not martyred for his faith, left no theological writings, and was almost unknown before the 9th C. thereafter





NICHOLAS OF MYRA. Vita icon of St. Nicholas of Myra; late 12th or early 13th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. Around the bust of the saint are sixteen scenes from his life.

achieved great prominence, second only to the Virgin (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 22). The first attempt at a biography was the so-called *Vita per Michaelem*, according to G. Anrich (*infra* 2:261), but I. Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt.V [1975], 17f) suggests that Michael derived it from the vita written by Patr. METHODIOS—a text strangely silent on icons. From Byz. the cult of Nicholas spread to southern Italy: in 1087 Nicholas's relics were stolen by Italian sailors and transferred to Bari.

**Representation in Art.** The saint's distinctive features, a balding head and a trim, round beard, were not fully developed before the 11th C., from which time he regularly appears in the procession of bishops in church apses. His isolated portrait was often accompanied by the much smaller figures of Christ and the Virgin, with Christ handing him a Gospel book and the Virgin the OMOPHORION, probably originally a reference to the circumstances attending the elevation of Nicholas of Sion to the rank of bishop. Cycles of the life of

Nicholas, some comprising 16 or more scenes, were very popular in monumental painting and on icons from the 12th C. onward. They emphasize scenes of consecration, the miracle at sea (from the life of Nicholas of Sion), and various episodes of the story of the three generals, a story that revealed the remarkable powers of Nicholas as intercessor.

ED. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1–2 (Leipzig 1913–17).  
LIT. BHG 1347–1364n. N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin 1981). —A.K., N.P.Š.

**NICHOLAS OF MYRA**, rhetorician; born Myra ca.430 (not between 410 and 412, as previously believed), died after 491. Nicholas belonged to the school of GAZA and was a teacher in Constantinople, where his brother held a high administrative position. There is no evidence that Nicholas was Christian. The *Progymnasmata* is his sole surviving work; his other works (*Declamations*, *The Rhetorical Skill*) are known only by title. Nicholas was used, directly or indirectly, by some Byz. commentators on RHETORIC, such as JOHN OF SARDIS, JOHN DOXOPATRES, and MAXIMOS PLANOUEDES.

ED. *Progymnasmata*, ed. J. Felten (Leipzig 1913).  
LIT. W. Stegemann, *RE* 17 (1937) 424–57. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 66–69. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO**, southern Italian writer and diplomat; abbot of the monastery of St. Nicholas in Casole (from 1219/20); born Otranto between ca.1155 and 1160, died Casole 9 Feb. 1235. His monastic name was Nektarios. Nicholas served as interpreter to Benedict, legate of Innocent III to Byz. in 1205–07, and to cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO in 1214/15. His third visit to Byz. is known only from a letter of his friend George BARDANES. On that occasion Nicholas traveled to Nicaea, probably in 1225 on behalf of Frederick II (G. Weiss, *BZ* 62 [1969] 363). Nicholas was a Grecophile who wrote in Greek such works as *The Art of the Scalpel* (a collection of writings on astrology and geomancy); an anti-Jewish dialogue; three anti-Latin *syntagmata*, treatises on the differences between the Greek and Latin churches with regard to the FILIOQUE, AZYMES, etc.; letters; and poems. He also translated some Greek liturgical texts into Latin and corresponded with Greek ecclesiastics. In his dealings with Rome he defended the Greek clergy in Apulia and Calabria. Another Nicholas of Otranto, a Greco-Italian poet and son of Nicholas's friend and disciple

John Grasso (A.A. Longo, A. Jacob, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 371–79), is to be distinguished from him.

ED. A. Jacob, "La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 38 (1967) 49–107. A. Garzya, "Il proemio di Nicola d'Otranto alla sua 'Arte dello scalpello,'" *Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Milan 1982) 117–29, with Ital. tr.

LIT. J.M. Hoeck, R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole* (Ettal 1965). F. Cezzi, *Il metodo teologico nel dialogo ecumenico* (Rome 1975).

—A.K.

**NICHOLAS OF SION**, saint; born in the village of Pharroa, Lycia, died Myra 10 Dec. 564. When Nicholas turned 19, his uncle entrusted him with the shrine of Holy SION in Lycia, where Nicholas's two brothers joined him as disciples. He journeyed twice to Jerusalem and at the end of his life was ordained bishop of Pinara (in western Lycia). He performed many healing miracles during his lifetime.

Nicholas's vita was written, according to its editors, in the 6th C. by a member of his entourage on the basis of personal recollections as well as the records of the Sion monastery. There is, however, no data about the hagiographer in the vita, and the possibility of its having been written in the 7th C. cannot be excluded. The narration is vivid and rich in details of everyday life, with some elements influenced by the New Testament and Psalter (the hagiographer's usage of the first person plural may originate with the NT). Particularly noteworthy passages are the descriptions of the plague of the 540s (ch.52), the felling of a "sacred tree" in which an idol supposedly lived (chs. 15–19), and perilous sea voyages (chs. 27–31). The milieu described is predominantly rural: at least 17 villages are specifically named in this vita, whereas urban life is hardly mentioned.

Later (by the 10th C.) the cult of Nicholas was engulfed by that of NICHOLAS OF MYRA, and some miracles worked by Nicholas of Sion were transferred into tales about his namesake from neighboring Myra.

**Representation in Art.** By the time portrait types were being established, the two saints were already merged, so that there remain no independent images of Nicholas of Sion. Those events in his life that were taken over for the life of Nicholas of Myra (esp. the sea miracles and the felling of the cypress of Plakoma) were illustrated quite frequently but only in cycles devoted to the latter saint.

ED. I. and N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984), with Eng. tr. —A.K., N.P.Š.

**NICHOLAS OF STODIOS**, monk, politician, and saint; born Kydonia, Crete, 793, died Constantinople, 4 Feb. 868. Educated in a school directed by the STODIOS monastery, Nicholas became a staunch supporter of THEODORE OF STODIOS, whom he accompanied into exile in Metopa in 815. After the restoration of icon veneration in 843, Nicholas was appointed *hegoumenos* of Stoudios (846–49), but as a result of ecclesiastical struggles he had to retire. He was then recalled (853) but retired again in 858 in protest against the election of PHOTIOS as patriarch. He lived in various places, refusing any reconciliation with the Photians. After reinstating Patr. IGNATIUS, Basil I entrusted Nicholas once more with the leadership of Stoudios (867).

Nicholas was a renowned scribe. He copied several MSS, including the USPENSKIY GOSPEL BOOK of 835 (Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 219), the oldest dated minuscule MS. His vita, which was written by an anonymous Stoudite monk ca.915–30, contains substantial information about the second period of Iconoclasm, the struggle between the Photians and Ignatians, and the rebellion of THOMAS THE SLAV. It also includes Nicholas's prediction of the defeat of Nikephoros I by the Bulgarians in 811 and the story of a pupil of Nicholas who participated in this campaign; contrary to I. Dujčev (in *FGHBulg* 4 [1961] 25–27), there is not sufficient reason to identify Nicholas of Stoudios with a different Nicholas, the *stratiotes*, whose legend is contained in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. E. von Dobschütz (*BZ* 18 [1909] 71f) considered the vita anti-Photian and biased, whereas F. Dvornik (*Photian Schism* 240) found that it exuded "an atmosphere of peace."

SOURCE. PG 105:863–925.

LIT. BHG 1365. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 794–812. A. Phylaktes, "Hagios Nikolaos ho Kydonieus," *Pepragmena tou B' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou* 3 (Athens 1968) 286–303. F.-J. Leroy, "Un nouveau manuscrit de Nicolas Stoudite: le Parisinus Graecus 494," *PGE* 181–90. —A.K.

**NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, CHURCH OF SAINT**, early 14th-C. church located in the northeastern part of Thessalonike just inside the eastern walls. It was presumably named after its founder or patron, who is otherwise unknown. The original church, now surrounded by later aisles on three



sides, was a simple single-aisled building with a gabled roof and coursed stone and brick construction; brick decoration was used, esp. in the upper parts of the eastern and western ends. Earlier impost capitals were reused in the interior and the original carved templon survives. The interior is almost completely covered with frescoes contemporary with the construction of the church; these include feast scenes, scenes from the Passion, the lives of St. Gerasimos and St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 42f, pl.23.0–23.13), and liturgical cycles such as illustrations of the AKATHISTOS HYMN and a CALENDAR CYCLE. To the west of the church are remains of the entrance to the monastery to which it once belonged.

LIT. Ch. Tsioume-Maupoulou, *Ho Hagios Nikolaos ho Orphanos* (Thessalonike 1970). A. Xyngopoulos, *Hoi toichographies tou Hagiou Nikolaou Orphanou Thessalonikes* (Athens 1964). –T.E.G.

**NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF**, an apocryphal gospel or commentary (*hypomnemata*), produced in the 5th C. or even after 555, attributed to Nicodemus. Nicodemus, a Pharisee, is mentioned in the Gospel of John (Jn 3:1–10, 7:50–51) as having shown some support for Jesus. The Gospel consists of two independently written parts: the *Acts of Pilate* and *Christ's Descent into Hell*. The first section, known already to EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, was produced probably in the 4th C. to counter the fake *Acts of Pilate* issued as anti-Christian propaganda by MAXIMINUS DAIA; Pilate is made to witness the trial, Crucifixion, and interment of Christ. His *Acts* are accompanied by a description of the meeting of the Sanhedrin (in which Nicodemus played an active part) that testified to the reality of the Resurrection. The second section presents Christ's victory over Satan and Hades, the liberation of Adam, and Adam's encounter in Paradise with Enoch and Elijah, who are granted eternal life and are prepared to fight and kill the ANTICHRIST. The question of the original language is under discussion; Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic (the Coptic church praised Pilate as a saint and martyr), Georgian, Slavonic, and other versions have survived. The notion of an early Byz. illuminated Nicodemus cycle and the long-suspected derivation of the ANASTASIS image from it have recently been rejected (A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* [Princeton 1986] 10–16).

ED. C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1876; 1p. Hildesheim 1966) 210–432.

LIT. W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 1 (Tübingen 1987) 395–424. A. Vaillant, *L'évangile de Nicodème* (Paris 1968). G.C. O'Ceallaigh, "Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus," *HThR* 56 (1963) 21–58.

–J.I., A.C.

**NIELLO** (Lat. *nigellus*), a mixture of sulphur and silver or other metal. It was used for coloristic effect on metal objects, esp. silver domestic and display PLATE, finger RINGS, liturgical vessels, etc. Niello's black color contrasts effectively with gold, bronze, and silver to create salient linear effects and inscriptions. Although usually replaced by ENAMEL in and after the 10th C., it was in use as late as the 14th C. (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.28). If the term *enkausis* is correctly translated as niello, this medium was also employed on a large scale on the beaten silver floor of Basil I's Elijah chapel in the Great Palace (*TheophCont* 330.14). –A.C.

**NIGHT** (νύξ). In patristic vocabulary "night" was a metaphor for spiritual darkness and, in a broader sense, for sin, misfortune, and uncertainty. John Chrysostom (PG 59:309.28–41), referring to the apostle Paul (Rom 13:12), considered the present time as night "since we dwell in darkness" and tried to demonstrate that Paul's saying did not contradict the words of Christ (Jn 9:4), who spoke of the present as daytime and of the future as night, "when no one can work."

**Representation in Art.** The PERSONIFICATION labeled Night depended not upon patristic imagery but on Antique models. The Late Antique form of an aged female with wings and a black cloak, found in the Ambrosian *Iliad*, is replaced in PSALTER illustration with a younger woman holding a star-girt veil over her head (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, figs. 155, 177, 253). In this guise, as in Octateuch illustration, she supervises the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. Night appears in the PARIS PSALTER and elsewhere as the partner not of Day but of Dawn (Orthros), who is depicted as a child: Dawn holds her blazing torch upright while Night lowers hers. The figure of Night here resembles Antique images of Selene and Hekate (Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, fig.40) and is blue-skinned. Her identity is sometimes indicated in Job MSS by a dark aureole. –A.C., A.K.

**NIKA REVOLT**, uprising in Constantinople (11–19 Jan. 532); the name (lit. "Conquer!") was the cry of the rioters. The Greens started the mutiny at the Hippodrome; it remains questionable, however, whether the "Acclamations against Kalopodios" (see KALOPODIOS) refer to this event. The riot was provoked by Justinian I's severe fiscal policy and the extortions of his advisers; at the core of the discontent lay fear of a general tendency toward centralization and an assault on the traditional privileges of the factions and the senate (A. Čekalova, *VizVrem* 32 [1971] 24–39). Soon the Blues joined the Greens, and many senators supported the riot. Justinian ordered arrests of some members of both factions, but this drove the crowd to violence. The rioters attacked and burned government buildings, slew guards, and released the imprisoned; among the destroyed edifices were Hagia Sophia, the Chalke, the Church of St. Irene, the baths of Zeuxippos, and a part of the Augustaion. Urged to yield, Justinian removed the hated JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, TRIBONIAN, and Eudaimon, prefect of Constantinople. As the unrest continued, Justinian ordered BELISARIOS and a troop of Goths to attack the mob, but they could not quell the movement. On 18 Jan., Justinian tried to negotiate with the mutineers from his *kathisma* in the Hippodrome, but the crowd rejected his promises and arranged the coronation of HYPATIOS, Anastasios I's nephew. In consternation Justinian was ready to leave Constantinople but was stopped by Empress THEODORA, who urged him to act. Belisarios and Moundos attacked the Hippodrome and bloodily crushed the revolt. According to Prokopios of Caesarea

and Malalas, 30,000–35,000 people were killed. Hypatios and his brother Pompeios were executed on 19 Jan.; thereafter many others were killed or exiled, their property confiscated. The races were stopped perhaps until 537, and, until the reign of Constantine V, the activity of the circus factions remained largely ceremonial.

LIT. A. Čekalova, *Konstantinopol' v VI-om veke. Vosstanie Nika v 532 godu* (Moscow 1986). J.B. Bury, "The Nika Riot," *JHS* 17 (1897) 92–119. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 277–80. J. Evans, "The 'Nika' Rebellion and the Empress Theodora," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 380–82. –W.E.K.

**NIKANDER**, didactic poet of the 2nd C. B.C. who composed the *Theriaka*, concerning remedies for bites from poisonous animals, and the *Alexipharmaka*, about poisons and their antidotes. The earliest and best MS of Nikander is Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 247, written and illustrated in the 10th C. Most images depict directly the subject matter of the texts, snakes, scorpions, and plants, and plausibly derive from early sources. Human figures, incorporated into some compositions, demonstrate the effects of the poison or illustrate the author's mythological allusions. Thus the mention of Orion occasions a representation based upon the constellation figure. The text, popular in Byz., was paraphrased in illustrated MSS of DIOSKORIDES in Vienna and New York and accompanied by scholia in some MSS (M. Geymonat, *Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca* [Milan 1974]). PLANOUDES produced a MS containing both poems.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Roll & Codex* 144f, 167. J. Weitzmann-Fiedler in *Age of Spirit*. 248f. –R.S.N.